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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀṆAS

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VOL. II

(ŚĀKTA AND NON-SECTARIAN UPAPURĀṆAS)

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FOREWORD

Five years ago we published the first volume of Studies in the Upapurāṇas. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the book has been appreciated by scholars all over the world. The present volume contains an account of the Śākta and the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas. The third volume on the Śaiva and the Gāṇapatya Upapurāṇas is almost ready for the press, and we hope to publish it early next year.

Sanskrit College
Calcutta,
March, 1963.

GAURINATH SASTRI

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PREFACE

It is with a feeling of much relief, though not without some amount of diffidence, that I present before the scholarly world the second volume of my 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas', in which I have dealt with the Śākta and the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas now available in printed forms and also a number of extinct ones of these two classes. As the Śākta Upapurāṇas still lying in Mss have been preserved at places beyond my easy reach, they have been reserved for future treatment. They are only a few in number, and most of them are of minor importance and come from comparatively late dates.

Although it was my intention to make all the volumes of my 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' approximately equal in length, the extent of the present volume has far exceeded that of the first, and for this, I think, I should offer an explanation.

When, about two years back, the manuscript copy of the present volume was sent to the press, it contained chapters on the Śākta and the Gāṇapatya Upapurāṇas, but a little before the beginning of its printing I was told by our Publication Department that the matter, sent to the press, might be too insufficient for a volume of 400 pages. So, I felt extremely nervous. After much thought I recalled my manuscript from the press, replaced the Chapter on the Gāṇapatya Upapurāṇas with two more extensive ones on the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas which were meant for the third volume, and wrote in great hurry pp. 94-188 on the linguistic study of the Devī-purāṇa, which I had kept off for more detailed and elaborate treatment in a separate and independent work. I do not know how my ideas put forth in these pages will be received by scholars, but I crave their indulgence for any slips that may, in their opinion, have occurred in the arrangement of materials in these pages. As a matter of fact, some of the grammatical forms occurring in the Devī-purāṇa were highly confusing to me. For

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instance, in the expression '*ketumucchrayam*', used in Devī-purāṇa 11.57, I could not be sure whether the '*m*' immediately following the word '*ketu*' was an intervening Saṃdhi-consonant (or hiatus-bridger) or it was due to the second case-ending used irregularly in connection with the Kṛd-anta noun '*ucchraya*' (cf. the expressions 'tvāṃ-kāmayā', 'māṃ kāmena', 'kṣīraṃ pāne', etc. used in the Vedic works).

As to my use of a Ms of the Ekāmra-purāṇa instead of the Cuttack edition of this work printed in Oḍiya script, I should like to say that although I could procure a copy of this edition not very long after the manuscript copy of the present volume had been sent to the press, I was compelled to set it aside due to my complete unfamiliarity with the Oḍiya alphabet. For my use of the Vaṅgavāsī Press editions of certain Purāṇic texts I have already stated the reasons in my Preface to Volume I of the present work.

As regards certain names the varied spellings given at different places in a particular Upapurāṇa (such as '*jalpiṣa*' and '*jalpīśa*' in Kālikā-purāṇa, chaps. 60 and 80 respectively, and '*varṇāsā*' and '*varṇāśā*' in Kālikā-purāṇa, chap. 81) have been retained in the summaries of the relevant chapters from linguistic and other considerations.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not take this opportunity to express my gratitude to our Principal Dr. Gaurinath Sastri for his keen interest in the speedy publication of this volume. But for his sympathetic help and encouragement it would not be possible for me to have it published so soon. I should also thank Pandit Dinesh Chandra Sastri and more particularly Pandit Nanigopal Tarkatirtha of the Publication Department for their kind service in times of need.

Some portions of this work appeared as isolated articles in different oriental journals. But I have tried my best to improve considerably upon these published portions with much interesting material collected by more recent studies.

Sanskrit College,
Calcutta. March, 1963. RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI=Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).

Adyar Library Cat.=A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library (Madras).

AnSS=Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).

ASB=Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

ASB Cat.—See 'Shastri, ASB Cat.' below.

As. Soc.=Asiatic Society.

Aufrecht, Bod. Cat.=Theodor Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae.

Benares Sans. College Cat.=Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares.

Bhāg.=Bhāgavata-purāṇa.

Bhandarkar, Report=R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, and 1890-91.

Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc.=R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems.

Bhav.=Bhaviṣya-purāṇa.

Bibl. Ind.=Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society, Calcutta).

Bikaner Cat.—See 'Mitra, Bikaner Cat.' below.

Bod. Cat.—See 'Aufrecht, Bod. Cat.' above.

Bṛhaddh.=Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa.

B. S.=Bengali Saṃvat.

Bühler, Report=G. Bühler, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India.

Burnell, Classified Index=A. C. Burnell, A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore.

Bv=Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.

Calcutta Sans. College (or, Cal. Sans. Coll.)=Calcutta

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Sanskrit College (1, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta).

Calcutta Sans. College Cat. (or, Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.)—See 'Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat.' below.

Cat.=Catalogue.

Cat. of Sans. Mss in Private Libraries in the North-West Provinces=A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of the North-West Provinces. Part I. Benares, 1874.

Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat.=Chintaharan Chakravarti, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat (Calcutta).

Chap., chaps.=Chapter, chapters.

Com.=Commentary.

Dacca Univ.=Dacca University.

Dbh=Devī-bhāgavata.

Dbht, Dpt, Dv (Śrīn.), Dv (Śūl.)—See p. 2, footnote 4.

Ed., eds.=Edition, editions.

Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue)=Julius Eggeling, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London).

Ep. Ind.=Epigraphia Indica.

Farquhar, Outline=J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India.

Fol., fols.=Folio, folios.

Hari-bh.=Hari-bhakti-vilāsa.

Hazra, Purāṇic Records=R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs.

Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar=Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

IHQ=Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).

Ind. Off.=India Office (London).

Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue)—See 'Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat.' above.

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JASB=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
JBBRAS=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay).
Jīv.=Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (Calcutta).
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
Keith, Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue)=A. B. Keith, Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London).
-kh. (as in 'Sṛṣṭi-kh.', 'Bhūmi-kh.' etc.)=-khaṇḍa.
Kr, Kt—See p. 2, footnote 4.
Kūr.=Kūrma-purāṇa.
Kv—See p. 2, footnote 4.
Lewis Rice, Cat. of Sans. Mss=Lewis Rice, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg. Bangalore. Mysore Government Press. 1884.
Lg=Liṅga-purāṇa.
Mahābhāg.=Mahābhāgavata-purāṇa.
Mārk.=Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
Mat.=Matsya-purāṇa.
Mbh=Mahābhārata.
Mitra (or, R. L. Mitra), Bikaner Cat.=R. L. Mitra, A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikaner.
Mitra (or, R. L. Mitra), Notices=R. L. Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.
M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat.=M. Rangacharya, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
Ms, Mss=Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Ns—See p. 2, footnote 4.
P., pp.=Page, pages.
-p. (as in 'Matsya-p.', 'Devī-p.' etc.)=-purāṇa.
Pd=Padma-purāṇa.
Poleman, Census of Indic Mss=H. I. Poleman, A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.
P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat.=P. P. S. Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore

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Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore.

Ps=Pauṣkara-saṃhitā.

Roth, Tübingen Cat.=R. Roth, Verzeichniss Indischer Handschriften der Königlichen Universitats-Bibliothek in Tübingen. Anhang. Indische Handschriften der Königlichen Oeffentlichen Bibliothek in Stuttgart. Tübingen, 1885.

Sans.=Sanskrit.

Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat.=Hrishikeśa Shastri and Śivacandra Gui, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Shastri (or, Haraprasad Shastri), ASB Cat.=Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

Shastri (or, Haraprasad Shastri), Nepal Cat.=Haraprasad Shastri, A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal.

Shastri (or, Haraprasad Shastri), Notices=Haraprasad Shastri, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Second Series.

Sm.=Saṃvat.

S. K. De, Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement=Sushil Kumar De, Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal.

Sp, St—See p. 2, footnote 4.

Stein, Jammu Cat.=M. A. Stein, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunātha Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Tübingen Cat.—See 'Roth, Tübingen Cat.' above.

Univ.=University.

Vām.=Vāmana-purāṇa.

Vaṅga.=Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta).

Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat.—See 'Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat.' above.

Var.=Varāha-purāṇa.

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Veṅkaṭ.=Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay).
Viṣ.=Viṣṇu-purāṇa.
Vk—See p. 2, footnote 4.
Vol., Vols.=Volume, Volumes.
V.S.=Vikrama Saṃvat.
Weber, Berlin Cat.=A. Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prakrit-Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.
Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853=A. Weber, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek, Vol. I (Verzeichniss der Sanskrit Handschriften). Berlin, 1853.
Yāj.=Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

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Chapter I

THE ŚĀKTA UPAPURĀṆAS

The history of the worship of female deities in India goes back to a remote past, as early literary evidence from the Vedic period downwards and the excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other places amply indicate, but the conception of a central goddess Devī as Śakti, to whom all other female deities were affiliated as her parts or incarnations, and the compilation of Purāṇic works dealing with her praise, nature, exploits and worship, were matters of comparatively late ages. As a matter of fact, there have been Mahāpurāṇas on the rites, customs and faiths of the Brāhmas, Pāñcarātras and Pāśupatas from long before the beginning of the Christian era, but not a single work of this class has ever dealt exhaustively or even principally with Śakti-worship, although chapters on the praise and worship of the different forms of Devī are to be found in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., Vāmana-p., Varāha-p., Kūrma-p., and so on[1]. In comparatively late days there arose a number of Śākta Upapurāṇas of note, of which the following have come down to us: Devī-p., Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata, Devībhāgavata, Bhagavatī-p., Caṇḍī-p. (or Caṇḍikā-p.), Devīrahasya, and a second Kālikā-p. (which is also called Kālī-p. and Satī-p. and is quite different from the Kālikā-p. mentioned above). Of these, the first four are available in printed forms and the rest still exist in Mss[2]. In the present Chapter we shall deal with the printed works only, leaving out the remaining ones for future treatment. It may be mentioned here that these Upapurāṇas relate very often to

[1] See Mārk. 81-93 (=Veṅkaṭ. ed., chaps. 78-90), Vām. 17-21 and 51-56, Var. 21-28 and 90-96, Kūr. I. 11-12. Also Mbh IV. 6 and VI. 23 (containing hymns to Durgā) and Harivaṃśa II, chaps. 2-4 and 22 (in which Devī has been praised).

[2] For these Mss see Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 187, No. 415 (Bhagavatī-p.), and Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1202-05, Nos. 3360-61 (Caṇḍī-p. or Caṇḍikā-p., also called Bhagavatī-p. and Kālikā-p.), and pp. 1193-98, No. 3344 (Kālikā-p., also called Kālī-p. and Satī-p.). See also Mitra, Notices, I, pp. 208-9, No. 370 (for description of a Ms of the Caṇḍī-p.).

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the central goddess Devī and sometimes to one or other of her principal forms such as Durgā, Kālī (or Kālikā), Caṇḍī, Satī, etc., although the growing popularity of the conception of Śakti in India inspired people to look upon every female deity as a Śakti (Active Energy) of a particular male god, to whom she was associated very often as a wife.

Besides the Purāṇic works mentioned above, there are also a few others, such as the Bṛhaddharma-p. and the Bhaviṣyottara[3], which contain chapters on Devī-worship; and among the Purāṇic verses quoted in the Smṛti Nibandhas of different parts of India on the praise and worship of Devī we find a large number which cannot be traced in any of the Purāṇic works now extant. For instance, in the Bengal Nibandhas a good number of verses on the autumnal worship of Durgā has been ascribed to the Bhaviṣya-p[4]., Liṅga-p[5]., Nandikeśvara-p[6]., Bṛhan-nandi-

---

[3] This Upapurāṇa has been printed as the fourth Book (called Uttara-parvan) of the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Bhaviṣya-p. It will be examined in details in Chapter II of the present Volume. For our brief analysis of its contents and a discussion on the problems relating to its date, provenance, etc. see Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, III, 1953-54, pp. 8-27.

[4] See Kv, pp. 512, 513; Dv (Śūl.), pp. 1-2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14-17, 19-21, 23-26; Dv (Śrīn.), p. 52; Kt, fol. 62a; Vk, pp. 367, 372, 376, 378-9, 385-7, 391, 396-7; Dpt, pp. 5-7, 13-14, 16-24, 30-32, 37, 38, 44; St, I, pp. 67, 68, 75, 76, 83, 87, 88, 90, 98, 101-3.

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes 4-62 of the present Chapter:

Dbht=Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya of Mithilā).
Dpt=Durgā-pūjā-tattva (of Raghunandana of Bengal).
Dv (Śrīn.)=Durgotsava-viveka (of Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi of Bengal).
Dv (Śūl.)=Durgotsava-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi of Bengal).
Kr=Kṛtya-ratnākara (of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura of Mithilā).
Kt=Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (of Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi of Bengal).
Kv=Kālaviveka (of Jīmūtavāhana of Bengal).
Ns=Nirṇaya-sindhu (of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa of Benares).
Sp=Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (a Smṛti work of Bengal).
St=Smṛti-tattva (of Raghunandana of Bengal).
Vk=Varṣa-kaumudī (of Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya of Bengal).

[5] See Kv, p. 512; Sp, fols. 23b (anonymous), 24a (anonymous); Dv (Śūl.), pp. 2, 5, 8, 22; Dv (Śrīn.), pp. 43-45, 50; Kt, fols. 60a, 62a (anonymous), 62b (anonymous), 63b-64a; Vk, pp. 368, 371 (anonymous), 375 (anonymous); Dpt, pp. 4, 44; St, I, pp. 65, 74, 76, 87.

No verse on Durgā-pūjā is found quoted from the 'Liṅga-p.' in the Smṛti Nibandhas of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, Caṇḍeśvara or any other comparatively early writer of Mithilā except Vidyāpati, who ascribes only one verse to the 'Liṅga-p.' in his Dbht, p. 46.

[6] See Dv (Śūl.), pp. 7, 8 (?), 9; Vk, pp. 367, 375, 420; Dpt, pp. 2, 7, 38; St, I, pp. 69, 76, 86, 91.

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keśvara-p[7]., Bhagavatī-p[8]., Kālikā-p. (which is now available in printed forms) and Devī-p[9]., to Satya[10], and to a work named as Jyotiṣa[11]. Many of these verses occur in the Nibandhas of Kāmarūpa and Mithilā[12] also and only a few are found quoted in Bhoja's Rāja-mārtaṇḍa, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, etc., but the great majority of them, especially those on the rites mentioned below, is remarkably wanting in the Nibandhas of Orissa and Southern India.[13]

No Smṛti-writer of Mithilā draws upon the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in connection with Durgā-pūjā.

[7] See Dv (Śūl.), pp. 8, 12-13, 22, 24; Dpt, pp. 8, 10, 31, 37, 44.

Not a single verse on Durgā-pūjā has been quoted from the 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' in the Nibandhas of Mithilā.

[8] See Kv, p. 511; Sp, fol. 23b (anonymous).

In Kv, p. 515 two verses have been quoted with the word 'Kātyāyanī-ślokau', but the first of these two verses has been ascribed to the 'Bhagavatī-p.' in Kālasāra, p. 109 and to 'Kātyāyana' in Vidyāpati's Dbht, p. 44 and quoted anonymously in Bhojadeva's Rāja-mārtaṇḍa, fol. 79a. Both these verses have been ascribed to 'Kātyāyana' in Dv (Śrīn.), pp. 44-45 and Kt, fol. 63b.

[9] See Dv (Śūl.), pp. 7, 8; Dbht, pp. 3, 37-38; St, I, pp. 72, 75; and so on.

[10] See Kv, pp. 514-5.

[11] See Dv (Śūl.), pp. 9, 10, 14, 26; Dv (Śrīn.), p. 49 (anonymous); Dpt, pp. 1, 10, 16-17, 45; Kt, fols. 63a, 66a; St, I, pp. 76-77, 103.

[12] See, for instance, Caṇḍeśvara's Kr, p. 362 (for verses which have been ascribed to the 'Bhagavatī-p.' and 'Satya' in Jīmūtavāhana's Kv, pp. 511 and 514 and to the 'Bhagavatī-p.' in Vidyāpati's Dbht, pp. 37-38), and Vidyāpati's Dbht, pp. 37ff. (for verses of the 'Bhagavatī-p.', 'Kālikā-p.', 'Bhaviṣya-p.', 'Devī-p.' and 'Jyotiḥ-śāstra' on Devī's *bodhana*, *patrikā-praveśa*, etc.).

See also Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's Samaya-pradīpa, fols. 41b-43a (for verses ascribed to the Devī-p. and the Brahma-p.) and Rudradhara Upādhyāya's Vrata-paddhati, fol. 28a-b (for two verses ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.').

[13] In Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's Nirṇaya-sindhu, pp. 127-8 the line 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta bilva-vṛkṣe'dhivāsanam' has been derived from a work named 'Kalpataru'; but this line is not found in the section on Mahānavamī-pūjā (the great autumnal worship of Durgā) given in Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru, XI (Rājadharma-kāṇḍa), pp. 191-5. As a matter of fact, Lakṣmīdhara draws only upon the Devī-p. for his description of the Mahānavamī-pūjā.

In Bhoja's Rāja-mārtaṇḍa, fol. 79a the following three verses have been quoted anonymously:

'aiṃ rāvaṇasya vadhārthāya rāmasyānugrahāya ca /
akāle brāhmaṇā (? brahmaṇā) bodho devyās tvaṃ priyakṛt purā (?) / /
aham apy āśvine tadvaj jyeṣṭhāyāṃ bodhayāmi te /
śrīśaila-śikhare jāta śrī-phala śrī-niketana / /
netavyo 'si samāgaccha pūjyo durgā-svarūpataḥ /
saptamyāṃ mūla-yuktāyāṃ patrikāṃ ca praveśya ca / /'

In Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 906-7 these three verses and also another, viz.,

'mūlābhāve 'pi saptamyāṃ kevalāyāṃ praveśayet /
ubhābhyāṃ nava-bilvasya phalābhyāṃ śākhikāṃ tathā / /',

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(i) 'Bodhana' of Devī in a Bilva tree (generally on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī or Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi) on the eve of her worship.[14]

(ii) Offer of different articles (such as *keśa-saṃskāra-dravya*, *paṭṭa-ḍora*, *darpaṇa*, etc.) to Devī on the different Tithis from Śukla-pratipad to Śukla-pañcamī[15].

(iii) The untying of Devī's hair (devī-keśa-vimocana) on the Śukla-caturthī Tithi[16].

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have been ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.'

(The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi reads 'devyās tvayi kṛtaḥ purā' for the second half of the second line, 'aham apy āśritaḥ ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyāhne bodhayāmy ataḥ' for the third line, '-śikhare jātaḥ śrī-phalaḥ śrī-niketanaḥ' in the fourth line, 'mayā gaccha' for 'samā-gaccha' in the fifth line, and 'saptamyāṃ prātas tāṃ śākhāṃ gṛhaṃ chittvā praveśayet' for the sixth line.

The verse 'mūlābhāve 'pi saptamyāṃ' is quoted in Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 128 with the words 'tad uktaṃ hemādrau laiṅge').

It is to be noted that in the first verse ('aiṃ rāvaṇasya vadhārthāya', which is a *mantra*) Durgā-pūjā has been connected with the story of Rāma. As it is the Nibandha-writers of Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa who are found to prescribe this *mantra* (aiṃ rāvaṇasya vadhārthāya etc.) to be used in Devī's *bodhana* in the evening of the Āśvina-śukla-ṣaṣṭhī, and as the tradition of Rāma's performance of Durgā-pūjā for killing Rāvaṇa appears to be of East Indian origin, it is probable that the above-mentioned verses of the 'Liṅga-p.' were taken by Bhojadeva and Hemādri from some work or works of Bengal or Mithilā.

[14] 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ bilva-tarau bodhaṃ sāyaṃ saṃdhyāsu kārayet'
(ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 7, as well as in Dpt, pp. 6, 7, St, I, pp. 75, 102, Vk, p. 367, and Dbht, pp. 40, 62; derived from the 'Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī' in Ns, p. 127).

'bodhayed bilva-śākhāyāṃ ṣaṣṭhyāṃ devīṃ phaleṣu ca'
(ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 7, as well as in Vk, p. 365, St, I, p. 75, Dpt, pp. 7, 10, and Dbht, pp. 41, 61; derived in Ns, p. 127 from the 'Kālikā-p. as quoted in the Gauḍa-nibandha'; being the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 7b).

'patrī-praveśāt pūrvedyuḥ sāyāhne vindhya-vāsinīm /
caṇḍīm āvāhayed vidvān nātra kāryā puraskriyā / /'
(ascribed to the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 7, to the 'Brahmāṇḍa-p.' and 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Dpt, p. 7 and St, I, p. 76, and to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in Dpt, p. 7; not occurring in the Nibandhas of Mithilā, at least in those of comparatively early dates).

[15] 'keśa-saṃskāra-dravyāṇi pradadyāt pratipad-dine /
paṭṭa-ḍoraṃ dvitīyāyāṃ keśa-saṃyama-hetave //
darpaṇaṃ tu tṛtīyāyāṃ sindūrālaktakaṃ tathā /
madhuparkaṃ caturthyāṃ tu tilakaṃ netra-maṇḍanam / /
pañcamyām aṅga-rāgāṃś ca śaktyālaṃkaraṇāni ca / /
(ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 6, as well as in Dpt, p. 6, St, I, pp. 101-2, and Dbht, p. 40; derived in Ns, p. 127 from the 'Bhaviṣya-p. as quoted in the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī'. Kamalākara reads 'pakva-tailaṃ' for 'paṭṭa-ḍoraṃ' and says that the latter reading is given by the Gauḍas—paṭṭa-ḍoram iti gauḍa-pāṭhaḥ).

[16] 'śukla-pakṣe caturthyāṃ tu devī-keśa-vimocanam'
(ascribed to the 'Bhagavatī-p.' in Kv, p. 511 and Dbht, p. 37, and to the

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(iv) 'Adhivāsa' of Devī in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of *patrikā-praveśa*[17].

(v) 'Nava-patrikā-praveśa', i.e. the bringing of the nine plants, viz., *rambhā*, *kaccī*, *haridrā*, *jayantī*, *bilva*, *dāḍima*, *aśoka*, *mānaka* and *dhānya*, into the pūjā-maṇḍapa, and the worship of nine Durgās in them[18].

'Kālikā-p.' in Vk, p. 369; quoted with the words 'śiṣṭāḥ paṭhanti' in Kr, p. 362; being the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 18a).

'śukla-pakṣe caturthyāṃ tu devī-keśa-vimokṣaṇam'

(ascribed to the 'Linga-p.' in Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 43 and Kt, fol. 60a).

[17] 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta bilva-vṛkṣe 'dhivāsanam'

(ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 43 and Kt, fol. 60a; quoted anonymously in Kt, fol. 62a and Vk, p. 371; derived in Ns, p. 127 from the 'Linga-p. as quoted in the Kṛtya-tattvārṇava').

'sāyaṃ ṣaṣṭhyāṃ tu kartavyaṃ pārvatyāś cādhivāsanam /
ṣaṣṭhy-abhāve tu kartavyaṃ saptamyām api nārada / /'

(ascribed to 'Smṛti' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 8 and in Dpt, p. 7, and quoted anonymously in St, I, p. 76).

'pūrvedyur adhivāsyaiva bilva-vṛkṣe tathāmbikām'

(ascribed to the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Dpt, p. 2).

[18] 'saptamyāṃ patrikā-pūjā rambhādi-navabhir yutā /
rambhā kaccī haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍimau /
aśoko mānakaś caiva dhānyaṃ ca nava-patrikā / /

(ascribed to the 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, pp. 12-13 and in Dpt, pp. 8 and 10).

'rambhā kaccī haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍimau /
aśoko mānakaś caiva dhānyaṃ ca nava-patrikāḥ / /

(ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 50, and to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in Vk, p. 372; quoted anonymously in Sp, fol. 24a, Kt, fol. 62b, Vk, p. 401; derived in Ns, p. 129 from the 'Kṛtya-tattvārṇava').

'brahmāṇī kadalī-kāṇḍe dāḍime rakta-dantikā /
dhānye lakṣmīr haridrāyāṃ durgā mānaka-patrake / /
cāmuṇḍā kālikā kaccyāṃ śivā bilve pratiṣṭhitā /
aśoke śoka-rahitā jayantyāṃ kārttikī matā / /

(ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in Vk, p. 391; quoted in Dbht, p. 63 with the words 'śiṣṭāḥ paṭhanti'; derived from the 'Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī' in Dpt, p. 12).

'pūrvāhṇe nava-patrikā śubhakarī dharmārtha-siddhi-pradā
ārogyaṃ dhanadā karoti vijayaṃ patrī-praveśe śubhā /
madhyāhne jana-pīḍana-kṣayakarī saṃgrāma-ghorāvahā
sāyāhne vadha-bandhanādi-kalahaṃ sarpa-kṣataṃ sarvadā / /'

(ascribed to 'Jyotiṣa' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 10, Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 49, Kt, fol. 63a, and St, I, p. 76).

'kadalī dāḍimī dhānyaṃ haridrā mānakaṃ kacuḥ /
bilvo 'śoko jayantī ca vijñeyā nava-patrikā / /'

(quoted anonymously in Rudradhara's Vrata-paddhati, fol. 27b with v. 1. 'dhānyā haridrāmalakaṃ' and 'bilvāśokau' for 'dhānyaṃ haridrā mānakaṃ' and 'bilvo 'śoko' respectively and in St, I, p. 77 and II, p. 664; quoted with the words 'śiṣṭāḥ paṭhanti' on p. 63 and anonymously on p. 132 of the Dbht).

It is remarkable that in his Durgotsava-paddhati (fol. 15a) Udayasiṃha Rūpanārāyaṇa, who was a king of Gorakṣanagara (modern Gorakhpur) in Northern Kośala

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(vi) The tying of the nine plants (constituting the *nava-patrikā*) with an Aparājitā creeper[19].

(vii) The performance of the Śāvarotsava on the Daśamī Tithi[20].

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and preceded Vidyāpati by a short period, prescribes the worship of the nine Mother Goddesses (mātṛkāḥ, mātaraḥ) not in the nine plants called *nava-patrikāḥ* but in an eight-petalled lotus painted on the ground with sandal-paste, etc. The present Kālikā-p. (62. 51b-52a) also says: "The propitious nine Durgās are likewise to be worshipped in the proximity of Devī with Jayantī and other fragrant flowers, because they are the forms of Devī." For information about Udayasiṃha Rūpanārāyaṇa and his works see our article in Our Heritage, IV, 1956, pp. 157-176).

[19] 'śvetāparājitā-baddhāḥ sarva-saṃpat-samṛddhidāḥ'
(ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 50).

[20] 'antapādo niśā-bhāge śravaṇasya bhaved yadi /
tadā saṃpreṣaṇaṃ devyā daśamyāṃ śāvarotsavaḥ / /'
(ascribed to 'Satya' in Kv, p. 514).

'saṃpūjya preṣaṇaṃ kuryād daśamyāṃ śāvarotsavaiḥ'
(ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in Dpt. pp. 6 and 42, St, I, p. 102, and Dbht, p. 41).

'visarjanaṃ daśamyāṃ tu kuryād vai śāvarotsavaiḥ'
(ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 24, as well as in Vk, p. 366, Dpt, p. 7, St, I, p. 75, and Dbht, p. 41; derived in Ns, p. 128 from the Kālikā-p. as quoted in the Gauḍa-nibandha; being the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 18a and resembling very much Kālikā-p. 62. 10a).

'tataḥ saṃpreṣitā devī daśamyāṃ śāvarotsavaiḥ'
(ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Vk, pp. 368, 374; being the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 31b).

'bhaga-liṅgābhidhānaiś ca bhaga-liṅga-pragītakaiḥ /
bhaga-liṅga-kriyābhiś ca krīḍayeyur alaṃ janāḥ / /
parair nākṣipyate yas tu yaḥ paraṃ nākṣipaty api /
kruddhā bhagavatī tasya śāpaṃ dadyāt sudāruṇam / /'
(ascribed to 'Satya' in Kv, p. 514, and to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 51 and Kt, fol. 65b, in Vk, pp. 377-8, and in Dbht, p. 42; quoted anonymously in Kr, p. 362; derived in Ns, p. 130 from 'the Kālikā-p. as quoted in the Kṛtya-tattvārṇava'; being the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 21b-23a).

dhūli-kardama-vikṣepaiḥ krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ /
bhaga-liṅgābhidhānaiś ca bhaga-liṅga-pragītakaiḥ /
bhaga-liṅga-kriyābhiś ca krīḍayeyur alajjitāḥ / /'
(ascribed to the 'kālikā-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv. p. 24, as well as in Vk, pp. 377 and 449, Dpt, p. 7, St, I, p. 75, and Dbht, p. 42; being the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 21-22a).

'nau-yānair nara-yānair vā nītvā bhagavatīṃ śivām /
sroto-jale prakṣipeyuḥ krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ / /
parair nākṣipyate yas tu paraṃ nākṣipate tu yaḥ /
tasya kruddhā bhagavatī śāpaṃ dadyāt sudāruṇam / /'
(ascribed to the 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 24 and in Dpt, p. 44, and to the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Dpt, p. 3; the second verse being the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 22b-23a).

'visarjanaṃ daśamyāṃ tu krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ'
(ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Kv, p. 512 and Kt, fol. 62a, and to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Vk, p. 369; quoted anonymously in Sp, fol. 24a; being the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 20a.

According to Jīmūtavāhana, the word 'krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ' in the above-mentioned line means the Śāvarotsava.—See Kv, p. 514—tathā satyaḥ '... ... ...

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Even on 'Patrikā-praveśa' (i.e. the rite of cutting, from a young Bilva tree, a small branch having two Bilva fruits and taking this branch to the pūjā-maṇḍapa for worshipping Devī in it), which, as the Rāja-mārtaṇḍa[21] and the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi[22] show, was known outside Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa, there are a number of verses, found quoted in the Smṛti works of Eastern India, which do not occur in those of other provinces. As instances of such verses we may mention the following:

'saptamyāṃ mūla-yuktāyāṃ patrikāyāḥ praveśanam/'[23]
'mūlābhāve 'pi saptamyāṃ kevalāyāṃ praveśayet/
tathā tithy-antare 'py evam ṛkṣeṣu ca phaloccayaḥ//'[24]
'saptamyāṃ bilva-śākhāṃ tām āhṛtya pratipūjayet/'[25]
'saptamyāṃ patrikā-pūjā kartavyā cātha mānavaiḥ/'[26]
'saptamyām astagāyāṃ yadi viśati gṛhaṃ patrikā śrī-phalāḍhyā
rājñaḥ saptāṅga-rājyaṃ jana-sukham akhilaṃ hanti mūlānurodhāt/
tasmāt sūryodayasthāṃ narapati-śubhadāṃ saptamīṃ prāpya devīṃ

. . . tadā saṃpreṣaṇaṃ devyā daśamyāṃ śāvarotsavaḥ / /' śavara-varṇa iva parṇādy-āvṛta-kardamādi-lipta-śarīro nānā-vidhāsaṃbaddha-valgita-nṛtya-gīta-vādyādi-paro bhūtvā iti śāvarotsava-padārthaḥ /).

[21] See fol. 78b—saptamyāṃ mūla-yukte prathama-pada-gate patrikā-sthāpanaṃ ca, etc. See also the verse 'saptamyāṃ patrikā-pūjā aṣṭamyāṃ cāpy upoṣaṇam, etc.' quoted in fol. 79a. In his Durgotsava-paddhati (fols. 6b-7a) Udayasiṃha Rūpanārāyaṇa derives the former verse from the 'Rāja-mārtaṇḍa' and reads it as 'saptamyāṃ mūla-yoge prathama-pada-gate patrikā pūjanīyā, etc.'

[22] II. i, pp. 906-7. For the relevant lines see footnote 13 above.

[23] Ascribed to the 'Devī-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 8, Dpt, p. 3, and Kt, fol. 60b, to the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Dpt, p. 2, and to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 44; quoted anonymously in Sp, fol. 23b; mentioned in Dbht, p. 46 as occurring in a 'Gauḍa-nibandha'; derived in Ns, p. 128 from 'the Devī-p. as quoted in the Gauḍa-nibandha'.

[24] Ascribed to the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Vk, p. 367, and to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 8, Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 45, St, I, p. 74, and Vk, p. 368; quoted anonymously in Sp, fol. 24a, Kt, fol. 62b, and Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, p. 28; derived from a 'Gauḍa-nibandha' in Dbht, p. 46.

(A similar verse, agreeing in the first line but differing in the second, is found quoted from a 'Liṅga-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi. For the text of this verse see footnote 13 above. Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa took this verse of the Liṅga-p. from 'Hemādri'. —See Ns, p. 128).

[25] Ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 13, in Dbht, p. 41, and in Dpt, p. 10; derived in Ns, p. 128 from the 'Kālikā-p. (as quoted in the Gauḍa-nibandha).'

[26] Ascribed to a 'duṣprāpa-kālikā-purāṇāntara' in Dpt, p. 8.

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bhūpālo veśayet tāṃ sakala-jana-hitāṃ rākṣasarkṣaṃ vihāya//'[27]

'mūla-yoge tu saptamyāṃ patrikāyāḥ praveśanam/
yad uktaṃ tad-dvayābhāve kevalāyāṃ tithāv api//'[28]

As regards the line 'saptamyāṃ patrikā-pūjā aṣṭamyāṃ cāpy upoṣaṇam' there is some scope for doubt. This line, which is the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 19a, has been ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Kālaviveka, p. 512 and Śrīnātha's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 and Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, fol. 60a, to the 'Bhagavatī-p.' in Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 38, and to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 369, 371 and 375. It has been quoted anonymously in Saṃvatsara-pradīpa,[29] fol. 24a, Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 362, and Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, p. 27. On the other hand, Bhojadeva of Dhārā is found to quote it in his Rāja-mārtaṇḍa (fol. 79a) without mentioning its source, and Udayasiṃha Rūpanārāyaṇa, who has it in his Durgotsava-paddhati (fol. 6b), ascribes it to 'śiṣṭas', by whom he must have meant those of Bengal (because he flourished earlier than Vidyāpati, who only, among the Maithila Nibandha-writers, is found to quote the said line in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī).

Besides the verses mentioned above, there are also many others which are peculiar to Bengal and in some cases to Mithilā and Kāmarūpa also. But, as we have already said, the comparatively early Smṛti-writers of Western and Southern India have no knowledge either of these verses or of the rites based on them and the later ones record some of these on the authority of the works of Bengal and Mithilā. For instance, in his Nirṇaya-sindhu (pp. 126-141) Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa deals with most of the above-mentioned rites and quotes many of the relevant verses, but Kamalākara's

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[27] Ascribed to 'Jyotiṣa' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, pp. 9-10, Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 49, and St, I, p. 77.

[28] Ascribed to the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Dpt, p. 3.

[29] This work, as occurring in Mss at present, belongs to Bengal.—See Hazra in IHQ, XXI, 1945, pp. 49-55, and D. Bhattacharya in Our Heritage, I, pp. 159-160. See also D. Bhattacharya's Introduction (pp. xl-xlii) to his edition of Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva.

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sources are invariably the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithilā,[30] the Devī-p. (a work of Bengal) on 'śatru-bali' only[31], and the present Kālikā-p. (which, we shall see hereinafter, must have been written either in Kāmarūpa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it). That neither Kamalākara nor his countrymen were familiar with the rites mentioned above, is shown by the following facts.

(i) In his Nirṇaya-sindhu, pp. 120-126 Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa deals elaborately with the proper time and method of performing the Navarātra-vrata without mentioning any of these rites or quoting any of the relevant verses of the 'Bhaviṣya-p.', 'Liṅga-p.', etc. mentioned above. He then begins, from p. 126, to deal with these peculiar rites with the words 'atha pratipadādiṣu viśeṣo durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇyāṃ bhaviṣye .. .. ..', and bases his treatment of these rites on the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithilā as well as on the Devī-p. (with regard to 'śatru-bali' only) and the Kālikā-p. Had these characteristic rites been in vogue in his country, he would not have dealt with them separately after describing the method of performing the Navarātra-vrata, nor would he have derived his materials from the present Devī-p., Kālikā-p. and the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithilā.

In his Durgotsava-paddhati Udayasiṃha Rūpanārāyaṇa also says nothing about the peculiar rites mentioned above. In this work he quotes two verses[32] on *patrikā-praveśa* on the authority of the 'śiṣṭas' (who, as we have already seen, must be the Smārtas of Bengal) and also another verse[33] on the same topic by mentioning as his source the 'Rāja-mārtaṇḍa'

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[30] The only exception is the verse 'mūlābhāve 'pi saptamyāṃ etc.' (on *patrikā-praveśa*), which Kamalākara derived from 'Hemādri'. See footnote 13 above.

[31] Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 137—

bali-prakāras tu devī-purāṇe— '. . . . . / /'

tathā—'tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāt kṛtvā śatruṃ tu paiṣṭikam /

khaḍgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-viśākhayoḥ / /'

This verse is the same as Devī-p. 22. 16.

[32] 'saptamyāṃ patrikā-pūjā aṣṭamyāṃ cāpy upoṣaṇam' etc. and 'mūlena saphalāṃ bilva-śākhām āhṛtya pūjayet' etc. (on fol. 6b).

[33] 'saptamyāṃ mūla-yoge prathama-pada-gate patrikā pūjanīyā' etc. (on fols. 6b-7a).

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(which must have taken it from some work of Bengal or Mithilā), but he prescribes the rite of *śatru-bali* on the authority of the Devī-p.[31], which is a work of Bengal.

(ii) In the Bengal Nibandhas there is a verse, viz.,

'rambhā kaccī haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍimau/
aśoko mānakaś caiva dhānyaṃ ca nava-patrikāḥ//'[35]

which mentions the names of the nine plants constituting the *nava-patrikā*. In treating of *nava-patrikā-pūjā* Kamalākara quotes this verse with the mention of the 'Kṛtya-tattvārṇava' as his source, but reads 'kavī' for 'kaccī' and 'māna-vṛkṣaś ca' for 'mānakaś caiva'[36]. These readings 'kavī' and 'māna-vṛkṣaś ca' clearly show that neither Kamalākara nor his countrymen were familiar with 'kaccī' and 'māna'. The learned editor of the printed text of the Nirṇaya-sindhu frankly admits that he did not understand what objects were meant by the words 'māna' and 'kavī' occurring in the text of the Nirṇaya-sindhu[37]. Now, the word 'kaccī' (meaning 'kacvi' or 'kacu'—Arum Colocasia) has been used in the above verse to mean the 'kacu' plant so well known in Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa, and its peculiar spelling with 'च्च' is common in the Bengal Nibandhas[38] (and also perhaps in those of Mithilā)[39]. The 'mānaka' (popularly

[34] See Durgotsava-paddhati, fols. 4b and 15b.

[35] For the names of the works quoting this verse see footnote 18 above.

[36] Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 128— . . . . . iti kṛtya-tattvārṇava uktam / patrikās tu— 'rambhā kavī haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍimau / aśoko māna-vṛkṣaś ca dhānyādi nava-patrikāḥ / /' iti tatraivoktāḥ /

For the reading 'kavi' for 'kaccī' see also Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 130— . . . . . patrikāḥ pūjayet / kadalyāṃ brahmāṇīṃ dāḍime rakta-dantikāṃ dhānye lakṣmīṃ haridrāyāṃ durgāṃ māne cāmuṇḍāṃ *kavau* kālikāṃ bilve śivām aśoke śoka-rahitāṃ jayantyāṃ kārttikīṃ cāvāhya saṃpūjya durgāyai baliṃ dadyāt /

[37] With respect to the words 'māne' and 'kavau' occurring in Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 130 (. . . . . māne cāmuṇḍāṃ kavau kālikāṃ . . . . . jayantyāṃ kārttikīṃ . . .) the editor writes in a footnote: "māne kavau iti vastu-dvaya-vijñānaṃ na bhavatīti mṛgyam etat/" (See Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 130, footnote 1). The editor was not familiar with the 'Jayantī' plant also. He writes in a second footnote: 'jayantī ṭāhakalā iti amarasiṃha-ṭīkāyām'.

[38] See Sp, fol. 24a, Śūlapāṇi's Dv, pp. 12-13, Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 50, Kt, fol. 62b, Vk, pp. 372, 401, and Dpt, pp. 8, 10. See also Vk, pp. 391, 402, 425, and Dpt, p. 12.

The word 'kacu' occurs in Kavi Karṇapūra's Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī, ii.

[39] See, for instance, the two verses 'brahmāṇī kadalī-kāṇḍe' and 'cāmuṇḍā kālikā kaccyāṃ' derived by Raghunandana in his Dpt, p. 12 from the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī. The second verse mentions 'kaccī'. But in these verses as occurring in the printed

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called 'māna' or 'māna-kacu' in Bengal) is one of the varieties of arum. As neither 'kaccī' nor 'mānaka' is mentioned in Amara-koṣa or any other famous lexicon[40], Kamalākara and his countrymen as well as the learned editor of the printed text of the Nirṇaya-sindhu totally failed to understand their meanings and made the mistakes mentioned above.

(iii) In two verses, of which one is derived by Kamalākara from the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī with the words 'durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇyāṃ bhaviṣye', and the other from the 'Kālikā-p.', the reading 'sāravotsavaiḥ' is given in place of 'śāvarotsavaiḥ'[41]. This wrong reading shows that Kamalākara and his countrymen were not familiar with the Śāvarotsava which is mentioned in all the Bengal Nibandhas[42] dealing with Durgotsava and which was widely performed, and is still performed in some form or other, in this province on the Vijayā Daśamī Tithi. Bhav. IV, chap. 138, which is one of the main sources of the description of the method of Durgā-pūjā as given in the Nibandhas of Orissa and of Western and Southern India[43], refers to none of the above-mentioned rites. As a matter of fact, all these characteristic rites are of East Indian origin. Some of them have been expressly mentioned in the Bengal Nibandhas as local customs prevailing in this province. For instance, the performance

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edition of the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (p. 63) the name of the plant is given as 'kacu' and not 'kaccī'. In his Vrata-paddhati (fol. 27b) Rudradhara also names it as 'kacu' in the verse containing the names of the Nava-patrikā. (See footnote 18 above.)

[40] Jaṭādharācārya's Paryāya-nānārtha-koṣa and Cakrapāṇi-datta's Śabda-candrikā mention 'kacvī' but do not spell it as 'kaccī'.

[41] Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 126 (durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇyāṃ bhaviṣye— . . . . . saṃpūjya preṣaṇaṃ kuryād daśamyāṃ sāravotsavaiḥ / . . . . . .) and p. 127 (kālikā-purāṇe —. . . . . visarjanaṃ daśamyāṃ tu kuryād vai sāravotsavaiḥ / / . . . . . .).

In his Vidhāna-pārijāta (II, p. 630) Anantabhaṭṭa also quotes the said line of the Bhaviṣya-p. with the wrong reading 'sāravotsavaiḥ'.

[42] Though the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa does not make any express mention of the Śāvarotsava, it anonymously quotes the line 'visarjanaṃ daśamyāṃ tu krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ' (which is ascribed to the Liṅga-p. in Kv, p. 512, Śrīnātha's Dv, p. 43, and Kt, fol. 60a). According to Jīmūtavāhana the word 'krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ' means the Śāvarotsava (see Kv, p. 514).

[43] See, for instance, Kālasāra, pp. 103-115 (wherein verses 1-2, 10-11, 13-14, 15-16, 21-23 and 28-30a of Bhav. IV. 138 have been quoted), and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 908-920 (wherein the whole of Bhav. IV. 138 has been quoted). See also Kālasāra, p. 229—seyaṃ navamī bhaviṣyat-purāṇokta-durgā-vratādau draṣṭavyā.

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of Devī's *adhivāsa* in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of *patrikā-praveśa* is sanctioned by Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana on the authority of a verse ascribed to 'Smṛti'[44] and by Śrīnātha on the authority of a metrical line 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta' ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.'[45] But Govindānanda says that this rite is based on a local custom, that the line 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta' is not found in the Nibandhas of Maithilas and others and is, therefore, unfounded, and that if this line was taken to be 'samūla', it would go against 'śiṣṭācāra'.[46] The tying of the *Nava-patrikā* with an Aparājitā creeper, again, is mentioned in Śrīnātha's Durgotsava-viveka[47] and Govindānanda's Varṣa-kaumudī,[48] but is called a local custom in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa[49] and the Durgā-pūjā-tattva[50]. In his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, which must have been written later than the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, Vidyāpati also refers to this custom[51] but

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[44] For this verse see footnote 17 above.

[45] For this line see footnote 17 above.

[46] Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 370-371—patrī-praveśa-pūrva-dine tv adhivāsa ācāra-prāpta eva, so'pi gandha-puṣpādyaiḥ patrī-bhūṣā-rūpa eva . . . . . / yat tu "sāyaṃ ṣaṣṭhyāṃ prakurvīta bilva-vṛkṣe 'dhivāsanam" iti nāma-śūnya-vacanaṃ kenacil likhitaṃ tan maithilādi-nibandheṣv adarśanān nirmūlam eva / śiṣṭācāropaṣṭambhaka-samūlatv-ābhimāne tu . . . . ./

As a matter of fact the line 'sāyaṃ ṣaṣṭhyāṃ prakurvīta' of the 'Liṅga-p.' does not occur in the works of Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati or any other Smṛti-writer of Mithilā.

[47] P. 50—nava-patrikāś coktā liṅgapurāṇe—'rambhā kaccī haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍimau / aśoko mānakaś caiva dhānyaṃ ca nava-patrikāḥ / / śvetāparājitā-baddhāḥ sarva-saṃpat-samṛddhidāḥ / /'

[48] P. 401— . . . . . 'rambhā kaccī haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍimau / aśoko mānakaś caiva dhānyādi nava-patrikāḥ / /' etā ekīkṛtya aparājitā-latayā saṃveṣṭya . . . . .

[49] Fol. 24a—ācāra-vaśāc ca bilva-śākhayā saha rambhādi-nava-patrikām aparājitā-latā-baddhāṃ praveśayet /

[50] P. 51—tata ācārād aparājitā-latā-baddhāṃ nava-patrikāṃ bilva-śākhāṃ ca sthāpayitvā . . . . . /

[51] See Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 63 (bilva-śākhayā saha rambhādi-nava-patrikāḥ samācārād aparājitā-latā-baddhāḥ sthāpayitvā praveśayet) and p. 129 (. . . . . samā-cārād aparājitā-latā-baddhā rambhādi-nava-patrikāḥ sthāpayet . . . . .).

It is to be noted that Caṇḍeśvara or any other Smṛti-writer of Mithilā does not mention this custom. On the other hand, both Caṇḍeśvara and Vidyāpati give, without naming any authority, the procedure of worshipping the Aparājitā creeper on the Daśamī Tithi after the immersion of the image of Durgā in water and mention it as a 'śiṣṭācāra' or simply 'ācāra'. (See Kr, p. 365 and Dbht, pp. 208-9). But this custom was not followed in Bengal at least down to the time of Raghunandana. It is not mentioned or referred to in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's Durgotsava-viveka and Kṛtya-tattvārṇava or any other pre-Raghu-

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does not name or quote any authority. It is highly probable that Vidyāpati derived this custom from the Nibandhas of Gauḍa, to which he refers on other occasions. Further, all the plants constituting the *Nava-patrikā* are very common

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nandana Smṛti work of Bengal. Even Govindānanda, who was a contemporary of Raghunandana and deals elaborately with Durgā-pūjā in his Varṣa-kaumudī (pp. 365-449), makes no mention of this custom. It is only in the section on Durgotsava in Raghunandana's Tithi-tattva that the custom has been mentioned in the following lines:

> evaṃ ca ghaṭikona-daśamyām aparājitā-pūjānarhatvāt tatpūjanaṃ pūrva-dine / ata eva tat-param evedam
>
> "āśvine śukla-pakṣasya daśamyāṃ pūjayet tathā /
> ekādaśyāṃ na kurvīta pūjanaṃ cāpaṛājitam //"
>
> iti śivarahasyoktaikādaśī-yukta-daśamī-niṣedhaka-vacanam / tataś ca tat-pūrva-kṛtyaṃ devī-visarjanam api tadaiva, tadantāpakarṣa-nyāyāt / vācaspati-miśro 'py evam /

(See Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 88-89. This is a reference to Vācaspatimiśra's Kṛtya-mahārṇava, fol. 72a).

But the genuineness of these lines becomes extremely doubtful when we take into consideration the following facts:

(i) In his Durgā-pūjā-tattva Raghunandana deals elaborately with Durgā-pūjā; but neither in the section on Pramāṇa nor in that on Prayoga does he refer to the custom of Aparājitā-pūjā, although this work is, on one occasion, referred to in the Tithi-tattva for detailed treatment of the method of Durgā-pūjā (pūjāyāṃ viśeṣas tu durgā-pūjā-tattve 'nusaṃdheyaḥ—Tithi-tattva, p. 93) and, in commenting on the above-mentioned lines, Kāśīrāma Vācaspati speaks of the high authority of the Durgā-pūjā-tattva in matters of Durgā-worship in the following words:

> tatrodaya-gāminyāṃ muhūrtānyūnāyāṃ daśamyāṃ śravaṇā-nakṣatra-yuktāyāṃ kevalāyaṃ vā daśamyāṃ visarjanam iti durgārcana-tattva-likhanam / etad-grantha-prāmāṇyaṃ tu 'pūjāyāṃ viśeṣas tu durgā-pūjā-tattve anusaṃdheya' iti tithi-tattva-likhanena dṛḍhīkṛtam / (See Tithi-tattva with Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's commentary, p. 283).

(ii) In his Kṛtya-tattva Raghunandana deals briefly with Durgotsava (see Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 444-5), but there also he makes no mention of Aparājitā-pūjā.

(iii) The above-mentioned lines of the Tithi-tattva (in which Aparājitā-pūjā has been mentioned) do not occur in their right place after treatment of Devī's immersion (visarjana), which is to precede, and not follow, Aparājitā-pūjā.

(iv) From the statements of Kāśīrāma Vācaspati and the Durgārcana-kaumudī (a post-Raghunandana work mentioned by Kāśīrāma Vācaspati in his commentary on the Tithi-tattva, p. 283), it appears that even in post-Raghunandana days the custom of Aparājitā-pūjā attained popularity in a limited circle and did not obtain the sanction of renowned Smṛti-writers like Raghunandana. See Kāśīrāma's commentary (on the said lines of the Tithi-tattva): visarjanaṃ daśamyām iti rātry-ādau visarjanaṃ na kāryaṃ / devī-purāṇe "patrī-praveśanaṃ rātrau visargaṃ vā karoti yaḥ / tasya rāṣṭra-vināśaḥ syād rājā ca vikalo bhavet //" rātrāv iti paryudasta-kālopalakṣaṇam iti durgārcā-kaumudī // Also Durgārcana-kaumudī (fols. 65b-66a): "atra kecit devī-visarjanā-nantaraṃ yadi para-dine daśamī aparājitā-(pūjā-yog)yā na prāpyate tadā navamī-yukta-daśamyām evodaya-saṃbandh-ābhāve 'pi visarjanaṃ kāryaṃ tasya tad-uttara-kāla-kartavyatvāt / "ekādaśyāṃ na kurvīta pūjitaṃ cāparājitam" (ity a)nena ekādaśī-yukta-daśamī-niṣedha etad-viṣaya eveti tan na aparājitā-pūjanasya kālaḥ .....

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in Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa, and they do not include 'yava' or any other plant which is peculiar to Western or Southern India. So, the verses of the 'Bhavisya-p.', 'Liṅga-p.', Nandikeśvara-p., Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p., etc. mentioned above must have been written in Eastern India, mostly in Bengal. We shall see hereinafter that the Kālikā-p. was written either in Kāmarūpa in Assam or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it, and the Devī-p., Nandikeśvara-p. and Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. were written in Bengal.

As regards the verses ascribed to the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Liṅga-p., it is disappointing to find that none of them occurs in the present texts of the Bhaviṣya and the Liṅga-p. On the other hand, manuscripts are still found in Bengal of Smṛti works on the 'Bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhati';[52] and Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, in his commentary on Raghunandana's Tithi-tattva, testifies to the fact that the method of Durgā-pūjā, prescribed by the 'Liṅga-p.', was once followed in Bengal.[53] Regarding the verse 'vratī prapūjayed devīm', ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya' in Raghunandana's Tithi-tattva,[54] Gadādhara says that it was respected in 'Gauḍa-deśa' but not in Orissa.[55] We can reasonably presume, therefore, that chapters consisting of verses on the methods of Durgā-pūjā, as followed in Bengal, were written by the scholars of this province and inserted into the texts of the Bhaviṣya and the Liṅga-p. current among them, so that these methods, though determined mostly by the local customs of Bengal, might be regarded as based on authoritative Śāstric injunctions. But all the verses ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' and the 'Liṅga-p.' were not written at the same time. For instance, the lines

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[52] See, for instance, Dacca University Mss Nos. 2261 and 4055, in which the work is called 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-purāṇ-ānugṛhīta-bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgāpūjā-paddhati'.

[53] See Kāśīrāma's commentary—evaṃ ca liṅgapurāṇ-ānusāreṇa cet pūjā kriyate tadā navamyām aṣṭādaśa-bhūjāyā bodhanam, kālikāpurāṇ-ānusāreṇa cet pūjā kriyate tadā navamyāṃ daśa-bhujāyā bodhanam iti bodhyam /—Tithi-tattva, pp. 248-9.

[54] See Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 87.

[55] Kālasāra, pp. 106-7—yat tu 'vratī prapūjayed devīṃ saptamyādi-dina-traye / dvābhyāṃ catur-ahobhir vā hrāsa-vṛddhi-vaśāt titheḥ //' iti tithi-tattva-kārair bhaviṣya-vākyam udāhṛtaṃ tad gauḍa-deśe ādriyate / ..... asmad-deśe tu..... nādriyata eva / ata eva mahāṣṭamī-paddhati-kārādibhiḥ prācīnair api tad vākyam anādṛtam eva.

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"ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta bilva-vṛkṣe 'dhivāsanam" and "śvetāparājitā-baddhāḥ sarva-saṃpat-samṛddhidāḥ", which record two of the most characteristic customs of Bengal and Mithilā and which have been ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.' by Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, were added at a comparatively late date[56]. It may be that Śrīnātha himself added these two lines to those already current in his time under the name of the 'Liṅga-p.'

We have already mentioned the names of more than half a dozen Śākta Upapurāṇas which are still extant, and from our examination of these works we shall see that all of them were not written at the same time or at the same place. Hence the question arises as to why the people of later ages felt encouraged to write new Purāṇic works or chapters on Śakti-worship, although they inherited works of similar nature from their predecessors. In the following pages we shall try to answer this question before we proceed to analyse the individual Upapurāṇas.

We have already seen that the peculiar customs of the people of Eastern India encouraged them to compose new verses and even write new Purāṇic works in order to furnish these customs with a Śāstric basis. People of other provinces

[56] The late date of these two lines is shown by the following facts:

In his Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 Śrīnātha ascribes to the 'Liṅga-p.' nine metrical lines, in which the line 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta' occupies the fifth place. Of these nine lines, lines 3-4 have been ascribed to the 'Bhagavatī-p.' in Kv, p. 512, but there is no mention of line 5 (ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta, etc.) in the Kālaviveka. Lines 2-4 and 6-9 agree with Kālikā-p. 62.17-20, but line 5 (ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta etc.) is not found there. The Saṃvatsara-pradīpa quotes lines 6-8 but not line 5. Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana support the performance of Devī's *adhivāsa* in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of *patrikā-praveśa* on the authority of a verse derived from a 'Smṛti' but do not quote the line 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ etc.' Govindānanda informs us that this line (ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ) was not found in the Nibandhas of Mithilā and other provinces (see footnote 46 above). Hence the line 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta' must have been added later.

Of the three lines (rambhā kaccī haridrā ca, etc.), ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śrīnātha's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 50, the third is 'śvetāparājitā-baddhāḥ sarva-saṃpat-samṛddhidāḥ'. Although the first two lines are quoted anonymously in Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, fol. 24a and Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 401, and there is mention of the custom of tying the Nava-patrikā with an Aparājitā creeper in these two works as well as in the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (pp. 63 and 129) and the Durgā-pūjā-tattva (p. 51), the line 'śvetā-parājitā-baddhāḥ' is not found in any of these works. Hence there can be little doubt regarding the comparatively late date of this line.

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also must have made similar attempts for the spread of Śakti-worship. But this was not the only cause of composition of new works and chapters on Śakti-worship in later days. There were other reasons, which will be evident from the following survey of the rise of Purāṇic Śāktism in India.

A perusal of the extant Purāṇas indicates that to the writers of these works the problem regarding Devī was not how she originated but how she was to be associated and conceived of. Yet the question of her origin played a great part in determining her nature and association. There is no denying the fact that in Devī, as we have her now, we have glimpses of Vedic deities, especially the earth-goddess Pṛthivī, but it must be admitted that in her present character she is pre-eminently a deity of non-Vedic origin. Modern research has made it sufficiently known that Mother-worship, in some form or other, prevailed from very ancient times among the different races and tribes, Aryan or non-Aryan, living in the vast tract of land extending from Greece to India. In Greece the only divinity certainly known to be of pre-historic origin is the Mountain-Mother, who is found figured in 'a seal-impression of late Minaon style (*circa* 1500 B. C.) found at Knossos'. In this impression the goddess stands on a mountain-top with a lion on either side. An ancient Greek work of about the ninth century B. C. identifies the Mother of the Gods with the Phrygian Mountain-Mother, who is the mistress of the swift-slaughtering lions. Pausanias, a Spartan of the fifth century B. C., records the existence of two ruined temples of the Mother of the Gods in Arcadia and also of two lions made of stone in the neighbourhood of one of them. In an Attic relief, dated about 400 B. C., the Mother Goddess appears as seated on a throne, with two lions couching at her feet. According to Sir John Marshall, 'female statuettes akin to those from the Indus Valley and Balūchisthān have been found in large numbers and over a wide range of countries between Persia and the Ægean, notably in Elam, Mesopotamia, Transcaspia, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, the Cyclades, the Balkans

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and Egypt'[57]. The Mahābhārata,[58] Harivaṃśa,[59] and the Purāṇas[60] tell us that in early times female deities of different forms and names were worshipped in different parts of India[61] by the followers of the Vedas as well as by the Śavaras, Varvaras, Pulindas, Kirātas, and many other non-Aryan tribes[62]. These female deities appear in these works generally as divine mothers[63] associated as spouses with particular male gods, but much more prominently as virgin deities sporting on mountain-tops and being the sources of origin of the divine mothers. Thus, Durgi or Durgā, a great mountain-goddess associated very often with the Himalayas, is called a virgin in early sources such as the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka and the Mahābhārata[64]; Vindhyavāsinī also appears as a virgin deity in all works; and in the Mārkaṇḍeya, Devī and other Purāṇas Devī, whether identified with Umā or with Vindhyavāsinī, is found to kill the demons in her virgin

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[57] Sir John Marshall, Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, p. 50.

[58] IV (Virāṭa-parvan), chap. 6, and VI (Bhīṣma-parvan), chap. 23.

[59] II (Viṣṇu-parvan), chaps. 2-4 and 22.

[60] Viz., Viṣṇu-p. V. 1; Mārkaṇḍeya-p., chaps. 81-93; Bhaviṣya-p. IV. 138; Devī-p.; Kālikā-p.; Varāha-p., chaps. 21-28 and 90-96; and so on.

[61] Bhav. IV. 138. 9b—rūpa-bhedair nāma-bhedair bhavānī pūjyate śivā; Viṣṇu-p. V. 1. 80—tataḥ śumbha-niśumbhādīn hatvā daityān sahasraśaḥ / sthānair anekaiḥ pṛthivīm aśeṣāṃ maṇḍyiṣyasi //; Harivaṃśa II. 2. 49—tataḥ sthāna-sahasrais tvaṃ pṛthivīṃ śobhayiṣyasi (spoken of Vindhyavāsinī).

[62] vāsas tava mahādevi vaneṣūpavaneṣu ca /
śavarair varvaraiś caiva pulindaiś ca supūjitā //
Harivaṃśa II. 3. 6b-7a.
śaravarṣavaraiś cāpi (? śavarair varvaraiś cāpi) pulindaiś cāpi pūjyase /
vindhyavāsini vāsaughe amoghe ambike śubhe //
Devī-p. 127. 110b-111a. (See also Devī-p. 39. 142).
surā-māṃsādy-upahārair japa-yajñair vinā tu yā /
vinā mantrais tāmasī sā kirātānāṃ ca saṃmatā //
(ascribed to the 'Skānda' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 3, and to the 'Skānda' and the 'Bhaviṣya' in St, I, p. 68, Dpt, p. 30, and Kālasāra, p. 111).

See also Bhav. IV. 138. 27-30a (evaṃ vindhyopavāsinyā navarātropavāsinaḥ /....// ....sthāne sthāne pure pure / ..... grāme grāme vane vane / .....mlecchair anyaiś ca ..... /).

According to the Kālikā-p. (chap. 39) Kāmarūpa was a seat of Devī-worship even when it was inhabited by Kirātas.

The remarkable absence of Śāktism among the Tamils (of Southern India) tends to show that these people were originally not associated with Śakti-worship.

[63] The number of the divine mothers is generally given as eight or sixteen.

[64] Taittirīya-āraṇyaka X (Nārāyaṇopaniṣad). 1; Mahābhārata IV. 6.7, 14, and VI. 23.4.

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state[65]. It is highly probable that the non-aryan tribes mentioned above had a matriarchal system of society[66] and that it was due to this system that the custom of worshipping female deities grew among them. In spite of the spread of the Aryans in India, a large section of the members of these tribes, who lived in impenetrable mountains and forests[67] and were thus able to maintain their freedom and individuality, used to worship, as they still do, their deities in these inaccessible parts of the country[68] with the offer of wine, meat and other things. It is highly probable that on these occasions they sacrificed human beings[69], drank wine[70],

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[65] See, for instance, Devī-p. 35. 17b-18a—

kanyā devyā svayaṃ proktā kanyā-rūpā tu śūlinī /
yāvad akṣata-yoniḥ syāt tāvad devyā surārihā //

In Devī-p. 7.39 also Devī is called 'kanyā-rūpā'.

[66] R. P. Chanda, Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 153-156.

The Vedic Aryans, being born and brought up in a patriarchal state of society, conceived of their principal deities as male. The female deities occupy a subordinate position in the Vedic literature, no matter whether they appear as wives of great gods or not. In comparatively late periods, however, the mother came, in some Aryan families, to be regarded as more important than the father, and this is shown by the fact that the male members of these families were named after their mothers.

[67] It is not known definitely whether these aboriginal tribes originally dwelt in mountains and forests, or they were driven to these places by the invading Aryans. In the Atharvaveda the Kirātas have been mentioned as living in mountains. (See Atharvaveda X. 4. 14—kairātikā kumārikā sakā khanati bheṣajam / hiraṇmayībhir abhribhir girīṇām upa sānuṣu //).

[68] Devī is said to be living in mountains and forests in Mbh VI. 23. 11b-14 (..... durge kāntāra-vāsini / ..... kāntāra-bhaya-durgeṣu bhaktānāṃ cālayeṣu ca / nityaṃ vasasi pātāle ..... //), Harivaṃśa II. 3.6 (parvatāgreṣu ghoreṣu nadīṣu ca guhāsu ca / vāsas tava mahādevi vaneṣūpavaneṣu ca //), Devī-p. 17.17 (hemakūṭe mahendre himādrau mahīdhāriṇi vindhya-sahyālaye śrīgirau saṃsthite) and 17.23 (śaila-śṛṅgeṣu tuṅgeṣu vata kāntāra-vāsinī), and so on.

Cf. also Mbh IV. 6.20b-21 (kāntāreṣv avasannānāṃ ..... / .....tvaṃ gatiḥ ..... // ..... kāntāreṣv aṭavīṣu ca //); Harivaṃśa II. 2.54 (kāntāreṣv avasannānāṃ ..... / ..... tvaṃ gatiḥ .....//).

[69] Human sacrifice is allowed even by the present Kālikā-p. (chap. 71).

Reference is made in the Daśa-kumāra-carita (Pūrva-pīṭhikā, Ucchvāsa I) and other works to the sacrifice of human beings to deities by Kirātas, Śavaras and other tribes.

[70] For references to the use of wine and meat in Devī-worship as well as to Devī's liking for these things see Harivaṃśa II. 22. 53b-54a (arcyate dasyubhir ghorair mahā-bali-paśu-priyā / surā-piśita-pūrṇābhyāṃ kumbhābhyām upaśobhitā //), Viṣ. V. 1.84a (surā-māṃs-opahārais tu bhakṣya-bhojyaiś ca pūjitā), and Bhav. IV. 138. 98a (surāsava-bhṛtaiḥ kumbhais tarpayet parameśvarīm). It is to be noted that chap. 138 of Bhav. IV deals with the method of Devī-worship during the Navarātra-vrata.

See also Mbh IV. 6. 17b (sīdhu-māṃsa-paśu-priye), Harivaṃśa II. 2. 52, and

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indulged in frantic revels, and practised sexual promiscuity[71].

The aboriginal tribes seem to have worshipped their female deities mainly for protection against ferocious wild beasts[72] and ghosts[73]. They also appear to have believed

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3. 12 (surā-māṃsa-bali-priyā), Devī-p. 9. 56 (rudhira-māṃsa-madya-priye), etc. as well as the verse 'surā-māṃsādy-upahāraiḥ, etc.' quoted in footnote 62 above.

[71] In Devī-p. 39. 142 Śavaras, Pulindas and other aboriginal tribes are said to have worshipped Devī according to the 'Vāmācāra-mārga.'

Note also the Śāvarotsava mentioned in the Kālikā-p. (62.31 and 63.18), as well as in the verses ascribed to Satya, Bhaviṣya-p., Liṅga-p., Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p., etc. in the Bengal Nibandhas. (See footnote 20 above).

[72] Harivaṃśa II. 3.7-8—

śavarair varvaraiś caiva pulindaiś ca supūjitā /
mayūra-piccha-dhvajinī lokān kramasi sarvaśaḥ //
kukkuṭaiś chāgalair meṣaiḥ siṃhair vyāghraiḥ samākulā /
ghaṇṭā-ninād-bahulā vindhya-vāsiny abhiśrutā //

Devī-p. 17.26—mṛgendrair gṛhītaṃ gajendrair vibhinnaṃ ..... khagendrair viluptaṃ bhujaṅgaiś ca daṣṭaṃ ..... vane cāpi mūḍhaṃ raṇe hīyamānaṃ ..... mahāgrāha-grastaṃ ..... māteva saṃrakṣase putravan nityam.

Mārk. 92.25-29—

araṇye prāntare vāpi ..... /
dasyubhir vā vṛtaḥ śūnye gṛhīto vāpi śatrubhiḥ //
siṃha-vyāghr-ānuyāto vā vane vā vana-hastibhiḥ /
.. ..
smaran mamaitac caritaṃ naro mucyeta saṃkaṭāt //
mama prabhāvāt siṃhādyā dasyavo vairiṇas tathā /
dūrād eva palāyante smarataś caritaṃ mama //

And so on.

The story of Devī's killing of the demon Mahiṣa (who had the form of a buffalo) in a previous Kalpa, and the tradition that whenever Devī killed the demons, she had a lion as her mount (vāhana), seem to be based on the aboriginal conception of Devī as a spirit controlling wild beasts. The bell (ghaṇṭā), which is said to be carried by Devī, might have been originally meant for scaring away wild beasts. (For references to Devī's carrying a 'ghaṇṭā' see Mbh IV. 6.10, Harivaṃśa II. 3.8, Mārk. 82.21 and 84.23, Devī-p. 17.23, and so on).

In Southern Bengal a deity popularly called 'Dakṣiṇ-rāy' (Dakṣiṇa-rāya) is worshipped by villagers for getting rid of the havoc created by Royal Bengal tigers of the Sundarvans. This deity has an ugly face very much like that of a tiger but its body is that of a human being.

[73] In Mbh IV. 6.18 and Harivaṃśa II. 2.52 Devī is said to be followed by ghosts (kṛtānuyātrā bhūtaiḥ).

In commenting on the Mahābhārata Nīlakaṇṭha takes the word 'bhūta' (occurring in Mbh IV. 6.18) to mean 'Brahmā and others' (bhūtair brahmādyaiḥ prācīnaiḥ). But Nīlakaṇṭha's interpretation is hardly acceptable.

See also Harivaṃśa II. 2.46 (kīrṇā bhūta-gaṇair ghoraiḥ), and 22.53 (bhūta-saṃgha-niṣevitā); Bhav. IV. 138.1-2 (puṇyā mahānavamy asti ...../ sānuṣṭheyā ..... // .....bhūta-preta-piśācānāṃ prīty-arthaṃ cotsavāya ca //); Devī-p. 31.15-17a (dadyāc ca dig-baliṃ śakra sarva-dikṣu samanvitaḥ / bhūta-vetāla-saṃghasya mantreṇānena suvrata // jaya tvaṃ kāli bhūteśi sarva-bhūta-samāvṛte / rakṣa māṃ nija-bhūtebhyo baliṃ gṛhṇa śiva-priye //) and 17.17 (pramatha-lakṣair vṛte .....

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that these deities were able to protect them in all kinds of danger and to confer on them wealth and prosperity as well as victory in war[74]. As a matter of fact, the occasions for Devī's appearance on the Himalayas and the Vindhya, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., Devī-p., etc., show that she is conceived of in these works primarily as a war-goddess, with whom other female deities were identified. The very name of Śākambharī as well as her story given in Mārkaṇḍeya-p. 92.42-46, and the fact that Durgā is called 'kāntāravāsinī' and is said to protect those who fall in trouble (avasanna) in deep forests, tend to show that there were some female deities who were looked upon by the aborigines as vegetation spirits. It should be mentioned here that the character of Devī as a war-goddess explains why she is to be worshipped in autumn and spring, which are highly favourable for military expeditions.

We do not know the number and names of the female deities originally worshipped by these aboriginal tribes, and among the Śākta deities of the Purāṇas and Tantras there are certainly some who owe their origin to the deification of abstract ideas; but it admits of little doubt that many of the Śākta deities of the Purāṇas and Tantras, viz., Umā, Kauśikī, Vindhyavāsinī, Durgā, Caṇḍī, Kālī, Kālikā, Cāmuṇḍā, Kāmākhyā, Śākambharī and others, were modelled on the popular ones, especially those associated with mountains, viz., Himālaya and Vindhya. It is remarkable that the comparatively early Vedic works do not betray in any way their recognition, or even knowledge, of these Śākta deities, nor do they speak of the lion as a mount of any of their

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caṇḍike); Mārk. 92.18 (rakṣo-bhūta-piśācānāṃ paṭhanād eva nāśanam); and so on.

Bhav. IV. 136 describes a festival known as Bhūtamātrutsava (the festival of the mother of evil spirits), which is most probably borrowed from the Śavaras and in which an ugly and hideous-looking female deity called Bhūta-mātā, is worshipped for protection of children from the pernicious influence of evil spirits. This Bhūta-mātā, who is clearly of non-Aryan origin, is said to be born of Pārvatī's urine and is thus called a form of Bhagavatī herself.

[74] The conception of Devī as a war-goddess is certainly not of very late origin. In Mbh VI. 23.4 and 8 Durgā is called 'siddhasenānī (generaless of the Siddhas) and 'raṇa-priyā' (fond of war). See also Mārk., chaps. 81ff., Bhav. IV. 138, Devī-p., and so on.

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goddesses. On the other hand, in the Harivaṃśa Devī is said to be worshipped as Vindhyavāsinī by Śavaras, Varvaras and Pulindas, to be crowded by cocks, goats, sheep, lions and tigers, and to make a high and continuous sound with her bell[75]. So, we find in Vindhyavāsinī an interesting parallel not only of the Mountain-Mother of Crete and Greece who is the mistress of lions but also of the Mother of the Gods, who is addressed in Homeric prelude 'as rejoicing in the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, the blare of pipes, and the roar of wolves and lions.' But the worship of neither the Purāṇic or Tantric Devī in India nor her parallels in Crete and Greece can be said to be a development from the vague conception of the Mother Earth.

Of whatever nature the female deities of the aboriginal tribes may have been, they were not allowed an easy access into the Vedic pantheon. The military spirit of the Vedic Aryans as well as their deep-rooted feeling of antagonism towards the natives stood in the way of their having any regard for the deities of the latter. As a matter of fact, none of the names of the different forms of Durgā is mentioned in the Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. It was only at a much later date that the aboriginal deities began to be admitted by a very slow process of assimilation. In the different texts of the Yajurveda as well as in its Brāhmaṇas there are, of course, passages in which Ambikā has been mentioned and often called Rudra's sister[76] and once his

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[75] For the relevant verses of the Harivaṃśa see footnote 72 above.

[76] See Taittirīya-saṃhitā I. 8.6.1—eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrāmbikayā taṃ juṣasva...../

Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṃhitā VIII. 10—same as in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā quoted above.

Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā IX. 7—eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrāmbikayā taṃ juṣasva svāhā;

and XXXVI. 14—eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrāmbikayā taṃ juṣasva svāheti śarad vai rudrasya svasāmbikā tām eṣo 'nvavacarati tasmād eṣa śaradi bhūyiṣṭhaṃ hanti ..... /

Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I. 10.4—eṣa te rudra bhāgas taṃ juṣasva saha svasrāmbikayā svāhā;

and I. 10.20—eṣa te rudra bhāgas taṃ juṣasva saha svasrāmbikayā svāheti śarad vai rudrasya yoniḥ svasāmbikaitāṃ vā eṣo 'nvabhyavacarati tasmāc śaradi bhūyiṣṭhaṃ hanti tayaivainaṃ saha niravadayate ..... /

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mother as well[77], but in these passages Ambikā, unlike Durgā and other Śākta deities[78] of the Purāṇas, Tantras, etc., has been allowed a share of the sacrificial offerings. She, therefore, does not seem to have been derived from a mother goddess of the non-Aryans. According to the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā, Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā and Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa this Ambikā, sister of Rudra, was the autumn season (śarat) personified. The two Saṃhitās further tell us that as Rudra followed his sister Ambikā, who was identical with autumn (śarat), his work of killing reached its climax in this season. The Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, says that it was with[79] his sister Ambikā appearing as Śarat that Rudra carried out his work of killing. So, commenting respectively on Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I.6.10.4 and Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 3.57 Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara describe Ambikā as a cruel deity (hiṃsikā, krūra-devatā) like Rudra and say that Ambikā helped Rudra in his slaughter by appearing as Śarat and creating fever and other diseases[80]. As a matter of fact,

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Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 3.57—same as Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā IX. 7 quoted above.

Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4—eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrāmbikayetyāha / śarad vā asyāmbikā svasā / tayā vā eṣa hinasti / yaṃ hinasti tayaivainaṃ saha śamayati /

See also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa II. 6.2.9—eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrāmbikayā taṃ juṣasva svāhetyambikā ha vai nāmāsya svasā tayāsyaiṣa saha bhāgaḥ .....;

and II. 6.2.13—sā rudrasya svasāmbikā nāma sā ha vai bhagasyeṣṭe ..... /

[77] See Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I. 10.20 quoted in the immediately preceding footnote.

[78] The Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra (II. 8.7) prescribes sacrificial offerings 'to god Bhava's wife' (Bhavanī ?)—bhavasya devasya patnyai. But this Gṛhya-sūtra comes from a comparatively late date.

[79] Note the words 'sahāya-bhūtayā' and 'sādhana-bhūtayā' used by Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara respectively with regard to Ambikā in commenting on Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4 and Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 3.57. For extracts from the commentaries see the immediately following footnote.

[80] In commenting on Taittirīya-saṃhitā I. 8.6.1 Sāyaṇa quotes Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4 and explains it as follows:

> śarat-kālo hi pīnasa-jvar-ādy-utpādanena hiṃsakas tadvad iyam ambikā hiṃsikā / tataḥ śarad ity ucyate / eṣa rudras tayaiva sahāya-bhūtayā prāṇinaṃ hinasti / atas tayā saha puroḍāśa-bhāga-sevayā tuṣṭayā tayaiva sahaivainaṃ rudraṃ śamayati hiṃsā-rahitaṃ karoti //

Mahīdhara explains Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 3.57 thus:

> ambikāyā rudra-bhaginītvaṃ śrutyoktam / ambikā ha vai nāmāsya svasā tayāsyaiṣa saha bhāga iti yo 'yaṃ rudrākhyaḥ krūro devas tasya virodhinaṃ hantum icchā bhavati tadānayā bhaginyā krūra-devatayā sādhana-bhūtayā taṃ hinasti / sā cāmbikā śarad-rūpaṃ prāpya jvarādikam utpādya taṃ virodhinaṃ hanti / rudrāmbikayor ugratvam anena haviṣā śāntaṃ bhavati / tathā ca tittiriḥ—eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrāmbikayetyāha śarad vā asyāmbikā sā bhiyā eṣā

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the autumn season (śarat) has been looked upon from the early Vedic period as the most dangerous part of the year, so much so that a person who could pass this season safely was taken to be out of danger for the remaining part, that often the age of a person was expressed and the years counted in terms of the autumn seasons passed, and that this season was mentioned in blessing one with, or aspiring for, a long life[81]. So, the identification of Ambikā with Śarat can by no means be taken to indicate that she was originally a harvest deity and that her identification with Durgā gave rise to the widespread custom of the latter's worship in autumn. On the other hand, it appears that the custom of worshipping Durgā mainly as a war-goddess in autumn owed its origin much more to her identification with the cruel and destructive deity Ambikā than to the suitability of this season for war expeditions, because it was quite natural for the warriors to believe that by propitiating Durgā with worship and animal sacrifice they could escape death and also create havoc on their enemies. The connection of Durgā with harvest, though coming from an early date, decidedly forms a comparatively late phase in her character as a deity.

But very different is the case with Umā, who, for her peculiar name, her association with a mountain, and her mount (vāhana), a lion, seems to be originally the same as the Babylonian Ummu or Umma, the Arcadian Ummi, the Dravidian Umma, and the Scythian Ommo,[82] which are all mother goddesses. This Umā is neither mentioned in any of the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas nor allowed any share of the sacrificial offerings. Even in the story of the destruc-

(? -kā svasā tayā vā eṣa) hinasti yaṃ hinasti tayaivainaṃ saha śamayatīti (Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4).

[81] See, for instance, Ṛg-veda I. 72.3 (tisro .... śaradaḥ), 89.9 (śatam innu śarado), II. 27.10 (śataṃ no rāsva śarado ....), III. 36.10 (asme śataṃ śarado jīvase), etc.;

Atharva-veda I. 10.2 (śataṃ jīvāti śaradaḥ), II. 13.3 (śataṃ ca jīva śaradaḥ), III. 11.4 (śataṃ jīva śarado vardhamānaḥ), 12.6 (śataṃ jīvema śaradaḥ), etc.;

Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 25.22 (=Ṛg-veda I. 89.9), 35.15 (śataṃ jīvantu śaradaḥ), 36.24 (.... paśyema śaradaḥ śataṃ jīvema śaradaḥ śataṃ śṛṇuyāma śaradaḥ śataṃ, etc.); and so on.

See also Raghu-vaṃśa 10.1, Mālavikāgnimitra 1.15, etc.

[82] The goddess appears as 'Ommo' in Huviṣka's coin.

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tion of Dakṣa's sacrifice, as given in Mahābhārata XII. 283-4, it is only Śiva, and not his consort Pārvatī, who is promised a share in the sacrifice. The earliest works mentioning Umā are the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka and the Kena-upaniṣad. In the former work Umā as well as Ambikā is associated with Rudra, who is there called Ambikā-pati (Ambikā's husband) and Umā-pati (Umā's husband),[83] and in the latter she is called Haimavatī[84] (daughter of, or belonging to, Himavat). The Taittirīya-āraṇyaka mentions Durgi (i.e. Durgā) also, but calls her 'kanya-kumārī' (virgin). So, according to the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka Umā and Durgi (i.e. Durgā) were different. It is highly probable that originally this Durgi was, like Umā, a mountain goddess connected with the Himālaya. In the Muṇḍakopaniṣad (I.2.4.) 'Kālī' and 'Karālī' are given as the names of two of the seven tongues of Agni. These references indicate that towards the end of the Vedic period, some female deities of non-Vedic origin began to be associated with the Vedic gods in various ways, and that Umā was the first non-Aryan deity to be regarded as the wife of a Vedic god, whose character had already been much modified by the assimilation of alien characteristics. But during this period the relation between Rudra and Umā was of a very ordinary nature, like that between a husband and his wife, and it was not characterised by the relation between Puruṣa and Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya system or Brahma and Māyā of the Vedānta.

Towards the end of the Vedic period the high spirit of domination by military power and of maintenance of racial and cultural distinction of the Vedic Aryans began to calm down to a very great extent, and there was a growing tendency towards cultural assimilation. Now, the work of assimilation was mainly taken up by the authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇic works, who believed deeply in

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[83] Taittirīya-āraṇyaka X (Nārāyaṇopaniṣad). 1—kātyāyanāya vidmahe kanya-kumāri dhīmahi / tanno durgiḥ pracodayāt //

And X. 18—namo ..... ambikā-pataye umā-pataye namo namaḥ.

[84] Kena-upaniṣad 3.12—sa tasminn evākāśe striyam ājagāma bahu-śobhamānām umāṃ haimavatīṃ tāṃ hovāca ..... //

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the theory of rebirth, gave a very high place to the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta systems of philosophy, and explained the nature of the gods and goddesses and the universe through a fusion of the principles of these two systems. These authors had much broader views than the orthodox followers of the Vedic religion and, unlike the Vedic Aryans, tried to bring the antagonistic non-Aryans into the Aryan fold by making a wise compromise between the Vedic and non-Vedic ideas. But as no female deity could be given a pre-eminent position in the recognised pantheon without going against the Vedic tradition and the principles of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta, they connected some of their female deities with Śiva and some with Viṣṇu and explained the relation of these gods and goddesses with the principles of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta. We have already mentioned that in the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka Umā, an originally Himālayan deity, was connected in a very general way with Rudra. So, Umā was already recognised as a Hindu deity. This well-established position of Umā tempted the Śaiva authors of later ages to regard her as the Prakṛti and Māyā of Śiva and to look upon the other goddesses as the different forms of Umā. The Vaiṣṇava authors, on the other hand, picked up Vindhyavāsinī, the most prominent among the female deities of the Vindhya, and connected her with Viṣṇu by taking her to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā (or Yoga-māyā). With this Yoga-nidrā the Vaiṣṇavas seem to have identified a deity of the Ābhīras also. It is probable that like the people of Punic Africa, Egypt, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and Greece of early times, the Ābhīras also worshipped a maiden ('unwed') goddess with a young subordinate god. When the Ābhīras came to India, this goddess was no longer 'made first the mother of her companion by immaculate conception, and then of the gods and all life by the embrace of her own son', because such an idea was repulsive to the people of India, but the young subordinate god was identified with Viṣṇu and the goddess with the maiden Vindhyavāsinī, who also was connected with Viṣṇu as his Yoga-māyā. So, through the story of Kṛṣṇa's birth, the votaries of Viṣṇu managed to include both the

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Ābhīras and the worshippers of Vindhyavāsinī into their fold[85]. In course of time, however, people conceived of a central Devī to represent Prakṛti and Māyā of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta respectively and all the goddesses (including Umā, Vindhyavāsinī, etc.) to be her different forms assumed at different times. But being encouraged by their firm faith in the non-duality of God, as well as by their spirit of sectarian rivalry, the Śaivas claimed that this central Devī was none but Umā and that Vindhyavāsinī, Kālī, Cāmuṇḍā and other goddesses were Umā's incarnations. The Vaiṣṇavas, on the other hand, said that it was Viṣṇu's Yog-māyā who manifested herself as Umā, Satī, Kālī, etc. for the good of the world. These contending sectaries fabricated various kinds of stories often in conformity with philosophical principles to support and popularise their respective views. How conflicting these stories were, will be evident from the following Purāṇic accounts of Devī's original nature and her assumption of various forms under different circumstances.

In Mārkaṇḍeya-p., chaps. 81-93 it is said that Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā (also called Mahāmāyā) assumed a Tāmasa form at the time of rousing Viṣṇu from his sleep. She next manifested herself on the Himālaya[86] as a collection of energy issuing from the bodies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods and was called Ambikā, Caṇḍikā, Bhadrakālī and Durgā. She had a thousand hands and a lion as her mount (vāhana) and killed Mahiṣāsura. Next, being eulogised by the gods on the Himālaya for killing Śumbha and Niśumbha, Viṣṇu-māyā (called Śivā and Ambikā) came out as Kauṣikī from the body of Pārvatī when she was going to bathe in the Ganges. Pārvatī's complexion turned dark, and she became known as Kālikā and continued to live in the Himācala.

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[85] Cf. Bhāg. II. 4.18—

kirāta-hūṇāndhra-pulinda-pukvasā ābhīra-suhmā yavanāḥ khaśādayaḥ /
ye'nye ca pāpā yad-upāśrayāśrayāḥ śudhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣṇave namaḥ //

[86] Cf. Mārk. 82.28—

adadāt . . . . . /
himavān vāhanaṃ siṃhaṃ ratnāni vividhāni ca //

It is to be noted that among the mountains, only Himavat is mentioned as making presents to Devī.

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Caṇḍikā (also called Ambikā and Durgā), in the extremely beautiful form of Kauṣikī, lived on the Himālaya and was asked by Śumbha to marry himself or his brother. As she refused to do so on the pretext of a pledge, war broke out between Caṇḍikā (i.e., Kauṣikī) and Śumbha and Niśumbha. After issuing from the forehead of Kauṣikī (Ambikā), Kālī killed Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa (sent by Śumbha to capture her) and was known as Cāmuṇḍā. Śumbha next came to the battle-field, and Caṇḍikā (i.e., Kauṣikī) was helped by Kālī (Cāmuṇḍā), the lion, and the Śaktis of Brahmā and others (viz., Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṃhī and Aindrī). 'Then, being surrounded by these Deva-śaktis Īśāna said to Caṇḍikā, "Soon kill the Asuras for my pleasure." Then, from Devī's body came out the extremely fierce and dreadful Caṇḍikā-śakti, who was attended with the howlings of hundreds of jackals'.[87] This Caṇḍikā-śakti sent Śiva to Śumbha and Niśumbha as a messenger and was known as Śiva-dūtī. Now the war began with Kālī (i.e., Cāmuṇḍā), Śiva-dūtī, Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṃhī and Aindrī, who are called Mātṛs[88]. Brahmāṇī and other Deva-śaktis fought with the demon Raktabīja, but Caṇḍikā killed this demon with the help of Cāmuṇḍā who drank the demon's blood before its fall to the ground. Caṇḍikā next killed Niśumbha with the help of Kālī, Śiva-dūtī and Brahmāṇī and other Deva-śaktis. Being censured for her assistants Devī Caṇḍikā absorbed into herself all her vibhūtis (viz., Brahmāṇī and others), fought alone with Śumbha, and killed him. Being eulogised by the gods for killing Śumbha and Niśumbha, Devī (who is described as 'paramā māyā') said that in the Vaivasvata Manvantara two other demons named Śumbha and Niśumbha would be born, and that they would be killed by Devī born of Yaśodā in the house of Nanda-gopa and living on the Vindhya (vindhyācala-nivāsinī). She further assured the gods that in future she would assume the following incarnations. (*a*) She would eat up the Vaipracitta Dānavas

[87] Mārk. 88. 21-22.

[88] *Ibid.*, 88. 38-39 and 49.

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in such a way that her teeth would become as red as pomegranate-flowers, and thus she would be known as Raktadantikā. (*b*) Being eulogised by sages during a drought lasting for a hundred years she would have an immaculate origin and be known as Śatākṣī and Śākambharī, respectively for looking at the sages with a hundred eyes and for maintaining, until rainfall, the whole creation by means of vegetables originating from her own body. During that drought she would kill a powerful demon named Durgama and be known as 'Durgā-devī'. (*c*) She would again appear in a terrible form (bhīma-rūpa) on the Himālaya, exterminate the Rākṣasas, and be famous under the name of 'Bhīmā Devī'. (*d*) She would kill the demon Aruṇa by taking the form of a *bhramara* (bee) and be known as Bhrāmarī.

According to Devī-p., chaps. 4-9 and 13-20, a demon named Dundubhi saw Umā occupying the left half of Śiva's body and got enamoured of her. Consequently, Śiva reduced him to ashes by an angry glance. From these ashes rose another demon who also had a strong desire for Umā. So, Umā cursed this dreadful (ghora) demon to go down to the earth. Finding that Umā thus spared the life of this demon, Śiva reproached her for her foolishness. Umā became angry with Śiva and blessed the demon to have his residence in Kuśa-dvīpa, become the lord of the three worlds and be invincible to the gods. Śiva also got annoyed at Umā's conduct and cursed her saying, "You will go down to the world of mortals, and there this vile creature will want to become your husband." Umā also said that if this dark-complexioned demon would do so, she would kill him sportively by mounting a lion (pañcānana-vyavasthitā). Now, in course of time, Dundubhi was reborn as Ghora and began to trouble the three worlds. At the prayer of the gods tyrannised by Ghora, Umā (who is described as the Ādyā Śakti and the Yoga-māyā) came down to earth, sported in the Vindhyas as a virgin girl by mounting a lion constituted of all the gods and goddesses, and became known as Vindhyavāsinī. Being informed by Nārada of this Vindhyavāsinī, Ghora went to the Vindhyas to capture

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her. With the help of the gods and Mātṛs come down to the Vindhyas as her attendants, Vindhyavāsinī gave a tough fight and at last killed Ghora who had assumed the form of a buffalo (mahiṣa) before death. Thus Vindhyavāsinī became known as the killer of Mahiṣa.

In the story given above, the virgin Vindhyavāsinī, who is said to be none but Ādyā Śakti Yoga-nidrā incarnate, is identified with Umā come down to earth for killing Ghora. Thus, according to the Devī-p., Umā is originally the same as Yoga-nidrā, and it is Umā who is said to exist in different forms, viz., Durgā, Śākambharī, Vindhyavāsinī, Kauṣikī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍī, Pārvatī, Dākṣāyaṇī, Vaiṣṇavī Yoga-nidrā, Ambikā, etc.

According to Bhaviṣya-p. IV, chap. 138 (which deals with the Purāṇic method[89] of the worship of Durgā on the Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī Tithis of Āśvina), it is Bhavānī (wife of Śiva) who is worshipped by gods, men, Gandharvas, Kiṃnaras, Rākṣasas and others 'in different forms and under different names'.[90] This Purāṇa adds: "Bhavānī is worshipped by the gods in all her repeated incarnations. She always kills demons by incarnating herself on earth and protects all creation in heaven, earth, and the nether world. This great goddess (mahādevī) was again born from the womb of Yaśodā and killed the demon Kaṃsa by placing her foot on his head (?). From that time, people on earth have installed this 'giver-of-joy-to-Yaśodā' on the Vindhya mountain and reintroduced her worship".[91] Thus Bhaviṣya-p. IV (i.e. the Bhaviṣyottara), though taking Bhavānī to be the original Devī, clearly indicates that the deity, now worshipped on the Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī Tithis of Āśvina, is none but the virgin Vindhyavāsinī,[92] who is said to have been born of Yaśodā.

From what has been said above it is evident that serious ritualistic and doctrinal differences were sometimes found

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[89] Cf. Bhav. IV. 138.41b—pūjā-mantrān pravakṣyāmi purāṇoktān ahaṃ tava.
[90] *Ibid.*, IV. 138. 9-10—rūpa-bhedair nāma-bhedair bhavānī pūjyate śivā.
[91] *Ibid.*, IV. 138. 22-25.
[92] *Ibid.*, IV. 138. 18, 24-25, 27 and 91.

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among people of different climes and times, and it was often due to these differences that they felt it necessary to write new Purāṇic works. There were also other causes of such enterprise. With the spread of Śāktism Kāmarūpa attained importance as a seat of the Śākta cult and greatly influenced the religious life and practice of the people of Eastern India, so much so that works like the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata-p., Bṛhaddharma-p., etc. highly glorify Kālī (or Kālikā), the principal deity of Kāmarūpa.[93] Besides this Kālī (or Kālikā), many other local deities[94] grew into prominence, and new Śākta goddesses were invented. In order to give these new goddesses a position in the Śākta pantheon, they had to be connected either with Umā or with Vindhyavāsinī (or Yogamāyā). Thus, in the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata-p., Bṛhaddharma-p., etc. Kālī (or Kālikā) has been taken to be the central goddess, of whom Durgā, Gaṅgā and others have been said to be the different forms; and in Devī-bhāgavata IX. 1.136-7 the village goddesses have been regarded as parts of Devī (Mūla-prakṛti). There were also changes in the conception of these deities. But no less important for the compilation of new Purāṇic works was the call for social discipline (as understood by the followers of the Vedas) which was brought about by unfavourable circumstances not rarely due to political reasons. A good example in this direction will be found in the early history of Kāmarūpa, where, as the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (including the present Kālikā), the Harṣa-carita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, and the inscriptions of Bhāskara-varman and others inform us, the dynasty of Naraka

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[93] Mahābhāg. 77. 3a (kāmākhyā kālikā devī svayam ādyā sanātanī), 4a (.... kālī kāmākhyā-rūpiṇī ....), 5-6 (dhyāyatāṃ parameśānīṃ kāmākhyāṃ kālikāṃ parām / rakta-vastra-parīdhānāṃ ghora-netra-trayojjvalām // caturbhujāṃ bhīma-daṃṣṭrāṃ yugānta-jalada-dyutim / maṇi-siṃhāsane nyastāṃ siṃha-pretāmbuja-sthitām //), and so on.

[94] Devī-bhāgavata IX. 1.136-7—

bahvaḥ satyaḥ kalāś caiva prakṛter eva bhārate /
yā yāś ca grāma-devyaḥ syus tāḥ sarvāḥ prakṛteḥ kalāḥ //

Ibid., IX. 1.158—

pūjitā grāma-devyaś ca grāme ca nagare mune.

These lines are the same as Brahma-vaivarta-p. II. 1.138 (v. l. 'santi' for 'satyaḥ', and 'tāḥ sarvāś ca' for 'syus tāḥ sarvāḥ') and 157.

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was ruling from very early times. Though mostly following Śaivism[95] (which in its Kāpālika form must have been the religious faith of the soil),[96] the rulers of this dynasty encouraged varṇāśrama-dharma with much enthusiasm. The Kālikā-p. (chap. 39) tells us that after Naraka had defeated and killed Ghāṭaka[97], king of the Kirātas, and driven out his faithful followers from Kāmarūpa, Veda-knowing Brahmins as well as sages and other members of the four castes were settled there and the country was made fit for Vedic study, rites and donations. Even Naraka himself has been said to have been born in Janaka's sacrificial ground in Mithilā. Although there is much scope for doubt about the amount of truth contained in this story, it can hardly be denied that migration of Maithilas into Kāmarūpa, presumably for political and economic reasons, began quite early and there was a very close relation between Mithilā and Kāmarūpa even before the time of composition of the present Kālikā-p. From the testimony of the Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa), the Kālika-p., and the Dharma-p.[98] it appears that the Maithila Brahmins were generally full of respect for the Vedas, faithfully followed the varṇāśrama-dharma, and tried to maintain Smārta discipline in society. But with the passing of the political power to the 'Mleccha' (or Mech) dynasty set up by

[95] The early epigraphic records of Kāmarūpa show that all the kings from Bhāskaravarman (if not from his earliest predecessor) down to Harṣapāla (father of Dharmapāla of the Brahmapāla dynasty) were devotees of Śiva. Even Dharmapāla, whose Puspabhadra Copper-plate Inscription (*circa* 1100 A.D.) testifies to his Vaiṣṇava faith, was a Śaiva in the earlier part of his life.

[96] The Kālikā-p. amply testifies to the prevalence of Kāpālika Śaivism in Kāmarūpa even before Naraka's arrival there. It also records a story in which Naraka is mentioned as lying, immediately after his birth, outside the sacrificial ground of Janaka with a human skull under his head.

[97] In the Vaṅga. ed. (38. 99, 101) of the Kālikā-p. the name of this king has been given as 'Ghaṭaka'.

[98] This Upapurāṇa, though being an independent work and still occurring independently in Mss, has been included in the printed editions of the Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa (of which it forms chaps. 44-82 in the Poona edition, chaps. 47-82 in the Calcutta edition, and chaps. 49-86 in the Bombay edition). We shall see afterwards that it was written in Kāmarūpa between 1250 and 1325 A.D.

It is remarkable that not a single of the Bengal Mss of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa includes the Dharma-p., and of the Devanāgarī Mss, so far known, it is only one which excludes it. For this Devanāgrī Ms see Eggeling, India Office Catalogue, VI, p. 1214, No. 3380 (Ms No. 215).

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Sālastambha from about 655 A.D., Kāpālika Śaivism, which, in all ages, has been indifferent to the Vedic way of life, attained great popularity, Mleccha tendencies were encouraged, and the Maithila Brahmins of Kāmarūpa experienced a great social and economic set-back on account of their Vedic inclination. The Kālikā-p. contains frequent references to the bad effects of the spread of Śaivism, especially in its Kāpālika form, and the Dharma-p. gives a dismal picture of the Hindu society, greatly consequent upon the rule of the Mleccha dynasty, in which neglect of the Vedas, Purāṇas, etc. and wilful breach of caste rules in every sphere of life were the orders of the day, people lost all sense of morality and earned their livelihood by learning the Mleccha-dialect (called Paiśācikī Bhāṣā) and serving the beef-eating and immoral Mlecchas, and Brahmins, having social relation with Cāṇḍālas and even marrying their girls, were seldom required to practise any severe penance or subjected to social stigma. In some verses of the Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa), which must have been added by the affected Maithilas, the local Brahmins of Kāmarūpa have been mentioned under the distinctive name of 'Pārvatīya'[99] and said to have universally followed a peculiar custom in which a piece of bone from the forehead of a deceased person (asthi lalāṭajam) was finely powdered, mixed up in a (silver) cup with Madhuparka and milk and curd, and offered to a Brahmin couple, who drank the mixture up before accepting the bed of the deceased person.[100] As this custom of bone-eating on particular

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[99] The name 'Pārvatīya' for the people of Kāmarūpa is a very old one, being used on several occasions in the Mahābhārata. (See, for instance, Droṇa-parvan 19.11 and 20).

This name (Pārvatīya) may be a Sanskrit equivalent for an Austric formation like 'Pagar-juh (jo)-tic' (meaning a region of extensive high hills), which seems to be the basis of the name 'Prāg-jyotiṣa'. See B. K. Kakati, The Mother Goddess of Kāmarūpa, p. 6, and B. K. Barua, A Cultural History of Assam, Vol. I, p. 11.

[100] See Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 10. 13b-18a (which include the line 'eṣa eva vidhir dṛṣṭaḥ pārvatīyair dvijottamaiḥ'). The Veṅkaṭ. and Vaṅga. editions read 'rajatasya' (for 'arghyaṃ dattvā'), and 'lālāṭikaṃ' (for 'lalāṭajaṃ').

All these verses have been quoted by Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa, Hemādri and Pītāmbara Siddhānta-vāgīśa in their Hāralatā (p. 199), Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (III. i. pp. 1613 and 1614), and Preta-kaumudī (pp. 138-9) respectively, and the first takes the 'Pārvatīyas' to be 'the inhabitants of Kāmarūpa, etc.'—pārvatīyānāṃ kāmarūpādivāsinām. (It may

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occasions is of non-Aryan origin, being found among the hill-tribes of Assam, the Buddhist monks of Tibet, and the local Hindus of Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts of East Bengal and Assam,[101] the Pārvatīya Brahmins were considered censurable, so much so that in a verse of the Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, they have been declared unfit for invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony.[102] Yet they enjoyed much greater state support; and in the Padma-p., we hear of the clamour, made undoubtedly by the Maithila Brahmins of Kāmarūpa, about the enviable prosperity enjoyed by the Mlecchas and the Pārvatīyas. This clamour appears in the form of Sāvitrī's curse to Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune, in the following verses:

"naikatra vāso lakṣmyās tu bhaviṣyati kadācana/
kṣudrā sā cala-cittā vā mūrkheṣu ca vasiṣyati/
mlecchheṣu pārvatīyeṣu kutsite kutsite tathā/
mūrkheṣu cāvaliptesu abhiśapte durātmani/
evaṃvidhe nare tubhyaṃ vasatiḥ śāpa-kāritā//"[103]

"Never shall Lakṣmī's residence be at one place; mean and

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be that by the word 'kāmarūpādivāsinām' Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa meant 'the *original* inhabitants of Kāmarūpa', who were distinct from the Maithila Brahmins).

According to Pītāmbara Siddhānta-vāgīśa, the piece of bone was powdered together with a diamond, and the custom was followed only by the Pārvatīyas (. . . . lalāṭa-saṃbandhy-asthi gṛhītvā hīraka-sahitaṃ cūrṇayitvā rajata-pātre nidhāya . . . . . bhojayed ityarthaḥ/ . . . . . pārvatīyānām evāyaṃ śayyā-dāna-vidhih. . . . .).

The above verses do not occur in the Bengal Mss of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa.

[101] On the occasion of Sri Jawahar Lal Nehru's visit to the eastern frontier of India in March-April, 1953, the chieftain of Tsawlaw, leader of a head-hunting tribe, and his lieutenants touched a tiger-tooth and chewed a bit of their ancestor's bone in an oath never to wage war again.

Among the Tibetan Buddhists there is a custom that after the death of Dalai Lama his bones are powdered and eaten up by the monks, who believe that by doing so they make the Lama live among them even after his death.

In Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts the custom of offering powdered bone of a deceased person to Brahmins still prevails, and such Brahmins are called 'Hāḍ-gilā' (bone-eating) Brahmins.

[102] Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 27.67—

ye cānye pārvatīyāś ca śrāddhe nārhanti kecana.

For this verse see Vaṅga. and Veṅkaṭ. eds. 32.66—v. 1. 'ketanaṃ' (for 'kecana') in both.

This verse occurs in the Bengal Mss of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa.

[103] Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 17. 176-178a (=Veṅkaṭ. ed. 17. 176-178a=Vaṅga. ed. 17. 169-171a. V.l. in both these editions—"ca" for "vā", "kutsite'kutsite" for "kutsite kutsite", and "syāt te" for "tubhyaṃ").

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fickle-minded, shall she live in fools as well as in the Mlecchas and the Pārvatīyas, and the vile and the despised. In block-heads and the proud, in the cursed and the wicked—in a person of this type [shall be] your residence caused by [my] curse."

Side by side with popular Śaivism, which was being guided by the Tantras,[104] including those of the Vāmācāras, from a fairly early period, there grew up into prominence the Tantric worship of a mother goddess, variously named as Kāmākhyā, Kāmākṣī, Kālī and Kālikā, who was conceived of as the wife and Śakti of Śiva. Being connected with popular Śaivism for a long time and practised often in the Vāmācāra-mārga, this Tantric Śāktism attained great popularity in Kāmarūpa and became an additional, but no less potent, factor for social indiscipline and moral degradation of the people. We shall see hereinafter that Kālikā-p. 84. 1-28a narrate a story of the spread of Vāmācāra Tantricism in Kāmarūpa as a result of Vasiṣṭha's curse to Ugratārā, Śiva's Gaṇas and Śiva himself for turning him out of that place and that Kālikā-p. 84.28b—86.39 give the description of a devastating flood which was caused by Brahmā's water-bodied son (Lauhitya) procreated on Śāntanu's wife Amoghā and brought down by Jāmadagnya and which flowed into the southern sea after obscuring all the sacred pools and holy places in Kāmarūpa. Although the entire portion of the Kālikā-p. describing the said flood must be taken as spurious for reasons to be stated later in their proper place, there is little scope for doubt that the rule of the Mleccha dynasty for more than three hundred years, the ruin brought by the devastating flood of the Lauhitya on the followers of the varṇāśrama-dharma who lived mostly in the lower plains, and the spread of Tantricism among the Śaivas as well as the Śāktas, seriously affected the social, religious and moral

[104] In the Gauhati Copper-plate Inscription of Indrapāla-varma-deva (*circa* 1038 A.D.) 'Tantra' has been mentioned among the subjects studied by him.

The study of 'Tantra' by Indrapāla-varma-deva himself shows how popular it was in those days, and its recognition by the king testifies to an earlier beginning of its study in Kāmarūpa.

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life of the people of Kāmarūpa. Consequently, the present Kālikā-p. was composed, most probably by the Maithila Brahmins of Kāmarūpa, to popularise the Brāhmaṇical ideas of life and society by re-vitalising the dying Vaiṣṇava faith by associating it with Śāktism. Thus, in the present Kālikā-p. goddess Kālī or Kālikā has been described as Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā or Māyā, Viṣṇu has been presented as superior to Śiva, and people have been advised to be Vaiṣṇavas before they set themselves to Devī-worship.

We shall now examine the individual Upapurāṇas.

1. *The Devī-Purāṇa.*

This work,[105] which is one of the most important of the

[105] The only printed edition of this work is that published in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta.

Though, as we shall see presently, the Devī-p. is a work of great importance from different points of view, it has not yet been edited critically, nor is there a single edition printed in Devanāgarī characters. In fact, we know of no edition of this work other than that published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. This want has forced us to use this edition in spite of its manifold defects.

Mss of the Devī-p. are not very numerous. Eggeling, in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1205-7 (No. 3362), describes a Ms (No. 380) of this Upapurāṇa 'apparently consisting of some 7000-8000 ślokas' and written in Bengali script by three different hands in 1804 A.D. Its contents are practically the same as those of our printed edition, and it ends thus:

sadācāraḥ śubhāhāraḥ sarva-saṅga-vivarjitaḥ /
vācayan śatam ardhaṃ vā pratyahaṃ prāpnuyāc chivam / /
etac cābhyudayaṃ pādaṃ śatais tribhir narottamaiḥ /
sahasrair dvādaśair vatsa kathitaṃ sarva-siddhidam / /
ity ādye devy-avatāre śrī-devīpurāṇe '*bhyudaya-pādaḥ* samāptaḥ / /

(The second verse 'etac cābhyudayaṃ pādaṃ etc.' does not occur in the printed edition. The final colophon also is different there).

In his Bikaner Cat., p. 199 (No. 433) R. L. Mitra describes a paper Ms of the Devī-p. which is written in Nāgara and has the same contents as those of the India Office Ms (No. 380) described by Eggeling. Like the latter, this Ms also ends with the verses 'sadācāraḥ śubhāhāraḥ' and 'etac cābhyudayaṃ pādaṃ' (of which the former reads 'pratyakṣaṃ' for 'pratyahaṃ' in the second half) but its final colophon runs as follows: ādye devy-avatāre devīpurāṇaṃ samāptam iti.

In the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library there are three complete paper Mss (Nos. 176, 308 and 341) of the Devī-p., of which the first (No. 176), written in Bengali script, contains 138 chapters and ends thus:

sadācāraḥ śubhācāraḥ sarva-saṅga-vivarjitaḥ /
vācayan purāṇam etaṃ tu sarva-kāmam avāpnuyāt / /
ity ādye devy-avatāre devīpurāṇaṃ samāptam / /

The second Ms (No. 308) is written in Nāgara characters and has been described by Hrishikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Gui in their Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat., IV, pp. 187-8.

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Śākta Upapurāṇas, deals, in 128 chapters, mainly with the exploits and worship of Devī (the great goddess) who incarnated herself on the Vindhyas as a maiden mounted on a lion and became known as Vindhyavāsinī. In this Purāṇa Devī is not only called 'yoga-nidrā' and the primordial and pre-eminent Energy (ādyā parā śakti—7. 20) and at the same time said to be the same as Umā, the wife and Śakti (Energy) of Śiva, but is also identified with the Śaktis of other gods as well as with the Mātṛs and other female deities such as Dākṣāyaṇī, Kālī, Caṇḍī etc. who are called Devī's different forms. It gives us important information about the different incarnations of Devī and her original nature and relationship with Śiva and other gods; about Yoga and the method of its practice; about Śākta iconography and the Śākta vows and worships; about Śaivism (as related to Śāktism), Vaiṣṇavism, Brahmāism and Gāṇapatyaism; about warfare as well as the construction of towns and forts and the means of their protection; about the different Vedic schools as well as the Upavedas, Aṅgas, Upāṅgas etc.; about the science of medicine; about manuscripts—the method of copying, the script and materials to be used for the purpose, the characteristics of the scribes, and the method of making gifts of these; about holy places (in connection with which many

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It is fresh and undated and contains the text of the Devī-p. in 138 chapters. It ends with the same two verses and final colophon as those of the Bikaner Ms mentioned above.

The third Ms (No. 341) is written in Bengali script and was copied on the eleventh lunar day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the Śaka year 1743. Its final verse and colophon are the same as those of Ms No. 176 mentioned above.

In his Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Vol. VI, pp. 180-5 (No. 2118) R. L. Mitra describes an old, undated, complete paper Ms written in Bengali characters and containing 128 chapters and 7371 ślokas. The analysis of its contents as well as the final verse, as given by Mitra, shows that it is generally the same as our Devī-p., chaps. 1-127.

Yet another Ms of the Devī-p. is described by Haraprasad Shastri in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 769-770, No. 4107 (Ms No. 4566D). It is fresh, undated and incomplete and is written in Bengali script. Its final colophon, as given by Shastri, shows that it is the same as our Devī-p., chaps. 1-127.

For other Mss of the Devī-p. see Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 337 (in which there is mention of an incomplete Ms written in Devanāgarī) and p. 338 (mentioning a complete Ms written in Devanāgarī and dated '1609'); Chintaharan Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., p. 71 (where there is mention of an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script and dated Śaka 1726); and Cat. of Sans. Mss in Private Libraries in the North-west Provinces, Part I, Benares 1874, No. 452.

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countries and towns of historical interest have been named); about different kinds of gifts; about customs and usages; and so on.

The Devī-p. begins abruptly with an opening verse[106] without any mention of the person to whom this verse is attributed. This unknown reporter further informs us that some sages request Vasiṣṭha to speak on various topics, viz., the killing of the past, present and future demons by Devī, Indra's recovery of the kingdom of heaven from the demons, the hoisting of Indra's banner, the sixty incarnations of Devī, and so on.[107] Consequently, Vasiṣṭha promises to narrate to them, in four sections (pāda) according as Devī was incarnated in the different Yugas,[108] all the Purāṇa-topics which, he says, were related

(1) by Śiva to Viṣṇu, Brahmā and others,

(2) by Brahmā to Mātariśvan, and

(3) by Manu, Atri and Bhṛgu (who received these probably from Mātariśvan) to Vasiṣṭha and others (including Agastya ?). He adds that it is Agastya's speeches on all these topics which would be widely circulated on earth through kings.[109]

Vasiṣṭha further gives the titles and contents of the four sections (pādas) thus:

(1) The first Pāda, which is called Trailokya-vijaya or simply Vijaya, deals with the origin of Devī at the beginning of creation.[110]

(2) The second Pāda, which is termed Trailokyābhyudaya, deals with the following topics: the story of Śakra

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[106] namaskṛtya śivāṃ devīṃ sarva-bhāgavatāṃ śubhām /
purāṇaṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi yathoktaṃ brahmaṇā purā / / Devī-p. 1. 1.

[107] All these topics have been treated of in the present Devī-p.

[108] Cf. catuṣpāda-vibhāgena yathāyuga-kramāgatā /
devī sarva-sukhāvāptiṃ prayacchati prapūjitā / / Devī-p. 1.30.

[109] Devī-p. 1. 29-32. Also Devī-p. 128.1.

[110] Cf. utpatti-kīrtanaṃ sṛṣṭeḥ prathamaṃ samudāhṛtam /
vijaye deva-pāde tu ṛṣīṇāṃ paripṛcchatām / / Devī-p. 1.36.

The first line may be interpreted in the following ways: (1) 'the origin (of Devī) before creation has been described', and (2) 'the first origin of creation has been described'.

It is to be noted that in Devī-p. 127.24f. the first origin of Devī before, or rather at the beginning of, creation has been described.

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(i.e. Indra); the killing of Dundubhi; Ghora's rise, his receipt of a boon from Viṣṇu, his overlordship through the practice of a spell, his son's entrance into heaven, Ghora's overcoming Māyā, and his deception by Bṛhaspati; Devī's descent on the Vindhyas; Nārada's muttering of the great Padamālā-vidyā with a view to deluding Ghora who was to take the form of the demon Mahiṣa; the killing of Māyā, Khaṭva (a demon) and others by the gods after worshipping Rudra and the numerous forms of Devī.

(3) The third Pāda is called Śumbha-Niśumbha-mathana.

(4) The fourth Pāda, which is not clearly designated (but which seems to be called 'Devāsura-yuddha'), deals with the following topics: Andhaka's fight; war between the gods and demons; Andhaka's attainment of the status of Bhṛṅgi by eulogising Hara; war between Tāraka and Kārttikeya; story of the birth of Kārttikeya—loss of Kāma's body, Viṣṇu's worship of Śiva for the good of Indra, and Kārttikeya's birth and command over the army of gods; origin of Umā-Kālī and her attainment of Śiva as husband; Himālaya's giving his daughter in marriage; origin of Bāla-khilyas and other sages who acted as Hotṛs; story of gods and sages mounted on the chariot of the Sun; various states to be attained through results of actions; origin of Mahāśvetā who was engaged to protect the Sun; story of Jambha and others as well as of the gods who were transformed into planets; performance of sacrifice to the planets by Brahmā; and residence of the Mātṛs in different regions for the good of children[111].

Next, after mentioning the results, rules and fit places of study of the Purāṇa, Vasiṣṭha reports the interlocution between king Nṛpavāhana and his preceptor Citrāṅgada without giving the least introduction about these two interlocutors. From this interlocution we understand that Nṛpavāhana[112] asked his preceptor Citrāṅgada to declare

[111] Devī-p. 1. 36-52.

[112] The substitution of the name 'Nṛpavāhana' by 'Vidyeśvara', 'Vidyapa' and

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to him the different Vidyās on *khaḍga*, *mālā*, *añjana*, *guṭikā* etc. which the latter had received from Indra. Consequently, Citrāṅgada referred Nṛpavāhana to Agastya, who then narrated the Vidyās as revealed to Indra by Brahmā who had received these from Śiva through Viṣṇu.

Thus the topics of this Purāṇa have been introduced in chap. 1.

The contents of the remaining chapters are as follows:[113]

Chap. 2.—After practising the *kāmikā vidyā* king Nṛpavāhana entered the hermitage of Agastya (which is described in twelve verses and in which there were sages 'engaged in the worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Skanda, Umā and Durgā') and asked him about the Vidyā which can make one immensely powerful and even give him final release. Consequently, after mentioning that this Vidyā was handed down to Indra by Brahmā who had received it from Viṣṇu, who, in his turn, had received it from Śiva, Agastya said that once, being eulogised by Indra for the sake of this Vidyā, Brahmā advised him to worship Ādyā Śakti and narrated to him the story of the demon Ghora in the following way.

Ghora received from Viṣṇu a boon that none but Śivā Devī would be able to defeat him. He returned to his capital Candraśobhāpura in Kuśa-dvīpa, managed the state affairs according to the principles of the science of politics, and conquered the different quarters with the help of his son Vajradaṇḍa.

Chap. 3.—Description of Ghora's conquest of the whole earth (with the seven dvīpas and oceans); Kāla and Vajradaṇḍa's invasion of Pātāla and Rasātala and conquest of the Nāgas, Rākṣasas etc. living there; their return to the earth and approach to Śukra who was living at Uḍumbarapura in Madhyadeśa, where the powerful 'Bhārgava' (Śukrācārya) resides permanently.

Chap. 4.—Though discouraged by Śukra, Vajra and

'Vidyādhara' (in Devī-p. 80.1, 92. 14, and 102.2 respectively) tends to show that Nṛpavāhana was a king of the Vidyādharas.

[113] As not even a single edition of the Devī-p. has yet been printed in Devanāgarī characters, we have felt it necessary to give a somewhat detailed summary of its contents.

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Kāla attacked heaven; Indra sought the protection of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu narrated to Indra the story of the demon Dundubhi who, for his lust for Śiva's wife Umā, was burnt to ashes by Śiva and from whose ashes was born the demon Ghora who was to reign supreme in Kuśa-dvīpa and was to be killed by Devī mounted on a lion when this Ghora would try to have her as his wife. Consequently, Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati pointed out the futility of war with this demon.

Chap. 5.—Bṛhaspati, who was conversant with the political theories (nayāḥ) promulgated (gītāḥ) by Śaṃbhu, Uśanas, Viṣṇu and Brahmā,[114] sent Nārada to Vajradaṇḍa and Kāla with the message that the gods recognised their supremacy and allowed them to enjoy heaven until Devī (Vindhyācala-nivāsinī) and Śiva came down to earth and killed them. Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati then went to Brahmā.

Chap. 6.—Brahmā saluted Viṣṇu with the mention of the names of his ten incarnations (including Kṛṣṇa, the red-robed Buddha, and the naked Kalkin)[115] and solicited his help. He also reminded him how in times of yore Cāmuṇḍā, being sent by Śiva, saved Viṣṇu from the rage of Kālāgni-rudra and his son Hālāhala, how Viṣṇu knew this Cāmuṇḍā to be the powerful Śakti able to create, protect and destroy the universe, and how, being eulogised by himself and Viṣṇu, Cāmuṇḍā promised to help them whenever necessary.

Chap. 7.—So, Brahmā advised Viṣṇu to approach Śiva. Viṣṇ , with Brahmā, went to Śiva and eulogised him for the destruction of Ghora and Vajradaṇḍa. Śiva, the left side of whose body was found occupied by his Śakti, consoled Viṣṇu by saying that Parā Śakti would incarnate herself on the Vindhyas with a lion as her *vāhana*, and have Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as her servants, the four Vedas as her door-keepers (pratihāryaḥ), and many unmarried female deities (who have been described in verses 23ff.) as her attendants,

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[114] The text of verse 2 runs as follows:—

śambhu-gītā nayā yasya auśanāś ca tathā nijāḥ /
madīyā brahma-gītāś ca vetti yaḥ sa vacaspatiḥ / /

[115] Kalkin is described as 'aśvārūḍha', 'kali-dharma-pravartaka', 'digambara-dhara', 'śūdra-dharma-pravartaka', and 'melccha-varga-kuloccheda',—Devī-p. 6. 6-7.

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that her *vāhana* would be composed of all the gods and goddesses and the worlds and stars etc., and that she would be furnished with a rakṣā-mantra[116] of Śiva as uttered by Viṣṇu. Śiva then sent Devī with the aforesaid *vāhana* and attendants to the Vindhya mountain.

Chap. 8.—In the meantime Vajradaṇḍa wanted to occupy heaven. So, Nārada was sent to Kuśadvīpa for turning Ghora and his wife and subjects from the path of *dharma*. Nārada succeeded in his mission by attracting him to sensual pleasures,[117] and informed him of the young girl (Devī) residing in the Vindhyas.

Chap. 9.—Ghora forsook the path of *dharma* and turned a debauch. His wife Candramati[118] gave him good counsels by referring to the policies of statecraft and to the dangers from poison-girls (viṣa-kanyā), naked Jain monks (*nagna*), washerwomen (rajakī), fisherwomen (Kaivartī) and others, and narrated the story of Sumedhasa (of Krauñca-dvīpa) who outraged the modesty of the daughter of a sage of Puṣkara-dvīpa and went to hell. Fearing that these counsels might bring Ghora to his senses, Nārada muttered the delusive Padamālā-vidyā[119] which Nandikeśvara had received from Śiva and which could accomplish 108 acts or even many more, if practised with the Vīra-vrata.

In this connexion it is said that with a view to acquiring the Padamālā-vidyā Bhārgava entered Śiva's body, came out unsuccessful through his generative organ, and was consequently known as Śukra; and the method of muttering the words of the Padamālā-vidyā and the results of performing *homa* with human flesh (mahāmāṃsa) have been described.

(Digression in chaps. 10-12).

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[116] In the Rakṣā-mantra Śiva is called 'māṃsāsava-vasā-meda-pūtanādi-rata' and is asked to remove all impediments created by *mantra* and *yantra*.

[117] Nārada referred to the 'vājīkaraṇa-yogas' as instructed by Nandikeśvara, and to Viṣṇu-tattva, Kāma-tattva and Śiva-tattva as proclaimed by the sage Kapila to Nandin. He also praised the enjoyment of a young girl of sixteen years of age.

[118] Also named as Candravatī and Candrabuddhi in Devī-p. 2.51 and 9.9 respectively.

[119] This Padamālā-vidyā, which is undoubtedly Tantric, has Cāmuṇḍā as its presiding deity and is called 'Atharva-pada-dīpanī'. It is said to have been collected from 'crores of works' and then described in the Mūla-tantra.

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Chap. 10.—Nārada is said to have received the Padamālā-vidyā from Sanatkumāra (son of Brahmā), who had received it from Nandikeśvara. From this Sanatkumāra Nārada received instructions on (Śaiva) *yoga*, with which the Vidyā was to be accompanied for the sake of favourable results. (Here Śaiva *yoga*[120] is elaborately described).

Chap. 11.—Brahmā's receipt of the Aparājitā-vidyā and the Padamālā-vidyā from Śiva. Introduction of the Padamālā-vidyā on earth by Dvaipāyana who inherited it from Śiva successively through Brahmā, Aṅgiras, Bṛhaspati, Sūrya, Yama, previous Indra, Vasiṣṭha, Sārasvata, Tridhāman, Trivṛṣa, Bharadvāja, Antarīkṣa, Bahvṛca, Aruṇa, Balaja, Kṛtañjaya and others (including Śaktri, Parāśara and Jātūkarṇa). Praise of the Aparājitā-vidyā by narrating the story of the demon Hutāgni who, after receiving a boon from Brahmā, took his residence in Śāka-dvīpa, conquered heaven with the help of his son Caṇḍa, but was defeated by Viṣṇu, who killed Caṇḍa by virtue of a banner of victory which Brahmā had received for Viṣṇu from Śiva with the help of the Aparājitā-vidyā and which was resorted to by Durgā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu, Yama, Indra, Agni and other gods as well as by the nine planets. Viṣṇu's giving of this powerful banner to the previous Indra, after the latter had been defeated by a demon named Subala in the Bhautya Manvantara. Praise of the hoisting of this banner by kings.

Chap. 12.—Method of preparing Indra's banner (Indra-dvaja) and of hoisting it in Bhādra or Āśvina during the Śatakratu-mahotsava (i.e. Indra-dhvaja-mahotsava):—

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[120] In this chapter, Śaiva *yoga* has been described in ten Paricchedas or sections. The main topics of these sections are the following:— description of the nature of Śiva after the concepts of Puruṣa and Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya system; rules to be observed during the practice of Śaiva *yoga*; method of its practice, including the names of āsanas (such as Padmaka, Svastika, Sthalika, Jalika, Pīṭhārdha, Candradaṇḍa and Sarvatobhadra —10. v. 4); realisation of Śabda-brahma and Para-brahma by forsaking the objects of enjoyment; method and results of meditation on *oṃkāra; yoga-dvāra-darśana; upasarga-jaya; dhāraṇā;* etc. (Devī-p. 10.i.16 says that a Yogin desiring success is not to devote himself too much to the acquirement of knowledge—atiprasaṅgo jñāneṣu na kāryaḥ siddhim icchatā; Devī-p. 10.vi.8 characterises Śabda-brahma thus: 'antaḥ-śarīra-prabhavam udāna-preritaṃ ca yat / vāg-uccāryaṃ śrotra-vṛtti śabda-brahma tad ucyate //'; and in Devī-p. 10.x.1 'dhāraṇā' has been defined as follows: manaso hṛdy avasthānād dhāraṇety abhidhīyate).

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Selection of trees (viz., *dhava, arjuna, priyaṅgu, uḍumbara, aśva-karṇa, candana, āmra, śāla* or *śāka*) for the preparation of the pole of the banner; lengths of the main pole and of those representing the daughters of Indra; rites to be performed before cutting down the selected tree; auspicious and inauspicious dreams; method of cutting down the tree; the king's good or evil as indicated by the direction in which the tree falls down; preparation of the pole out of the tree; the bringing of the pole to the place of worship in a procession attended with songs of public women and beat of drums; the covering of the pole with pieces of cloth of different hues and furnishing it with a flag; erection of the pole by means of machines, with the citation of *mantras* of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra; worship of the banner. Performance of this ceremony of flag-hoisting by kings and their subjects in towns, cities and *kheṭas*.

Chap. 13.—Nārada deluded Ghora and his ministers and others by muttering the Padamālā-vidyā, so much so that Ghora's queen became devoted to the Digambaras and gave herself up to the performance of Vratas and all other religious duties of the Pāṣaṇḍas. With the intention of enjoying mountain girls Ghora started with his army in an auspicious moment and experienced various kinds of bad omens including the sight of a red-robed person. At Nārada's advice Ghora went to the Vindhya mountain which was watered by the Narmadā and inhabited by learned sages as well as by various Mleccha tribes such as Varvaras, Pulindas, Śavaras, Taṅkas and Kapālins[121] who were descended from the son (Niṣāda) of Veṇa[122], and who lived on roots and fruits, put on barks, and decorated their dark bodies with *guñjā* fruits, garlands, feathers of parrots, and leaves worn

[121] Devī-p. 13. 51b-52a—

reṇu-(veṇa-?)saṃbhava-santāna-saṃbhūtā varvarāvarāḥ //
pulindāḥ śavarātaṅkā-kapāli-mleccha-jātayaḥ //

From the reference to the Kapālins in this verse it seems that the Kāpālikās were originally a wild tribe (like the head-hunters of Assam?).

[122] In Devī-p. 13.51b-52a the wild tribes are called 'reṇu-saṃbhava-santāna-saṃbhūtāḥ'. But the reading 'reṇu-'must be a mistake for 'veṇa-'. We know from the Viṣṇu (I. 13) and other Purāṇas that Niṣāda, who was the predecessor of the Niṣādas, Śavaras etc. living in the Vindhyas, was born of Veṇa's thigh.

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round their waists. In this mountain Ghora saw Devī in the form of a girl and was bent on having her. He sent Durmukha, but the latter was killed by Vijayā. Ghora saw various kinds of bad dreams towards the close of the night.

Chap. 14.—Description of the fight of the demons with Devī's attendants Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā; and Jayā's killing of the demons Kāla, Bhairava and others.

Chap. 15.—Indra's eulogy of Jayā for killing Kāla and other demons. Jayā's fight with and killing of the demons Vajradaṇḍa and Yamāntaka.

Chap. 16.—Suṣeṇa praised Ghora as a paramount and unrivalled ruler, and consequently Ghora prepared for war against Devī. In the meantime Nārada eulogised Devī who, though originating from Rudra, creates and protects Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and who is known under different names, viz., Durgā, Śākambharī, Gaurī, Vindhyavāsinī, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, Kaiṭabheśvarī, Mahādevī, Mahābhāgā, Mahāśvetā, Aparṇā, Kapālā, Ekapāṭalā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Lakṣmī, Sarvatobhadrā, Yoganidrā, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Bhadrakālī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍī, Caṇḍinī, Pārvatī, Dākṣāyaṇī, Nārāyaṇī, Revatī, Siṃhavāhinī, Vedamātā, Sarasvatī, Bhogavatī, Satī, Satyavatī, Bhīmā, Dhūmrā, Ambikā etc. Devī was pleased to manifest herself by mounting a lion, carrying *carman*, sword, bow, *nārāca*, *śūla*, *khaṭvāṅga*, tusk, lute, bell etc. in her hands, and wearing a leopard-skin, and promised to kill Ghora.

Chap. 17.—Finding that Ghora oppressed all the gods and was about to kill even the female deities, Śiva eulogised Devī with the Mahādaṇḍaka hymn, in which he called her 'Śiva-vaktrodbhavā', 'pramatha-lakṣa-vṛtā', 'hema-varṇā', 'śmaśāna-priyā', 'kumārī', 'Sāṃkhya-yogodbhavā', Vetālī, Kapālinī, Bhadrakālī, Mahākālī, Kālī, 'mahārukṣa-ghaṇṭā-ravodgīti-karṇotsavā' etc. [In this hymn Devī is identified with Brāhmī, Kaumārī, Māhendrī, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Sarasvatī, Arundhatī, Jāhnavī and other female deities and is said to dwell in Hemakūṭa, Mahendra, Himādri, Vindhya, Sahya and Śrīgiri mountains as well as on mountain-tops and in caves.]

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Chap. 18.—As a result of this eulogy, Devī waged war against the demons, and Jayā killed Suṣeṇa.

Chap. 19.—Destruction of demons by Jayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā.

Chap. 20.—Fate and perseverance as moulding the destiny of men. Ghora's assumption of the form of a buffalo (mahiṣa) and fight with Devī. Devī's killing of Ghora as well as of those demons who grew out of his body.

Chap. 21.—After the fall of Mahiṣa (i.e. Ghora) the gods worshipped Devī with the offer of buffaloes and he-goats. Praise of the worship of Devī (Mahiṣāsura-mardinī) with the offer, at midnight, of these animals on the Śuklāṣṭamī and Śukla-navamī Tithis of Āśvina. (These Tithis are called Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī respectively).

Chap. 22.—Description of the method of Devī-worship as performed annually in a golden, silvern, earthen or wooden image or in a sword or trident by the members of the four castes as well as by women. This method consists of various operations, of which the following are noteworthy, viz., beginning of Devī-worship on Āśvina-śukla-pratipad; performance of *homa* and Śiva-worship, and feeding of virgin girls daily; construction of nine houses or of at least one house for Devī-worship, fasting, and animal sacrifice on the Aṣṭamī Tithi; severing of the figure of an enemy prepared with powdered rice,[123] and performance of Devī's car-festival (*ratha-yātrā*) on the Mahānavamī Tithi.

Chap. 23.—Results of worshipping Devī for nine days from Āśvina-śukla-pratipad to Navamī, and of having on the banner the figure of Devī mounted on a lion, a monkey, a bull, a swan, a peacock, Garuḍa, a buffalo, an elephant, a lotus, or a dead body.

Chap. 24.—Determination of different kinds of saṃkrānti (viz., mandā, mandākinī etc.) and of their parts in which religious rites can be performed. Good effects of these

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[123] Devī-p. 22.16—

.....śatruṃ kṛtvā tu piṣṭajam /

khaḍgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-viśākhayoḥ //

The printed ed. of the Devī-p. wrongly reads 'śakraṃ' for 'śatruṃ' in the first line.

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saṃkrāntis to the members of the four castes and to thieves, vintners, Cāṇḍālas, Pukkaśas, Piśācas, actors, dancers and others.

Chap. 25.—Benefits of vasu-dhārā-dāna[124] to Devī in fire daily, fortnightly, monthly or at longer intervals.

Chap. 26.—Method of vasu-dhārā-dāna:—Preparation of the sacrificial pit (kuṇḍa) with its girdle (mekhalā); construction of the necessary implements such as a pot (made of gold, silver or brass) for containing ghee, a ladle with a hole, and so on; performance of *homa* meant for the nine planets, the ten Lokapālas, and the Mātṛs with the citation of the mūla-mantra, hṛdaya-mantra, *astra-mantra* etc. or according to the direction of the Atharva-veda; citation of a hymn of praise to Agni; feeding of Brahmins, actors, dancers, harlots, virgin girls, widows, poor men and others.

Chap. 27.—The sacrificer's good or evil as known from the colour, sound, smell or general appearance of the fire in which *homa* is performed. Results of the use of different objects for the performance of *homa*. The sacrificer's abstinence from speaking with Pāṣaṇḍas, deformed persons, and others. The different occasions (viz., Āśvina-mahāṣṭamī, Āśvina-mahānavamī, Kārttikī pūrṇimā, Skanda-ṣaṣṭhī, Śakra-dhvajotsava, Puṣya-snāna etc.) on which the *vasu-dhārā* should be given.

Chap. 28.—Devī-worship in temples, pasture-lands, mountains etc.; feeding of virgin girls; offer of gold, clothes etc. to those Brahmins who are devotees of Devī; and reading of works on Devī-māhātmya.—All these are to be performed in Devī-vratas, Vasu-dhārā-dāna, Dhvajocchrāya etc.

Chap. 29.—Origin of the visible world as well as of gods, Vidyās, *mantras*, Tantras, *mudrās* etc. from Devī who is the Parā Śakti.

Chap. 30.—Results of worshipping the images of Devī

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[124] 'Vasu' means 'ghee'. The word 'vasu-dhārā' is explained in Devī-p. 27.21 as follows:—

vasu dravyaṃ ghṛtam ājyam amṛtaṃ haviḥ kāmikam /
tasya dhārā sadā deyā vasor dhārā hi sā matā //

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made of different materials, viz., stone, sapphire, gold, silver, copper, earth, crystal, pearls etc.

Chap. 31.—Method of performing Devī's Ratha-yātrā (car-festival), in which Devī is to be worshipped with the mention of her different names (viz., Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Vindhyavāsinī etc.) and women are to utter auspicious words and scatter flowers, *dūrvā*, *akṣata* etc. while following the procession. General amnesty to be observed on the occasion of Devī's Ratha-yātrā.

Chap. 32—Results of the worship, on different occasions and in different places (such as river-banks, forts, burning grounds etc.), of Devī, who is said to be always present in the Ganges, the Narmadā, the Vindhya mountain, Ujjayinī, Arvuda, Himālaya, Niṣadha and Droṇa. Directions for the construction of images of Devī having ten, two or twenty-eight hands and seated on a lion. (In these images Devī should be exhibited as surrounding, with a snake, the body of the demon issuing out of the buffalo beheaded by herself). Consecration of these images by those (Brahmins) who are versed in Devī-śāstras and have knowledge of the Mātṛ-maṇḍala (the group of Mātṛs) and of works on *bhūta-tantra*, *graha*, *vyāla*, and *gāruḍa-vidyā*.

Chap. 33.—Śukra's eulogy of Śiva on the Kailāsa mountain by mentioning the manifold benefits of Śiva-worship as well as of acquiring knowledge of Śiva and becoming a wandering mendicant according to the rules of the Śaivas. Śiva's description of the method of performing the Devī-vrata (also called Durgā-vrata) on the Śuklāṣṭamī Tithis of different months beginning with Śrāvaṇa. (In this Vrata, which is said to have been described in the Tantra, Devī is to be bathed and worshipped with the mention of her different names, viz., Kātyāyanī, Umā, Nārāyaṇī, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Carcikā, Mahiṣaghnī etc., various articles are to be offered and incense of different kinds including Turuṣka-dhūpa is to be burnt, Brahmins and virgin girls are to be fed, and the worshipper is to avoid all contact with Pāṣaṇḍas).

[In verse 4 there is mention of a '*stotra*' recited by a

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Gaṇa named Puṣpadanta, and verses 15 and 19 describe females wearing 'cīnāṃśuka'.]

Chapter. 34.—Results of decorating and cleansing the house in which Devī is worshipped and of honouring those persons who are versed in Devī-śāstra. Story of a fisherman (Kaivarta) who attained the results of *dhvaja-dāna* by suspending his fishing net from a tree before entering a Devī-temple on the Vindhya mountain.

Chap. 35.—Method of preparing flags and furnishing Devī-temples with these. (During *dhvaja-dāna* Devī is to be worshipped, and Brahmins and virgin girls are to be fed).

Chap. 36.—A Devī-stotra uttered by Śiva at the request of Śukra. (In this *stotra* Devī is called 'nāda-bindu-svarūpiṇī', 'śiva-śakti-para-svarūpiṇī', etc.).

Chap. 37.—The reasons for Devī's different names, viz., Gaurī, Nārāyaṇī, Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Raudrī, Vindhyavāsinī, Jayantī, Ajitā, Vijayā, Aparājitā, Mahiṣaghnī, Kālī, Kapālī, Kapālinī, Cāmuṇḍā, Nandā, Kauśikī, Kaiṭabheśvarī, Mahāśvetā, Mahābhāgā, Bhavānī, Jyeṣṭhā, Brahmacāriṇī, Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, Pāṭalā, Tārā, Vāmā, Citi, Revatī, Ekānaṃsā, Lakṣmī, Kāṇḍavāriṇī, Māyā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Rajanī, Hiṃsā, Balā, Śaṅkuveṇī, and many others.

Though one, Devī appears as many through *guṇa*.

Chap. 38.—Enumeration of Devī's different forms which are worshipped in different places.—Devī is worshipped as Maṅgalā in the tract of land lying between the Vindhya and the Malaya mountain, as Jayantī on the sea-coast between the Vindhyas and Kurukṣetra, as Nandā between Kurukṣetra and the Himalayas, as Kālikā, Tārā and Umā in the mountains, as Bhairavī in Kiṣkindhyā etc., as Rudrāṇī in Kuśasthalī, as Bhadrakālī in Jalandhara, as Mahālakṣmī in the Kola mountain, as Kāla-rātri in the Sahya mountain, as Ambā in Gandhamādana, as Ujjanī in Ujjayanī,[125] and as Bhadrakālikā in Vaideha.

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[125] This 'Ujjayanī' (also called 'Ujjayinī') is the same as the ancient city, popularly known as 'Ujānī', which comprised the modern villages of Kogrām, Maṅgalkoṭ (Sanskrit 'Maṅgalakoṣṭhaka') and Arāl situated on the bank of the river Ajaya in Katwa subdivision in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal. It has been mentioned, sometimes

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Chap. 39.—Names of holy places in which Devī was worshipped in her different forms[126] by different gods, sages and kings (including Jāmadagnya, Bhauma's son, Vibhīṣaṇa and Rājasena) viz., Puṣkara, Himālaya, Naimiṣa, Malaya-parvata, Kiṣkindhyā-parvata, Kāśikāśrama, Veda-parvata, Kāmākhyā-girī-kandara[127], Sarasvatī-taṭa, Pūrva-sindhu, Laṅkā, Kailāsa, Kaṇvāśrama, Dharmāraṇya, Mahākāla, Koṭitīrtha, Bhadravaṭa, Kāverī-saṅgama, Gokarṇa, Daṇḍaka, Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama, Mahāśoṇa, Mahodaya, Muṇḍipīṭha, Malaya-parvata, Śāka-dvīpa, Kuśa-dvīpa, Krauñca-dvīpa etc. Praise of the power of *mantras* by narrating the story of the demon Bala, who, being deluded by Viṣṇu by means of the Mohinī Vidyā received from Śiva, offered his body for the fulfilment of the sacrifice of gods. Story of the death of the demons Subala (son of Bala), Dundubhi and others at the hand of the Paramā Śakti (also called Mahā-vidyā) who took the form of an extremely old and emaciated woman named Kṣemaṅkarī and was accompanied by the eight Vidyās (aṣṭa-vidyā-samanvitā). It is said that these Vidyās, divided hundredfold, are worshipped in different forms by kings and women according to the 'Dakṣiṇācāra mārga' and by Pulindas, Śavaras and others according to the 'Vāmācāra mārga', and that they are specially popular among harlots, cowherdesses, Tuḍus, Hūṇas and Khasas and in Himavat-pīṭha (Tibet ?), Jālandhara, Vidiśā, Mahodaya, Varendra, Rāḍhā, Kośala, Bhoṭṭadeśa, Kāmākhyā, Kiṣkindhyā, Malaya, Kolu, Kāñcī, Hastināpura and

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under its popular name 'Ujānī', in the works of Bengal as one of the mahāpīṭhas created by the fall of the different parts of Satī's body severed by Viṣṇu, and Devī is said to reside here under the name of 'Ujānī' or 'Ujjanī'.

For mention of this sacred city see Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 14. 14, in which Devī says:

"ujjayinyāṃ tathā puryāṃ pīṭhaṃ maṅgalakoṣṭhakam /
śubhā maṅgala-caṇḍy-ākhyā yatrāhaṃ vara-dāyinī / /"

See also Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Tantra-cūḍāmaṇi, Pīṭha-nirṇaya (*alias* Mahāpīṭha-nirṇaya), Śiva-carita, Bhārata-candra's Annadā-maṅgala (Pīṭha-mālā, verse 22), and so on.

For an excellent account of the Śākta Pīṭhas (including the said 'Ujjayanī' or 'Ujānī' of Bengal) see JASB, XIV, 1948, pp. 1-108.

[126] viz., Nandā, Śivā, Ambā, Kāmākhyā, Māheśvarī, Koṭimuṇḍā, Mahārājā, Khaṇḍamuṇḍā, Aghorā, Kālikā, Vijayā, Caṇḍā, Dhutimā (?), etc.

[127] yajed bhaumātmajo devīṃ kāmākhye giri-kandare.—Verse 6b.

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Ujjayinī.[128] Offer of fish, meat and wine in the worship of Kṣemaṅkarī is prescribed with the mention of Damanī, Padamālā, Śrīghoṣa-vajraśāsanā and Pratyaṅgirā-devī, and the priest, who is not to be a *naiṣṭhika brahmacārin*, is required to worship the goddess after the *kula-mārga*. The giving of one's own self, wife and the entire property to the consecrator of Devī's image. Praise of the Vidyās, which are said to be sixty-four in number.

Chaps. 40-41.—Story of Mahādharmāsura's war with the gods, and his death at the hand of Devī invoked by Brahmā.

Chap. 42.—Gods' eulogy of Devī by mentioning the names of places where she always remains in different forms, viz., Jalandhara Pīṭha, Malaya, Sahya, Vindhya, Himālaya, Citragopa, Nārakāla (v. 1. 'nave kāle' for 'nārakāle'), Nīcākṣa-parvata (Nīcākhya-parvata ?), Laṅkā, Uḍra-deśa, Strī-rājya, Kāśikāvana, Kāmarūpa, Kāñcī, Campā, Vaidiśa, Varendra, Uḍḍiyāna, Manākṣa, Kuśasthala, Cola, Siṃhala, Veṇudaṇḍa, Kānyakubja, Nava-durgā-sthala,[129] etc. At Vaidiśa Devī remains in the middle, seated on a 'siṃhāsana', and is widely known as 'ūrdhvajayāvahā mahākālī'. At Jambūkanātha she is famous as Bhadrakālī.

Chap. 43.—Praise of the Puṣpākhya-vidyā, with the narration of the story of Amayāsura who was attracted by the physical beauty of Sumati, beloved of Gajānana, and whom Gajānana killed with the help of his friend Paraśu-rāma. (In this chapter there are names of more than forty-three kinds of *vyūhas*,[130] into which Gajānana arranged Paraśurāma's army).

Chap. 44.—Gajānana went to his own residence in the Mālavya mountain, and Paraśurāma established Kālikā

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[128] Devī-p. 39. 141-145.

[129] The text reads:

"siṃhale veṇudaṇḍe ca kānyakubje'tha vaidiśe /
nava-durgā-sthale kṛtvā trimuṇḍā tatra kīrtitā / /" (Devī-p. 42.10).

According to Devī-p. 44. 4-5, the nine Durgās were established at Mahodaya.

[130] Of these, seven (named as Kakṣa, Pakṣa, Urasya, Daṇḍa, Ābhoga, Maṇḍana and Saṃghāta) are 'prākṛta', and the rest (viz., Pradadha, Dṛḍha, Kośadya, etc.) are not so (prākṛtai rahitān).—See verses 22-34.

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at Ayodhyā. Results of the worship of the nine Durgās (nava-durgā) at Mahodaya and of the other forms (viz., Kāmikā, Ambikā, Tārā, Vindhyāṭavī, etc.) of Devī situated at different places (viz., Malaya-parvata, Mandākṣa-parvata, Candra-parvata, Kiṣkindhyā-parvata, etc.).

Chap. 45.—Selection of proper day and time for the performance of sacrifices to the planets and the deities such as Skanda, Bhānu, Viṣṇu, Umā, Vināyaka and others. Results of such sacrifices.

Chap. 46.—Origin of the universe and gods from Devī. Names of the eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, eight Vasus, two Aśvins, ten Viśvedevas, fourteen Manus, fourteen Indras, seven Maruts, three Agnis, five kinds of years, sixty kinds of *saṃvatsaras*, and so on.

Determination of the nature of influence of planets on different parts of India according to kūrma-vibhāga. (In connexion with kūrma-vibhāga the names of Tīrabhukti, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Vardhamāna, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla etc. have been mentioned, and Narmadā has been called the centre of the earth—mahī-madhyam).

Chap. 47.—Division of time into 'truṭi', 'dina', etc. Names of planets, and their classification into 'maṇḍala-graha' (viz., Sūrya and Candra), 'chāyā-graha' (viz., Rāhu) and 'tārā-graha'. The parentage, relative position, and dimensions of Planets and Stars. Names of the seven regions (*loka*) and their presiding deities. Position of these regions.

Chap. 48.—Determination of the two kinds of *pūrṇimā* (viz., rākā and *anumati*) and two kinds of *amāvāsyā* (viz., sinīvālī and kuhū). Description of the condition of the moon, whose fifteen *kalās* are eaten up by gods, Pitṛs and others during the Amāvāsyā.

Chap. 49.—Solar and lunar eclipses, which are caused by Rāhu in the forms of shadows of the moon and the earth respectively.

Chap. 50.—Classification of the sixty forms of Devī into three groups: (1) twenty *sāttvika* forms constituting the first grade, viz. Maṅgalā, Vijayā, Bhadrā, Śivā, Śānti, Dhṛti, Kṣamā, Ṛddhi, Vṛddhi, Unnati, Siddhi, Tuṣṭi, Puṣṭi, Śrī,

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Umā, Dīpti, Kānti, Yaśā, Lakṣmī and Īśvarī; (2) twenty *rājasa* forms constituting the second grade, viz., Brāhmī, Jayāvatī, Śakti, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Jayantī, Mānasī, Māyā, Diti, Śvetā, Vimohinī, Śaraṇyā, Kauśikī, Gaurī, Vimalā, Rati, Lālasā, Arundhatī, Kriyā and Durgā; (3) twenty *tāmasa* forms of the third grade, viz., Kālī, Raudrī, Kapālī, Ghaṇṭākarṇā, Mayūrikā, Bahurūpā, Surūpā, Trinetrā, Ripuhā, Ambikā, Māheśvarī, Kumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Sura-pūjitā, Vaivasvatī, Ghorā, Karālī, Vikaṭā, Aditi and Carcikā.

Description and measurements of the images of Mahādevī to be worshipped in common houses or in palaces. Benefits of constructing images with gold, silver or copper. Directions regarding the construction of temples for Devī-worship; decoration of these temples with paintings, flags etc. Method of consecration and worship of the images of Devī.

Description of the images of each of the above-mentioned sixty forms[131] of Devī, with the mention of the particular years in which these forms are to be worshipped.

Description of the images of Gaṇeśa, Mātṛs, eight Vidyās, six Seasons, eleven Rudras, Mahālakṣmī, Kuṣmāṇḍā (seated on a human corpse), and Varvarā. Worship, in images or maṇḍalas, of the Sun in different forms under different rāśis; materials with which these images are to be made. Signs to represent the deities. Worship of Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā and Hari in maṇḍalas[132]. Ringing of bells during worship. Method of performance of *homa* and Devī-worship.

Chap. 51.—A man, who is versed in Devī-śāstras and has knowledge of the Mātṛ-maṇḍala but is not a naiṣṭhika brahmacārin, is eligible for performing Devī-worship, no matter whether he is a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra. A Devī-worshipper is to worship Śiva (according to Śiva-siddhāntas), Sūrya (according to the 'Māṭharokta

[131] Of these forms, Durgā is to be seated on an intoxicated quarter-elephant, and Vimalā, Bahurūpā and Carcikā on human corpses, and Kumārī, Karālī and Vikaṭā are said to be fond of honey, wine and meat.

[132] Devī-p. 50. iv. 55ff.

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vidhi'), Brahmā (according to the Vedic method) and Viṣṇu. Necessity of utensils in worship, and the results of making these utensils with different materials (such as gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, stone, wood etc.) under different conditions.

Chaps. 52-54.—Methods of performing *graha-yāga* and Mātṛkā-pūjā in maṇḍalas in the different months of the year.

Chap. 55.—Enumeration of the different kinds of *divya*, *āntarīkṣa* and *bhauma* Utpātas (or Adbhutas), and the means (viz., Mātṛkā-pūjā, graha-pūjā, Sūrya-pūjā, lakṣa-homa, koṭi-homa, dāna, Brāhmaṇādi-bhojana, etc.) of preventing their bad effects.

Chap. 56.—Detailed description of the method of performing *homa*.

Chap. 57.—Description of a form of Devī which, when worshipped according to the prescribed rules along with Mātṛs, Kārttika, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Lokapālas and others, gives immediate results. Identification of Devī with Śiva.

Chap. 58.—Story of king Bhāgya who worshipped Hari in a maṇḍala on the Bhāgya-dvādaśī Tithi and also Hari-Hara and Umā-Maheśvara in images, and thus attained great fortune in the Surottama-kalpa.

Chap. 59.—Method and result of worshipping Devī in the different months of the year.

(In this chapter, mention is made of the worship of Brahmā, Agni, Umā, Gaṇeśa, Nāga, Skanda, Sūrya, Mātṛs, Yama, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kāma, Rudra, Indra and others in Śrāvaṇa, of Devī-worship and Devī-ratha-yātrā in Āśvina-śuklāṣṭamī, of 'dīpa-dāna' and 'gajāśvādi-nīrājana' in Kārttika-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī and Amāvāsyā, of worship of Caṇḍikā in Phālguna, and so on).

Chap. 60.—Method and results of performing vṛṣotsarga and 'go-vivāha'[133] along with Devī-worship. Results of

[133] In this festival, which is to be performed in Māgha or Phālguna, four, two or one heifer is to be duly married to a bull of the 'nīlavṛṣa' type.

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repairing old temples, and of worshipping Umā-Śaṃkara, Hari-Hara, Ardha-nārīśvara, and the Trimūrti.

Chap. 61.—Proper Tithis for, and results of, the worship of Brahmā, Umā, Śiva, Agni, Devī-and-Śaṃkara (who are to be placed in a swing), Gaṇeśa, Nāgas, Skanda, Bhāskara, Mātṛs, Devī Mahiṣamardinī, Dharmarāja, Vṛṣa, Viṣṇu, Kāmadeva-and-Rati, Śiva, and Indra-and-Śacī.

Chap. 62.—Results of worshipping Śiva with different kinds of flowers in different months of the year.

Chap. 63.—Names of sixty-eight holy places in which Śiva remains present under sixty-eight names. (Among the names of places there is mention of Puṣkara, Ujjayinī, Gokarṇa, Rudra-mahālaya, Devadāruvana, Turaṇḍa, Sukalānta, Ekāmra, Dīpta-cakreśvara, Kāśmīra, Nepāla, Gaṅgāsāgara, etc.).

Chap. 64.—Description of Goratna-vrata, in which a cow and a bull are to be decorated and given to a devotee of Śiva after worshipping Śiva and Umā.

Chap. 65.—Method of worshipping Śiva-and-Umā on the Śuklatṛtīyā Tithi after painting their figures with 'gorocanā', saffron etc. on two pieces of cloth. Devī-worship in Pradīpta-navamī-vrata and Guggulā-vrata. Method of performing Puṣya-snāna (which is meant for kings): selection of proper place (viz., Himālaya, Sahya-parvata, Vindhyācala, sea-coast where ships can remain safely, and so on); description of dreams which indicate good or evil[134]; drawing of maṇḍalas with *padmas* in them in the prescribed manner; placing of deities in these maṇḍalas; worship of these deities; use of wine and meat in the worship of Piśācas, demons and Rākṣasas.

Chap. 66.—Description of Puṣya-snāna-vidhi continued: account of the origin of pitchers during the churning of the ocean; names of the nine pitchers in which the water for the king's bath is to be kept and which are said to contain the

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A 'nīla-vṛṣa' has been defined as follows:

lohito yas tu varṇena śaṃkha-varṇa-mukho vṛṣaḥ /
lāṅgūla-śirasaś caiva sa vai nīla-vṛṣaḥ smṛtaḥ / / Devī-p. 60. 7b-8a.

[134] A Nirgrantha, seen in a dream, indicates evil.—Devī-p. 65.52.

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seven oceans, seven continents, all the planets and stars, all the Kula-parvatas, all the holy rivers (such as the Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Subhagā etc.), and all the holy places (including Eka-haṃsa, Puṇḍarīka, Gaṅgāsāgara etc.); names of the presiding deities of these pitchers; placing of these pitchers in different directions.

Chap. 67.—Description of Puṣya-snāna-vidhi continued: placing of auspicious articles in the pitchers; decoration of a throne and a number of beds (the latter being meant for the royal visitors); bathing of the king by Brahmins; worship of different deities including the Mātṛs; donations to Brahmins and others; amnesty to prisoners.

Chap. 68.—Special baths at particular places for the accomplishment of particular objects (such as removal of barrenness of women). Places favourable for the success of *mantras*. Proper places for drawing maṇḍalas.

Chap. 69.—Description of Vināyaka-yāga (worship of Vināyaka) to be performed by kings for averting the effects of bad dreams. (In this Gaṇa-yāga, Sūrya and Ambikā also are to be worshipped).

Chap. 70.—Description of the rakṣā-mantra called Vināyaka-kavaca, and the result of wearing it after writing it in a maṇḍala on a gold or silver plate, or on a piece of cloth, or on a 'bhūrja-patra'.

Chap. 71.—Power of *rakṣā* headed by the bījas of particular gods and written on planks of banian trees or on copper-plates or worshipped with flowers of particular colours. (The final verse of this chapter mentions Madhusūdana with four Vyūhas—catur-vyūha-samāyuktaḥ . . . madhusūdanaḥ).

Chap. 72.—Construction of forts (*durga*): first construction of a fort by Viśvakarman at the instance of Brahmā; selection of a suitable site for the construction of a fort; mutual relation between the different units of measurement of distance, viz., trasareṇu, likṣā, rājasarṣapa, gaura-sarṣapa, *yava*, aṅguli, prādeśa, tāla, gokarṇa, *vitasti*, *aratni*, *hasta*, kiṣku, *dhanus*, daṇḍa, nālikā, *yuga*, krośa, gavyūti and *yojana*; protection of forts by means of ramparts, trenches, shrubs

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etc.; different kinds of forts, viz., *pārvata* (or giri-durga), *audaka* (or jala-durga), *dhānvana* (or maru-durga) and *vanaja* (or vana-durga); further classification of each of these four kinds of forts into two, viz., (1) *guhā-durga* and *prāntara-durga*, (2) *nadī-durga* (also called antardvīpa-durga) and *sthala-durga*, (3) *nirudaka-durga* and *īriṇa-durga*, and (4) *khañjana-durga* and *stamba-gahana-durga;* comparative importance of these forts to kings; arrangements for the maintenance of these forts; furnishing the forts with sufficient food, arms and ammunitions, machines etc.; arrangements for the protection of forts; restrictions on the admittance of persons into the forts; maintenance of physicians, carpenters, astrologers, viṣa-vaidyas, bhūta-vaidyas, gāruḍikas and others[155] in the forts; directions regarding the construction of gates (*gopura*), at the sides of which there should be images of Devī Mahiṣa-mardinī, Gaṇeśa, Kuvera or Brahmā and which must be named after the different names of Devī.

Construction of cities (*pura*): shapes of the cities (which should be square, circular, triangular, or oblong); different names of cities according to the difference in their dimensions, viz., Aindra, Vaiṣṇava, Śāṃkara, Brāhma and Sārvabhaumika; position of the residence of the king and the houses of the members of the four castes in the city; residences of people of lower castes to be located outside the city for preventing intermixture of castes; characteristics of different kinds of *nagaras* (viz., Sarvatobhadra, Rucaka, Svastika, Chinnakarṇa, Vināsa, Duḥsthita, Kṛśa and Durbala). Measurement and position of *kheṭa* and grāma. Names and measurements of different kinds of roads, viz., sīmā-mārga, rāja-patha, śākhā-rathyā uparathyā, alpa-rathyā and jaṅghā-patha.

Chap. 73.—Directions for the construction of *adhodurga* and *kṛtrima-durga* which constitute the *vijayākhya pura*. Location of residences of different classes of people in these types of forts. Persons (viz., Śūdras, actors, sons of prostitutes, and others) who are not to be entrusted with the charge

[155] viṣa-bhūtopahārāṃś ca gāruḍikādikāṃs tathā.—Devī-p. 72.110.

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of forts. Determination of auspicious time for the construction of these. Worship of Śiva, Durgā, Mātṛs, planets, Vināyaka, and others on this occasion.

Chap. 74.—Names of rivers,[136] places and forests which are deemed as highly sacred during eclipses and on other occasions.

Chap. 75.—Names of holy places, mountains and rivers where the performance of dhārā-homa becomes beneficial.

Chap. 76.—Names of some holy places. Praise of Kapota-tīrtha, and the benefits of bathing Śiva-liṅgas, Devī, Mātṛs, Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa and others with the water of the pool (kuṇḍa) at Kapota-tīrtha. Story of a pigeon (*kapota*) which was reborn as sage Śuka as a result of its death in this pool.

Chap. 77.—Praise of the Kapota-kuṇḍa; and the results of worshipping Śiva and Devī at Kapota-tīrtha with the use of Tantric *mantras* and the performance of sixteen kinds of mudrās, viz., yoni-mudrā, liṅga-mudrā, vyāpinī mudrā, chatra-mudrā, etc.

Chap. 78.—Praise of observance of Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata in the different months of the year and of observing Nakta-vrata and worshipping Śiva under different names on this occasion.

(In this chapter, as also in a few others, there is mention of *gomedha* and *puruṣamedha* sacrifices).

Chap. 79.—Results of the worship of Devī's twelve forms (viz., Gaurī, Kālī, Umā, Bhadrā, Durgā, Kānti, Sarasvatī, Maṅgalā, Vaiṣṇavī, Lakṣmī, Śivā and Nārāyaṇī), Ardhanārīśvara, Umā-Śaṃkara, Hari-Hara, and Nārāyaṇa. Method and results of performing Umā-Maheśvara-vrata, Viṣṇu-Śaṃkara-vrata, Lakṣmī-Parṇā-vrata, Brahma-Sāvitrī-vrata, and Candra-Rohiṇī-vrata. (In all these Vratas the mediums of worship are the images or altars). Praise of sweeping temples of Devī by narrating the story of Kuṅkumā, chief queen of Candramindra, who was a kite in her previous birth but got rid of her kitehood by

[136] Gāṅgā, Narmadā, Yamunā, Vetravatī, Kauśikī, Vindhyā, Sarasvatī, Candrabhāgā, Tāpī, Devikā, Bhāvikā, Sindhu etc.

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removing the dusts from a Devī-temple in her attempt to take the food offered to Devī.

Chap. 80.—Devī's presence in all things. Renunciation not compulsory for Devī-worship. Powers of Mahāmāyā.

Chap. 81.—Description of Kālāgnirudra (who is not different from Kālikā) as well as of his residence (called Kālāgnirudrapura) which is surrounded by flames. Names of the Rudras who surround Kālāgnirudra and bring about the destruction of the world.

Chap. 82.—Names of some of the numerous hells which are situated above the flames surrounding Kālapura. Nature of sins which cause one to visit these hells. Names and description of the seven Pātālas; the residents of these Pātālas. Description of the eighth Pātāla which is not found mentioned in any Āgama or any other work and in which there is Ardhan-ārīśvara. Story of the rebirths of Taskara-vallabha, son of a Brahmin named Kuladeva of Mahārāṣṭra who, in his attempt to commit theft in a Devī-temple, kept a lamp burning there for some time.

Chaps. 83-87.—Story of the origin of the demon Ruru from the mouth of Kārttikeya's peacock and his war with the gods and death at the hands of the Śaktis (also called Mātṛs) issuing from Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya, Yama, Indra and Agni.

[In these chapters, there are eulogies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva-and-Devī, and the Mātṛs, Śiva has been praised, the connexion between Śiva and Devī has been set forth, the forms of the different Mātṛs have been described, and the names of different weapons used in war have been given. Chap. 86 ends with a song (in four verses) sung by Viṣṇu, which seems to be a prototype of those in Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda. This song runs as follows:

vikaśita-karṇikāra-kamalotpala-laulajaṃ
mukuṭa-nighṛṣṭāṅgaṃ śaśi-pannaga-vicitra-tanum /
tridaśa-vilāsinī-vadana-paṅkaja-gīta-ravaṃ
dhruvam iha tanu namāmi caṇḍeśa-śivaṃ śirasā
dhruvakam / /

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praṇata-jana-hitam asura-bala-haraṃ
tridaśādhipate caṇḍeśvara namo 'stu sadā/
giri-duhitṛ-pate vara-vṛṣa-gate namadhvaṃ paśupate/

and so on (the fourth verse ending with the words 'jaya jaya devaṃ caṇḍa-śivam')].

Chap. 88.—Praise of the worship of Mātṛs even by Antyajas, Pāṣaṇḍas, Bauddhas and Gāruḍavādins according to the Śivāgamas, Gāruḍa-tantra, Bhūta-tantra or Kāla-tantra. Śakti as the source of the universe.

Chap. 89.—Method of worshipping Sarva-maṅgalā in a maṇḍala from Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī to Śukla-navamī in the month of Āśvina with the mention of her different names (viz., Maṅgalā, Bhairavī, Durgā, Kanyā, Kapālī, Kaiṭabheśvarī, Kālī, Carcā etc.), sacrifice of animals, performance of Ratha-yātrā, and feeding of virgin girls.

(This worship is open to the members of all the four castes as well as to women and children).

Chap. 90.—The different places (viz., *pura*, grāma, *nagara*, kheṭaka, haṭṭa, Gaṅgā-tīra, Vindhya-parvata, Veda-parvata, Śrīśaila, Kiṣkindhyā-parvata etc.) where the Mātṛs should be worshipped. Directions for the construction of their images and temples. Furnishing these temples with wells, tanks, gardens, harlots (veśyā), bells, mirrors, ghaṭikā-yantra (for measurement of time), etc. Method of consecration of images (with the citation of Vedic verses and songs of females) and their worship (which is to be followed by honour shown to females, virgin girls and Brahmins).

Chap. 91.—Devī to be worshipped even by Śūdras and women. Results of Devī-worship in an earthen image and of giving Vidyā (i.e. books), umbrellas etc. to Devī. Praise of Vidyā.

Method of Vidyā-dāna [which consists of the following operations:— books, viz., Siddhānta-śāstra, Mokṣa-śāstra, Veda, Vedāṅga, Itihāsa, Gāruḍa-tantra, Bāla-tantra, Bhūta-tantra, Bhairava-tantra, Jyotiḥ-śāstra, Vaidya-śāstra, Kalā-śāstra, Kāvya, Āgama etc., that should be given to Devī; preparation of palm-leaves, placing them in a leathern jacket (? carmaṇāṃ saṃkuṭīkṛte—verse 57), and furnishing

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them with two painted pieces of planks to serve as covers as well as with a piece of black or red thread having a coloured end for tying the leaves and the planks with; drawing of a maṇḍala with a *yantra* in it; placing of the palm-leaves as well as of a picture of the presiding deity in the *yantra*; worship of these with flowers and other things; honour to be shown to the scribe, who is to be 'śāstra-pāraga', 'chando-lakṣaṇa-tattvajña', 'sat-kavi' and 'madhura-svara'; method of copying books with the use of Nandi-nāgara script in the case of sacred books; worship of the copy thus made, after placing it on a specially made stool furnished with bells, mirrors, painted pieces of cloth, and so on; worship of Mātṛs and other gods and goddesses on this occasion; taking of the manuscript in a car to a temple of Śiva or Mātṛs, and giving it to a learned teacher; merrymakings on this occasion].

Praise of giving clothes, umbrellas, oil, lamps, food, pens, ink, ink-pots, sharp knives, covers of books, stools for books, etc. to students and scholars.

Chap. 92.—Devī's constant presence in the Vindhyas (where she manifested herself for killing the demon Ghora) and as Nandā in the Himalayas. Praise of worshipping Devī with *mantra*, *dravya*, *kriyā* and *dhyāna* in these places.

Chap. 93.—Śiva's praise of the Nandā-tīrtha (in the Himālaya) as the best of all holy places, the other three sacred places on the Himālaya being Bhairava, Kedāra and Rudra-mahālaya. Glorification of Nandā who remains always present at Nandā-tīrtha with virgin girls. Months (Āṣāḍha, Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra) best suited for pilgrimage to Nandā-tīrtha. Description of Nandā-purī (residence or temple of Nandā) and its environments. Mediums of worship of Nandā, viz., Śiva-liṅga, sthaṇḍila, *pustaka*, pādukā, pratimā, *citra*, triśikha, khaḍga, *jala*, *agni*, and hṛdaya. Characteristics of 'anivartitādhikāra' and 'savikāra' Liṅgas. Praise of Liṅgas established by Śukra and others, and denouncement of those established by Kaca and others with Vedic Mantras. Characteristics of the other mediums of worship (viz., pratimā, pādukā, *citra* etc.). Method of worshipping Nandā in these mediums. Rules to be observed

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by the worshippers with respect to women. Names of places most suited for the worship of Nandā (viz., Mandāra, Trikūṭa, Vindhya-parvata, Śaṃkareśvara, Rāmeśvara, Amareśvara-tīrtha, Hariścandra-tīrtha, banks of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Revatī, Vetravatī and Sarasvatī, and so on). Method of *mantroddhāra*. Performance of mudrās.

(In this chapter, there is mention of wall-painting and of education, pastimes, decoration and sports of girls).

Chap. 94.—Description of pilgrimage to the residence (i.e. temple) of Sunandā, with the mention of the rivers, holy places, and images of deities lying on the way, viz., Gaṅgā with Marukeśvara Śiva on her bank, the river Śiloccayā on the left of Ūrdhvayāna, Kālakūṭa (tīrtha) with its 'great temple' of Kalahaṃseśvara Śiva and the river Kauśikā (flowing by it), Śūlabheda (tīrtha), Vasanta-vana, Kārttikapura, Vaiśravaṇa-pura, and the river Vaitaraṇī.

Chap. 95.—Description and praise of Kanyakāpura (residence of Kanyakā). Identification of Nandā with Śiva.

Chap. 96.—Hereditary study[137] of the Vedas—one of the principal duties of the twice-born people (dvija). Contact with, and food offered by, Śūdras—to be avoided by them. Fit places of Vedic study (viz., temples of Viṣṇu and Sūrya, bank of a river, and so on). Method of reading the Vedas. Persons who are not entitled to read the Vedas. Days on which Vedic study should be postponed.

Chap. 97.—Killing of animals in sacrifices—not a crime. Directions and prohibitions to be observed by the people.[138]

Chap. 98.—Unity of Devī, who is known under different names (viz., Nārāyaṇī, Tārā, Śvetā, Mahāśvetā etc.). Method of pavitrāropaṇa after worshipping Devī (in any of her forms, viz., Carcikā, Cāmuṇḍā, Nandā etc.) on a sword, dagger, foot-wear, picture, book, flag, bow, image or altar. Music, dancing etc. to be performed by bands of actors,

[137] According to verse 4, those twice-born people who have Vedic Saṃskāra from their fifth ancestors on their mothers' sides and from the seventh on their fathers', become pure (śuddha) and fit for Vedic study.

[138] People are advised to read medical treatises daily and to avoid quarrel with physicians and astrologers.—Devī-p. 97.17-19.

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dancers and prostitutes. General holy day to be observed by all for ten, five, three or one day on this occasion.

Chaps. 99-101.—Methods and results of observing the Nandā-vrata (in which Nandā is to be worshipped in the twelve months from Śrāvaṇa with the mention of her twelve names, viz., Nandā, Sunandā, Kanakā, Umā, Durgā, Kṣamāvatī, Gaurī, Yogeśvarī, Śvetā, Nārāyaṇī, Sutārakā and Ambikā), Vijayā-vrata (on the *vijayā pūrṇimā* in the month of Śrāvaṇa), and Nakṣatra-vrata (in which the different limbs of Devī are to be worshipped under different *nakṣatras*). Feeding of Brahmins, women and virgin girls in all these Vratas.

Chap. 102.—Results of giving land, gold, cows, paddy etc. to Brahmins, women, virgin girls, and devotees of Devī at Nandā-tīrtha, Gayā, Puṣkara, Kāśī, Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Jambukeśvara, Kedāra, Daṇḍakāraṇya, Someśvara, Amara-kaṇṭaka, Vindhyācala, banks of the Gaṅgā and the Narmadā, and so on. Method of performing the Pada-vrata (in which Devī is to be worshipped on an altar, an image, or Devī's foot-wears).

Chap. 103.—Method of giving cows (go-dāna) and golden cows (hema-go-dāna) to the devotees of Śiva, after worshipping Devī in these cows.

Chap. 104.—Donation of different articles in the different months of the year. Method of giving a cow to a qualified Brahmin in the month of Śrāvaṇa, after worshipping Devī, Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya and Viṣṇu. Method of *tila-dhenu-dāna* (on the occasion of which Devī is to be worshipped).

Chaps. 105-106.—Methods of *ghṛta-dhenu-dāna* and *toya-dhenu-dāna* (with the worship of Devī on these occasions).

Chap. 107.—Devī as the mother of the Vedas. Division of the original single Veda into four, viz., Ṛk, Yajus, Sāma and Atharva. Names of the ten different texts (*bheda*) of the Ṛgveda, viz., Aśleṣā, Saṃkhyā, Carcā, Yāvakā, Carcakā, Śrāvaṇīyā, Kramā, Puṭakramā, Vaṭakramā, and Daṇḍa; names of its three schools (śākhā), viz., Śākala, Brahma and Māṇḍūka; and the numbers of its Maṇḍalas, Vargas, Ṛks

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and Pādas.[139] Names of the schools of the Yajurveda, and the number of its verses.[140] Names of the Aṅgas, Upāṅgas and Pariśiṣṭas.[141] Names of the schools and divisions of the Śukla-yajurveda, Sāma-veda and Atharva-veda, and the numbers of their verses.[142] The Upavedas, viz., Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharva-śāstra and Arthaśāstra, which are attached to the four Vedas Ṛk, Yajus, Sāma and Atharva respectively. Names of *gotras* (Ātreya, Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja and Vaitāla) and *adhidevatās* (Soma, Rudra, Indra and Brahmā) of the four Vedas. Description of the forms of the

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139 atra bhedās tu ṛgvedā daśa caiva prakīrtitāḥ //
aśleṣāḥ saṃkhyāś carcāś ca yāvakāś carcakās tathā /
śrāvaṇīyā ca kramā ca puṭakrama-vaṭakramāḥ //
daṇḍaś ceti samāsena punar ekaiva pāragā /
śākhāś ca trividhā bhūyaḥ śākalā brahma-māṇḍūkāḥ //
teṣām adhyayanaṃ proktaṃ maṇḍalāś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭikāḥ (v.l. cātuḥ-saptatiḥ) /
vargāṇāṃ parisaṃkhyātaṃ caturviṃśa-śatāni ca //
ṛcāṃ daśa-sahasrāṇi ṛcāṃ pañca-śatāni ca /
mānam aśīti-pādaś ca tatra pāraṇam ucyate //
Devī-p. 107. 13b-17.

140 The text of the verses containing these names is full of mistakes. It runs as follows:—
. . . saṃkhyā yajurvedasya śrūyatām /
ṣaḍaśīti-vibhedena mayā bhinnaṃ śivājñayā //
daśadhā carakā tatra kārakā vidradhiṣayā (v.l. karakāhāritradhīyayā) /
kaṭhāḥ prācya-kaṭhāś caiva kapiṣṭhala-kaṭhās tathā //
cāraṇīyāḥ śvetāś ca śveta-tārā maitrāyaṇīti /
punaḥ saptatir bhedena maitrāyaṇyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ //
mānava-ḍuṇḍubha-vārāhāś chāgeyā hāridravīyā /
samāyā māyanīyāś ca teṣām adhyayanam ucyate //
aṣṭādaśa-sahasrāṇi paṭhan śākhāvido bhavet /
dviguṇaṃ padapāṭhī yas triguṇaṃ krama-pāragaḥ //
Devī-p. 107. 18-23.

141 śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktaṃ chando jyotiṣam //
ṣaḍaṅgāni bhavanty ete tāny upaṅgāni śṛṇu kathyatām /
pratipadam anupadaṃ chando bhāṣā mīmāṃsā ca //
nyāya-tarka-samāyuktā upāṅgāḥ parikīrtitāḥ /
pariśiṣṭāś ca saṃkhyātā aṣṭādaśa śṛṇuṣva tat //
yūpa-lakṣaṇa-pratiṣṭhā tu vākyaṃ saṃkhyāś caraṇa-vyūhaḥ /
śrāddhākalpaś ca śuklāni pārīṣadam ṛg-yajuś ca //
aṣṭakāpūraṇaṃ caiva pravarādhyāyo'ṅga-śāstram /
kratu-saṃkhyā nigamā yajñapārśvāntahautrikam //
vrataṃ ca paśavo homaṃ kūrma-lakṣaṇa-saṃyutāḥ /
kathitāḥ pariśiṣṭās tu ūnaviṃśā mahāmune //
Devī-p. 107. 24b-29.

It is clear that the text of these verses is highly defective.

142 For the names of the different schools of these Vedas see Devī-p. 107. 30-44.

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four Vedas personified. The different objects in which these Vedas are to be worshipped.

Chap. 108.—Praise of Āyurveda. Debate among the sages about the cause of disease in human body, and their conclusion that bad diet is its root cause.

Chap. 109.—Classification of food with regard to the source of its origin, its effect on human body, the modes of taking it, its taste, and so on.

Chap. 110.—Names of different kinds of food,[143] as well as of roots, fruits, herbs etc. which are most beneficial or harmful to the human body. Praise of Durgā-worship and of study of Tantras. Praise of Āyurveda-śāstra, which is said to have been disclosed by Śiva in order to kill Khaṭvāsura.

[Chaps. 108-110 are the reproduction of Caraka-Saṃhitā I (Sūtrasthāna), 25 with minor additions and alterations.]

Chap. 111.—Story of the origin of Khaṭvāsura from the rage of Viṣṇu and Śiva; his successful war with the gods; and his penance.

Chap. 112.—Viṣṇu's rubbing (cf. saṃmathayitvā) of his palms under the influence of rājasa-bhāva, and the consequent appearance of Gajānana. Gods' occupation of the different parts of Gajānana's body.

Chap. 113.—Viṣṇu's eulogy of Gajānana by describing his characteristics.[144] Gajānana's statement that he has been sent there by Mahādeva, and his consent to remove the impediments of gods.

Chap. 114.—Worship of Gajānana by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods. Offer of different articles (viz., crescent moon, white girdle, coral, conch-shell, bow, mace, goad etc.) by different gods, and Śiva's appointment of Gajānana as the leader of gods under the name of Vināyaka.

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[143] In this chapter beef is denounced as the worst kind of meat; meat of cocks is praised as the most strengthening; sight of Nagnas and Kāṣāyins is said to do the greatest harm to life; the Sun (Āditya) is called the best healer of leprosy; and so on.

[144] In this eulogy Gajānana is said to have serpents as his head-ornament, carry daṇḍa, aṅkuśa, paraśu, mekhalā and sūtra in his hands, hold a 'laḍḍuka' in one of his hands and sandal etc. in another, and have his neck adorned by a necklace and his cheeks drenched by ichor.

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Chap. 115.—Vināyaka's arrival at Udayācala and killing of Vighnāsura.

Chap. 116.—Story of the origin of Vighnāsura from the fire issuing from Brahmā's mouth when the latter, being engaged in penance, thought himself to be the only god. Viṣṇu's eulogy of Śiva and Devī for killing Vighnāsura, and Śiva's boon to Viṣṇu that Vighnāsura, Jambhāsura and Sulomāsura would be killed by Vināyaka surrounded by the Mātṛs.

Story of Khaṭvāsura's penance for Devī's favour.

Māṇḍavya's saving of Hariścandra's life and kingdom by worshipping the Mātṛs at Vindhyācala according to the advice of the five Mātṛs (viz., Ambikā, Rudrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Brāhmī and Vaiṣṇavī) whom Māṇḍavya first worshipped at Someśa on the bank of the Sarasvatī.

Chap. 117.—Praise of the worship of Mātṛs, especially at a time when the sun remains at the Kanyā rāśi (kanyā-saṃsthe divākare).

Chap. 118.—Results of constructing new temples and of removing the images of Durgā and the Mātṛs to these temples from the old ones. Suitable time (viz., dakṣiṇāyana) for removing the images of Brahmā, Indra, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Mātṛs and Bhairava. The different *mantras* to be used in removing the images of Mātṛs. Offer of wine, meat etc. to these female deities. Results of repairing old temples and of replacing old images with new ones.

Chap. 119.—After killing Khaṭvāsura Śiva assumed a dreadful form (of Bhairava ?), held a 'khaṭvāṅga' in his left hand and a 'kapāla' in his right, and wore a garland of skulls on his head.

Going to speak on the origin of the 'kapāla' and 'khaṭvāṅga', Śiva describes himself as the Eternal Being and Devī as the Mūla-prakṛti, and narrates how he created water and thence the universe with the gods, men and others. He also says that the skulls and limbs worn by him are respectively those of the innumerable Brahmās and Viṣṇus whom he created in the past. Regarding the origin of the 'khaṭvāṅga' Śiva says that the impediment to his *yoga*-

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practice, being hurled up by him in rage, assumed the form of the demon Khaṭva and was destined to be killed by Vighneśa (i.e. Vināyaka).

Chap. 120.—Purification of the body by muttering the Padamālā-mantra or the Gāyatrī, and by practising 'yama' (consisting of *brahmacarya*, dayā, kṣānti, dhyāna, *satya*, ahiṃsā, *asteya*, mādhurya and *dama*), 'niyama' (consisting of snāna, svādhyāya, *upastha-nigraha*, guru-sevā, śauca, *akrodha* and apramāda), and various kinds of penance (viz., sāntapana-vrata, mahasāntapana-vrata, parṇakṛcchra-vrata, taptakṛcchra-vrata, pādakṛcchra-vrata, prājāpatya-vrata, atikṛcchra-vrata, kṛcchrātikṛcchra-vrata, parāka-vrata, saumyakṛcchra-vrata, tulāpuruṣa-vrata, cāndrāyaṇa-vrata, and kṛcchra-cāndrāyaṇa-vrata), which have been described.

Chap. 121.—Maintenance of the sacred fire—a duty of those who are versed in the literatures of the Vāmas and the Dakṣiṇas as well as in Vedānta, Gṛhya etc.

Method of performance of *homa* by the members of the higher three castes as well as by Śūdras, women and children. Names (Agni, Hutāśana and Anala) of the three kinds of fire and of the gods who reside in it.

Chap. 122.—Origin of Āhavanīya Agni from Gārhapatya Agni, and of the latter from Dakṣiṇāgni. Names of the fifty-one descendants of Āhavanīya Agni, and the occasions for their use.

Chap. 123.—Different kinds of flowers, incense, scents etc. to be used in Devī-worship.

Chap. 124.—Methods of worshipping Devī and the spiritual preceptor (*guru*).—Proper place for worship; decoration of the place; performance of ṣaḍaṅga-nyāsa; bathing of Devī and the spiritual preceptor; offer of different articles including meat; performance of *homa*; and so on.

Chap. 125.—Praise of the worship of the spiritual preceptor who is identified with Śiva.

Chap. 126.—Method of Agni-saṃskāra and the performance of *homa* for removing the impediments to 'japa' and 'adhyayana'.

(In this chapter there is mention of different kinds of

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mudrās and *mantras* such as *kavaca-mantra*, *astra-mantra*, etc.).

Chap. 127.—Necessity of the performance of Devī-worship by kings, who are to keep their subjects in the path of virtue. Influence of the conduct of kings on their subjects; hence the necessity of imparting good education to a king even with the help of medicine, *mantras* etc. Necessity of *śraddhā* on the part of a learner.

Story of the revelation of Devī's Stava-rāja. (In this Stava-rāja there is mention of the different names[145] and exploits of Devī as well as of the names of the different places[146] of Devī-worship; Devī is said to be worshipped as Vindhyavāsinī by Śavaras, Varvaras and Pulindas[147] and to move about in the sky in a form having eighteen hands; and the relation between Śiva and Devī has been explained with various examples).

Chap. 128.—Method of worshipping the Devī-p. and of reading it before a gathering. Honour to be shown to the reader. Fit places (viz., one's own house, Kāśī, Kāmapura etc.) for the study of the Devī-p. Results of such reading.

The above analysis of contents of the present Devī-p. will show how important this work is from various points of view, especially for the history of Śāktism. But, unfortunately, it does not contain the whole of the original Devī-p., which must have been a much bigger work. We have already mentioned that in chap. 1 of the present Devī-p. Vasiṣṭha speaks of four Pādas of the Devī-p. and gives the contents of all these Pādas. This statement of Vasiṣṭha is corroborated by Bhagīratha who, in his commentary on Kumāra-saṃbhava I. 1, says that Kālidāsa wrote his Kumāra-saṃbhava on the basis of the story of the birth of

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[145] Kanyādevī, Śākambharī, Mahāśvetā, Subhadrā, Dhūmrā, Bhūtamātā, Mātaṅgī, Caṇḍikā, Ghaṇṭāravā, Virūpākṣī, Śālaṅkāyanī etc.

[146] Himālaya, Kailāsa, Meru, Mandara, Vindhya, Malaya, Gandhamādana, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, and the tract of land lying between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.

[147] The text of Devī-p. 127. 110b is as follows:—

śaravarṣavaraiś cāpi pulindaiś cāpi pūjyase.

The reading 'śaravarṣavaraiś cāpi' must be a mistake for 'śavarair varvaraiś cāpi'. Cf. Harivaṃśa II. 3. 7a—

śavarair varvaraiś caiva pulindaiś ca supūjitā.

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Kārttikeya as given in the 'Devī-purāṇa', and thus proves that the 'Devī-purāṇa', with the contents of at least its fourth Pāda, was known to him.[148] But in the present text of the Devī-p. we find only those topics which have been mentioned (in chap. 1) as the subject-matters of the first two Pādas or rather the second one;[149] and at least three of the complete Mss of the Devī-p. end with the verse 'etac cābhyudayaṃ pādaṃ śatais tribhir narottamaiḥ etc.'[150] Hence it is evident that the present Devī-p. does not represent the bigger and entire work that was known under the same title in earlier days but contains only a portion ending with the Trailokyābhyudaya Pāda and dealing with the first incarnation of Devī.[151]

This fragmentary condition of our present Devī-p. is

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[148] Dacca Univ. Ms No. 108H (Bhagīratha's com. on Kālidāsa's Kumārasaṃbhava), fol. 2a—'kaviḥ kālidāsaḥ devī-purāṇīyāṃ kārttikeya-janma-kathām āśritya kumāra-saṃbhavaṃ nāma mahākāvyam idaṃ niravatma (? niravartayat)'. This statement, however, is not correct.

Bhagīratha calls himself 'pītamuṇḍi-kuṭa-bhūṣaṇa' and was a Brahmin.

It is to be noted that according to the present Devī-p. (1. 45-46) the story of Kārttikeya's birth and exploits was dealt with in the fourth Pāda.

[149] The facts that the contents of the second Pāda begin practically from chap. 2 of the present Devī-p. and that in chap. 1 the Purāṇa is found to begin abruptly and the interlocution between Nṛpavāhana and Citrāṅgada is not preceded by any introduction of the interlocutors, tend to show that even the Trailokya-vijaya Pāda has sustained serious loss. Whatever the meaning of the line 'utpatti-kīrtanaṃ sṛṣṭeḥ prathamaṃ samudāhṛtam' (given in footnote 110 above) may be, it must be admitted that the Trailokya-vijaya Pāda is almost totally lost. It is only Devī-p., chap. 1 which seems to have belonged to the Trailokya-vijaya Pāda. Cf. Devī-p. 1.28—

ādyādhyāyena saṃkṣepāt purāṇaṃ samudāhṛtam /
pāde trailokya-vijaye sarva-kāma-prasādhanam //

With the present state of our knowledge we cannot say definitely whether Devī-p. 127. 24ff., which deal with the first origin of Devī at the beginning of creation, originally belonged to the first Pāda, or whether these verses were added only to deal very briefly with an important topic which was going to be omitted with the omission of practically the entire Trailokya-vijaya Pāda.

[150] See footnote 105 above. The Ms of the Devī-p. described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1205-7 has the final colophon—

'ity ādye devyavatāre śrī-devīpurāṇe 'bhyudaya-pādaḥ samāptaḥ'.

[151] That the present Devī-p. deals only with the 'first incarnation' of Devī is shown by the reading 'ity ādye devyavatāre etc.' occurring in the final colophon as well as in some of the chapter-colophons of the Ms of the Devī-p. described by Eggeling (see Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1207) and in the final colophons of the two Mss described in Mitra's Bikaner Cat. and Shastri and Gui's Calcutta Sans. College Cat. (see footnote 76). Cf. also Devī-p. 128.4 wherein the 'ādya devyavatāra' has been mentioned indirectly, in connection with 'phala-śruti', as the subject-matter of the present Devī-p.

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due most probably to the repeated revisions and abridgments to which this Purāṇa, like many other works of its class, was subjected from early days. The Devī-p. itself records a tradition that this 'Śāstra' was revealed by Śiva to Brahmā in ten lacs (of ślokas ?) and by Brahmā to Indra in one lac (of śkokas ?). It then reached Agastya (most probably in a more abridged form), and Agastya narrated it to king Nṛpavāhana (perhaps far more concisely).[152] That, in spite of all its exaggerations, this tradition is not totally false but is based on some amount of truth, is shown by (i) the absence of the third and fourth Pādas and most probably of the major portion of the first also[153] from the present Devī-p., (ii) the abrupt beginning of the Purāṇa, the sudden mention of Nṛpavāhana and Citrāṅgada in Devī-p. 1. 63-66 without any previous introduction, and the abruptness of some of the interlocutions,[154] (iii) a comparison of some of the extracts quoted in the Nibandhas from the 'Devī-purāṇa' with their parallels in the present Devī,[155]

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[152] Devī-p. 128. 1-2.

[153] See footnote 149 above.

In his Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 357-8 Caṇḍeśvara quotes twenty-nine metrical lines, ascribing them to the 'Devī-purāṇa' at the outset and adding at the end: "bhāgavata-purāṇe devy-avatāre navamī-kriyā-sūcanam aṣṭa-catvāriṃśo 'dhyāyaḥ." But, curiously enough, these twenty-nine lines constitute chap. 21 (and not chap. 48, as said in the Kṛtya-ratnākara) of the present Devī-p. Moreover, some of the long extracts and many of the verses quoted by Caṇḍeśvara from the 'Devī-p.' are not found in our printed text. So, the text of the Devī-p. used by Caṇḍevśara was much more extensive than that of the printed work.

[154] For instance, the interlocution between Śaunaka and Manu begins from chap. 39, although no mention of the former has been made anywhere in the preceding chapters and nothing is said as to how these two interlocutors came to meet each other.

[155] A long extract dealing with Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata and consisting of 71 metrical lines has been quoted from the 'Devī-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 823-6. A comparison between this extract and chap. 78 of the extant Devī-p. shows that though the present Devī-p. has retained many of the lines of the quoted extract, it has summarised many of the remaining ones by retaining the language of the original as far as possible, that the Devī-p. (chap. 78) condenses the whole topic in 28 lines, whereas the quoted extract has 71 lines, and that in the Devī-p. Manu is the speaker, whereas in the quoted passage the interlocutors are Devī and Īśvara.

A comparison between a long extract (on Durgā-varta) quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. 1, pp. 856-862 and Devī-p. 33. 50-109 shows that in the quoted passage Brahmā speaks to Śukra, whereas in the Devī-p. it is Īśvara (i.e. Śiva) who speaks to Śukra, and it is due to this change in the speaker that instead of the line 'etad vratavaraṃ śukra mayā rudreṇa viṣṇunā' ('this best of vows was practised by myself, Rudra and

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and (iv) the loss of some of the chapters from the extant work.[156]

The above tradition as well as the probable loss sustained by our extant Devī-p., shows that the changes made in the present Devī-p. are far more of the character of condensation than of expansion by additions.[157] So, in spite of these repeated changes *the major portion of the present contents of this Purāṇa can generally lay claim to an early date, if not to that of its first composition.* The close interrelation among the chapters[158] also points to the general integrity of the Purāṇa.

Viṣṇu') occurring towards the end of the quoted extract, the Devī-p. has 'etad vrata-varaṃ śukra mayā brahmaṇā viṣṇunā'.

Again, a summary of contents of a few lines of the Devī-p., together with the line 'śṛṇu śakra pravakṣyāmi' and the verse 'śubhaṃ vāpy aśubhaṃ kiṃcit' which precede and follow this summary respectively, has been given in Narasiṃha Vājapepin's Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 640-1. A comparison between this summary and Devī-p. 123. 11ff. shows how the Devī-p. has been reshaped. In the quoted portion Śakra is addressed by somebody, whereas in the extant Devī-p. it is king Nṛpavāhana who is instructed by Agastya on the method of Devī-worship. Though the three quoted lines are not found in Devī-p., chap. 123, and the summary of other lines agrees with the contents of Devī-p. 123. 11ff. only imperfectly, it is Devī-p., chap. 123 which must have been the new form of that chapter from which the above-mentioned lines and summary were derived, because, in the expression 'mukulādi-niṣedhaḥ pūrvavat/puṣpābhāve patrāṇi etc.' (Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 641) there is unmistakable reference to Devī-p. 123. 18-20.

Compare also the verses 'vāma-dakṣina-vettā yo mātṛ-vedārtha-pāragaḥ' etc. quoted in Aparārka's com. on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (p. 16) with Devī-p. 32. 42-43 or 51. 4-6; a long extract of 130 lines quoted in Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva pp. 25-29 may be compared with Devī-p. 50. 88ff.; the verse 'pañcarātrārtha-kuśalo' quoted in Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 21 may be compared with Devī-p. 32. 42-43 or 51. 4-6; the description of Maṅgalā, Ṛddhi, Rati, Kānti, Yaśā, Śākrī, Jayāvatī, Ajitā, Mānasī, Śvetā and several other goddesses, as given in Vidyāpati's Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, pp. 77ff., may be compared with that contained in Devī-p. 50.i. 30, 113-4, 45-7, 125-6, and ii. 11-12, 9-10, 16, 24-25a, 31, etc; and so on.

Such comparison will show definitely that the present Devī-p. is the result of a recast to which the earlier Devī-p. was subjected.

[156] The mention of 'Yudhiṣṭhira' and 'Kuru-śārdūla' as interlocutors in two extracts quoted from the 'Devī-p.' in Kālasāra, p. 103 and Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 30-31 respectively but not found in the present Devī-p., and the occurrence of the word 'pārtha' in the Vocative Case in Devī-p. 27. 6 show that our Devī-p. once contained chapters in which Yudhiṣṭhira was one of the interlocutors. But in the present Devī-p. there is no such chapter.

The Mss of the Devī-p. say that this Purāṇa, ending with the Trailokyābhyudaya Pāda, consisted of 12300 ślokas, whereas these Mss as well as the printed edition actually contain 7000-8000 ślokas. (See footnote 105 above).

[157] That the present Devī-p. is not totally free from comparatively late additions, we shall see later on.

[158] For instance, Devī-p. 21. 14 refers to Devī-p. 2. 33-35; 36.1 refers to 33.2; 44.4 refers to 42.10(?); 46.9 refers to chaps. 47ff.; 57.3 refers to chap. 50; 65.90 refers

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So, at least the great majority of the chapters must be taken as contemporaneous.

The Devī-p. calls itself a 'Purāṇa'[159] or a 'Śāstra'[160] and never an 'Upapurāṇa'; but it has not been included in any of the comparatively early lists of eighteen Purāṇas or Upapurāṇas contained in the different Purāṇic and non-Purāṇic works,[161] most probably because of its abounding in Tantric elements.[162] Yet it is certainly not a very late work. It has been profusely drawn upon by a large number of Niban-

to chaps. 50-54; 74.2 refers to chaps. 24ff.; 92.1-4 refer to chaps. 80-81; 93.22-23 refer to chap. 63; 93.59 refers to 93.26ff.; 121.4-5 refer to chap. 26(?); and so on.

[159] See Devī-p. 1. 1; 1.78; 1.57; 128.49; also the colophons of chapters.

The reading 'ityādye mahāpurāṇe' after Devī-p. 7.90 must be a wrong one for 'ityādye devīpurāṇe' which is found in many of the chapter-colophons. It is noteworthy that in the chapter-colophons the Purāṇa calls itself 'ādya'.

In spite of its claim to the status of a 'Purāṇa' it contains very little of the five topics characteristic of a 'Purāṇa', 'vaṃśa', 'manvantara' and 'vaṃśānucarita' being safely omitted.

[160] See Devī-p. 128, verses 1, 13, 15, 25, 34 and so on.

[161] It is only in the Ekāmra-p. (a work of Orissa) that the 'Devī' has been included in the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas (see Vol. I, p. 13). In his Smṛti-tattva Raghunandana also includes the 'Daiva' in the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas contained in the verses quoted by him from a 'Kaurma' (i.e. Kūrma-p.). Raghunandana explains 'Daiva' as 'Devī-p.' (daivaṃ devīpurāṇam).—Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3.

The text of the verses of the Kūrma-p., as given by Raghunandana, is found to agree neither with that of the extant Kūrma nor with those of the verses on the list of Upapurāṇas quoted from the 'Kūrma-p.' in the different Smṛti Nibandhas. (For the texts of these verses of the 'Kūrma-p.' see Vol. I, Chap. I, footnotes 6-9).

By his reference to the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas as occurring in the 'Kūrma-p.' and by his express mention that the Devī-p. was not included in any of the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, Vallālasena also disapproves definitely the text of the above-mentioned verses as given by Raghunandana. See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verse 12b-13a)—

.... kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ /
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca //

and p. 7 (verse 67)—

tat-tat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ kaśmala-karma-yogāt /
pāṣaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṃ nirūpya devīpurāṇaṃ na nibaddham atra //

Hence the age and authenticity of Raghunandana's text are extremely doubtful.

The Devī-p. is also included in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the Śabda-kalpa-druma, but this list has been derived most probably from Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva.

[162] Vallālasena ascribes the exclusion of the Devī-p. from the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas to its Tantric character. See Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verse 67)—

tat-tat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ kaśmala-karma-yogāt /
pāṣaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṃ nirūpya devīpurāṇaṃ na nibaddham atra //.

It is to be noted that at the time the present Devī-p. was first composed, the Purāṇas imbibed very little Tantric influence and looked down upon the Tantras as 'Pāṣaṇḍa-śāstras'. So, it is natural that the Devī-p., with its prominent Tantric elements, should be kept outside the group of the 18 Upapurāṇas. See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 260ff.

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dhakāras, both early and late. For example, Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes numerous verses from Devī-p., chaps. 51, 61 and 118 in his Hari-bhakti-vilāsa; Gadādhara from chaps. 21, 22, 24, 59, 61 and 96 in his Kālasāra; Anantabhaṭṭa from chap. 54 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta; Narasiṃha Vājapeyin from chaps. 32 (cf.), 34, 50, 51 and 123 in his Nityācāra-pradīpa; Raghunandana from chaps. 21-24, 50, 51, 54, 59, 61 and 78 in his Smṛti-tattva and from chaps. 21-23, 50, 54, 59 and 123 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva; Govindānanda from chaps. 21 (cf.), 24, 59, 61 and 78 in his Varṣa-kaumudī, from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-kaumudī, and from chap. 60 in his Dāna-kaumudī; Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi from chaps. 22, 24, 59 and 61 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava; Vācaspatimiśra from chap. 54 in his Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, and from chaps. 48 and 59 in his Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi; Rudradhara from chap. 24 in his Varṣa-kṛtya and from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-viveka; Śūlapāṇi from chaps. 21-23 and 61 in his Durgotsava-viveka, from chap. 97 in his Prāyaścitta-viveka, and from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-viveka; Caṇḍeśvara from chaps. 12, 21, 22, 24, 33, 50, 59, 61, 62, 74, 79, 89, 91, 99, 102, 104, 117, 123 and 127 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, from chap. 97 in his Gṛhastha-ratnākara, and from chaps. 59, 103, 105 and 106 in his Dāna-vākyāvalī;Madanapāla from chaps. 51, 59 and 97 in his Madana-pārijāta; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 24, 74 and 104 (cf.) in his Kāla-nirṇaya; Vidyāpati from chaps. 21-23, 50, 51, 53, 59, 89, 91, 117, 123 and 124 in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī and from chap. 50 in his Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī; Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 50 and 51 in his Ācārādarśa (*alias* Kṛtyācāra) and from chaps. 24, 45, 59, 61 and 79 in his Samaya-pradīpa; Hemādri from chaps. 11, 12, 21-24, 27, 31, 32, 45, 50, 56, 58-62, 64-67, 74, 78, 79, 89, 91, 98, 99-107 and 121 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi; Vallālasena from chap. 100 in his Adbhuta-sāgara;[163] Aparārka from chaps. 32 (cf.),

[163] The authenticity of the quotation made from the Devī-p. in the Adbhuta-sāgara is more or less debatable. Towards the beginning of his Adbhuta-sāgara the author gives a list of authorities utilised by him in his work. But an actual examination of the Adbhuta-sāgara shows that this work contains verses from such Purāṇas and

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51 (cf.), 59, 74, 97, 102 and 104 in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti; Lakṣmīdhara from chaps. 12, 23-27, 33, 58-59, 64, 74, 79, 89, 91, 96-99, 101-106 and 127 in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, Vols. I-VI, VIII and XI; and Jīmūta-vāhana from chaps. 22, 48, 61, 74 and 93 in his Kālaviveka. Of the 21 metrical lines ascribed to the 'Devī-p.' in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, six are found in chaps. 48, 59 and 61 of the present Devī-p.[164] Some of the verses of the Devī-p., which were derived by Raghunandana from 'Vācaspati-miśra', 'Kṛtya-mahārṇava' (of Vācaspati-miśra), 'Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi', 'Navya-vardhamāna', 'Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī' (of Vidyāpati), 'Naiyata-kālika-kalpataru' and 'Kāmadhenu' (1000-1100 A.D.), are found in Devī-p., chaps. 21, 24 and 59.[165] Hence the date of the present Devī-p., which was known far and wide in the eleventh century, can never be placed later than 850 A.D.

Though the authenticity of the quotation made in the Adbhuta-sāgara from Devī-p., chap. 100 is more or less debatable, Vallālasena's knowledge of the present Devī-p. can by no means be questioned. By his remark that the Devī-p., which was exluded from the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its treatment of 'sinful acts', was rejected by him because of its Tantric character,[166] Vallālasena undoubtedly means the present Devī-p. which had Tantric elements even before the time of Aparārka.[167] Now,

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Upapurāṇas (viz., Devī-p., Viṣṇu-p., Nandī-p., Vāyu-p., Āditya-p., Liṅga-p. and Brahmāṇḍa-p.) as have not been mentioned in the list. The exclusion of the names of these works from the list may be due either to the inadvertance of the author or to the insertion of verses of these works by people other than the author. Though such incomplete lists are to be found in other Sanskrit works also, a consideration of Vallālasena's critical outlook as well as of the fact that Lakṣmaṇasena completed this work left unfinished by its author, tempts us to suppose that most probably it was Lakṣmaṇasena who revised and improved the Adbhuta-sāgara with further addition of materials.

[164–165] Complete lists of all the traced and untraceable verses will be given at the end of the final Volume of the present work.

[166] Cf. Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verse 67)—

'tat-tat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ etc.'

[167] Cf. Aparārka's com. (on the Yāj.), p. 16—

yad api devī-purāṇe—

vāma-dakṣiṇa-vettā yo mātṛ-vedārtha-pāragaḥ /
sa bhavet sthāpakaḥ śreṣṭho devīnāṃ mātarā(-ṭṛkā)su ca //

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by way of explaining why he rejected some of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, partly or wholly, in his Dānasāgara, Vallālasena makes valuable remarks on their contents and authenticity as a result of a highly critical study of the entire Purāṇic literature and names a set of Purāṇas which he regarded as spurious, viz., Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruḍa), Brāhma, Āgneya, Vaiṣṇava consisting of 23000 ślokas, and Laiṅga of 6000 ślokas.[168] But he expresses no such opinion about the Devī-p. On the other hand, he says that the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas excluded it because of its Tantric character, thus implying that the Devī-p. is as old as any of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas mentioned in the lists. All this shows that in Vallālasena's days the reputation of the Devī-p. as a genuine Purāṇic work was firmly established and no question was raised against its authenticity and early origin. So, the Devī-p. must be much older than the extant Garuḍa and Agni which are identical with the spurious Tārkṣya and Āgneya mentioned by Vallālasena.[169] The extant Garuḍa and Agni being works most probably of the tenth and ninth centuries respectively,[170] the Devī-p. must be placed earlier still. Hence the Devī-p. cannot possibly be later than 700 A.D.[171]

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pāñcarātrārtha-kuśalo mātṛ-tantra-viśāradaḥ /
....
śiva-śāsana-vettā yo graha-mātṛ-gaṇārthavit /
....

[168] Though it is not yet possible to identify definitely the spurious Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava and Laiṅga mentioned by Vallālasena, the contents of the spurious Purāṇas, as given by Vallālasena in his Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verses 63-66), show definitely that the spurious Tārkṣya and Āgneya of Vallālasena are the same as the present Garuḍa and Agni-p. respectively. For more detailed information on this point see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 137-8 and 143.

[169] See the immediately preceding footnote.

[170] Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 144 and 138.

[171] In his Durgotsava-viveka, p. 18 Śūlapāṇi says that the line 'aṣṭamyāṃ bali-dānena putra-nāśo bhaved dhruvam' of a 'Devī-p.' was explained by Śrīkara as prohibitive of *saṃdhi-pūjā* and *bali-dāna* during the Aṣṭamī Tithi (yat tu 'aṣṭamyāṃ bali-dānena .... ' iti devīpurāṇīyaṃ tad aṣṭamī-kṣaṇe saṃdhipūjā-balidāna-niṣedhakam iti śrīdatta-śrīkara-miśrāḥ). So,it is sure that a 'Devī-p.' was known to Śrīkara, who flourished between 800 and 1050 A.D. and probably in the ninth century. But as the above-mentioned line is not found in the present Devī-p., we are not sure whether the present Devī-p. is the same as that known to Śrīkara. The want of any tradition or evidence as to the existence of a second Devī-p. and the fact that the present Devī-p.

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This lower limit of the date of the Devī-p. seems to be pushed further up by a good number of references, contained in it,[172] to the independent worship of Brahmā. The opinion of scholars that the sect of Brahmā became prominent during the period ranging from 200 to 600 A.D. and that the five gods of the Smārtas threw Brahmā into the background towards the beginning of the seventh century,[173] tends to show that at the time the present Devī-p. was first composed, the worship of Brahmā was more or less popular. Hence the Devī-p. is to be placed not later than about 600 A.D.

Again, Devī-p., chap. 69 (except verses 1 and 22b), which is the same as Yājñavalkya-smṛti I. 271-289a and 290-293, must have been taken from the latter work; Devī-p., chaps. 108-110 are mainly the reproduction of Caraka-saṃhitā I (Sūtra-sthāna), chap. 25; and there are references to the decadent state of Jainism and Buddhism in several places of this work.[174] Moreover, there is mention of *horā* and drekkāṇa,[175] of the names of the zodiacal signs (rāśi)[176] and week-days,[177] of the Śaivas and Pāśupatas as two distinct Śivaite sects, of the Vāmas and Dakṣiṇas as two divisions of the Tantriks, of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu,[178] of the Tantrik Baud-

contains the majority of the verses ascribed to the 'Devī-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, however, tend to show that the two Devī-purāṇas, mentioned above, are identical, and that the text of the Devī-p., used by Śrīkara and Śūlapāni, had a few more verses (on Devī-worship) which do not occur in the present text of this Purāṇa.

[172] See Devī-p. 2. 13; 35. 18-19; 50. iv. 57; 61. 1; 82. 15; 104.9; 118. 2; and so on.

[173] Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 148 and 179-180. Cf. also Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chaps. 58 and 60, wherein there are rules for the construction and erection of the image of Brahmā, thus proving the wide spread of the worship of the god in Varāhamihira's time.

[174] See Devī-p. 9.32; 13.24; 27.18; 33.61; 65.52; 69.3; 88.2; 110. 3; and so on. These verses show that the Jains and Buddhists were regarded as wholly untrustworthy, and their sight was deemed inauspicious, unholy and most detrimental to longevity. Their sight even in dreams was considered as foreboding evil.

[175] Devī-p. 73.49. Though the occurrence of the term 'horā' in two verses quoted by Varāhamihira from Garga in Bṛhat-saṃhitā, pp. 7 and 9 (chap. 2) shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A.D., there is nothing to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A.D.

[176] Devī-p. 22.7; 32.8-10; 39.167; 43.64; 44.8; 46.81-82; 47.2; 50. iv. 1ff.

[177] Devī-p. 43.64; 45.3ff.; 76.41.

[178] The Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu most probably from about 550 A.D. See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 41-42.

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dhas,[179] and of the Hūṇas as practising the different mystic Vidyās.[180] So, the Devī-p. cannot be dated earlier than 500 A.D.

This upper limit of the date of the Devī-p. seems to be supported by its silence about the Devī-māhātmya of the Mārkaṇḍaya-p. as well as by the distribution of the different limbs of the *kūrma* (kūrmāṅga-saṃsthāna), as described in Devī-p., chap. 46 (verses 63 ff.), which prominently betrays the influence of Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 14 (nakṣatra-kūrmādhyāyaḥ) not only by one of its opening verses[181] but also by metrical similarity in a few others.[182] Besides these there are a few more verses in which the influence of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā may reasonably be suspected.[183] In the description of Ghora's nature and administration, as given in Devī-p. 16. 3-11, there are some statements[184] which have striking similarity with those made by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his Kādambarī in course of describing the condition of king Śūdraka's subjects,[185] and from these it is very natural

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[179] Devī-p. 88.2-3—

pāṣaṇḍibhir bhaviṣyais tu bauddha-gāruḍa-vādibhiḥ /
svadharma-niratair vatsa svena nyāyena pūjitāḥ //

This verse refers to the Pāṣaṇḍa (i.e. Tantrik) Bauddhas who worshipped the divine Mothers in their own way.

See also Devī-p. 13. 10-12, which, by their mention that Śīlamatī, wife of the demon Ghora, became devoted to the Digambara sect and observed vows but did not worship the Mātṛs, seem to betray their knowledge of the Tantrik Bauddhas.

[180] Devī-p. 39.143.

[181] Cf. Devī-p. 46.64 with Bṛhat-saṃhitā 14.1.

[182] Devī-p., chap. 46, verses 68, 72-74, 80 and 82 are composed in the same metre as that of Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 14. See also Devī-p. 12. 34-38, 44 and 54-57.

[183] For instance, Devī-p., chap. 12, which deals with the hoisting of Indra's banner (indra-dhvajocchrāya), has verses (viz., 22, 24 and 28-29) which may be compared with Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 43, verses 21, 22a and 39-40; Devī-p., chap. 47, dealing with the movements of the planets (graha-gati), opens with six lines written in the same metre as that of Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 14; and so on.

[184] For these see verses 8-11—

yasya kari-mahāgandhā mada-mattā na rāṣṭrajāḥ /
yasya hāṭaka-daṇḍāni chatreṣu na jane kvacit //
yasya ghātā aśvoṣṭreṣu na pure na ca ghoṭake /
yasya dūtāḥ priyā-kope kārmukānāṃ na vigrahe //
yasya cādhvara-yajñeṣu hy aśru-pāto na śokajaḥ /
yasya śaśi-kṛpāṇeṣu kalaṅko na ca bhī-kṛtaḥ //
yasya svapna-prabhā mithyā na ca vaktavya-yojane /
yasya bāle mukhābhaṅgo na ca krodha-bhayāt kvacit //

[185] See Kādambarī, pp. 10-11—yasmiṃś ca rājani jita-jagati paripālayati mahīṃ

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for one to take the Devī-p. as the borrower. But the grammatical and other errors occurring in some of these verses[186] go definitely against their spurious character. So, these verses cannot be utilised to bring down the date of the Devī-p.

Thus, it is highly probable that the Devī-p., as we have it now, comes down from the sixth century A.D. and most probably from its latter half.

The mention of the earlier arrangement of the *nakṣatras* from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī in Devī-p. 46.83 and 127.87-92 should not be taken to go against the above general date of the Devī-p. *in its present form*; because in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā itself there is mention of the *nakṣatras* from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī (see Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 15).

A large number of verses is found common to Devī-p., chaps. 46-49 and Sāmba-p., chaps. 18 and 22-23.[187] Although we have seen in course of our analysis of the Sāmba-p. in Vol. I (p. 66) that chaps. 22-23 of this work must have been added later, we cannot say definitely whether the Sāmba-p. borrowed the common verses from the Devī-p., or both these Purāṇas utilised a common source. The grammatical correctness of the great majority of the verses of the said four chapters of the Devī-p., especially the last three (viz., chaps. 47-49), as contrasted very remarkably with that of the verses preceding and following them, shows that most of them were derived from a different source. But we are in complete darkness about the period of their inclusion in the Devī-p.

The above general date, to which we have assigned the

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citra-karmasu •varṇa-saṃkarāḥ .. .. svapneṣu vipralambhāś chatreṣu kanaka-daṇḍāḥ .. .. kariṣu mada-vikārāḥ .. .. etc.

[186] See, for instance, Devī-p. 16. 3 ('-madotsekāt' for '-madotsekena'), 5 ('bādhanti' for 'bādhante', '-krodhādir na gaṇo viśate tanum' for '-krodhādināṃ na gaṇo viśati tanum'), 7 ('-maṇḍala-ṃ-tattva-veditā' for '-maṇḍala-tattva-veditā', and 'karastham api dhātrijam' for 'karastham iva dhātrījam'), 8 ('kari-mahāgandhāḥ' for 'mahāgandha kariṇaḥ'), and so on.

[187]

Devī-p.		Sāmba-p.
46.2-37	=	18. 1b-38.
47.6b-36	=	18. 39-68.
48.1-22	=	22. 3-24a.
49.2-30	=	23. 9b-39.

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present Devī-p., should not be taken to be the date of composition of all the chapters without exception. It has already been said that this work, as we have it at present, is the result of repeated revisions and abridgments to which its original text was subjected with the progress of time; and we shall see presently that its peculiar language points to its earlier beginning. So, *it is very likely that in the present text of the Devī-p. there are chapters (or parts thereof) and verses which were composed much earlier than the sixth century A.D.*

Being a great authority on Śakti-worship and consequently a work of extensive use, the Devī-p. could not escape interpolations. In connection with *vidyā-dāna* mention has been made, in Devī-p. chap. 91, of the Nandi-nāgara script, which, as Bühler says, originated from the Southern Nāgarī of the 8th-11th centuries A.D.[188] Hence *chap. 91* (or rather verses 12-82, which deal with *vidyā-dāna*) *must have been interpolated later.* The comparatively late date of this chapter is also shown by its mention of *yantra* (diagram) as a medium of worship. It is to be noted that in the whole of the present Devī-p. there is no second instance in which the *yantra* has been prescribed to be used as a medium of worship. Chap. 91 is, however, not to be dated later than 1050 A.D., because Hemādri and Lakṣmīdhara quote almost the entire chapter in their Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and Kṛtya-kalpataru respectively.[189] Besides these, there may be other interpolations, but it is very difficult to find them out.

Though the Devī-p. calls itself a 'Purāṇa' or a 'Śāstra' but never an 'Upapurāṇa' and is a fairly early work, it has been included among the Upapurāṇas by Raghunandana[190], Narasiṃha Vājapeyin[191], Mitra-miśra[192], and Śaiva Nīla-

[188] Bühler, Indian Palaeography, p. 51.

[189] A complete list of the traced verses will be given at the end of the final Volume of the present work.

[190] See footnote 161 above.

[191] Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 18-19—

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dṛśyate /
vijānīdhvaṃ muni-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam //

vinirgataṃ samudbhūtam / yathā kālikāpurāṇādīniti lakṣmīdharaḥ / .. ..
.. yac ca vāyupurāṇa-devīpurāṇādi tad apy eteṣv antargatam /

[192] Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15—

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kaṇṭha[193]. But there was a section of people including Caṇḍeśvara who claimed that this Devī-p. was the real Bhāgavata[194]. This opinion, being wholly unjustified[195], failed to find any wide acceptance among the people and was consequently discarded.

As regards the provenance of the Devī-p., there is little scope for doubt that it was written in Bengal. Besides the mention of the names of countries, rivers, holy places etc., mostly belonging to Northern India[196] and showing the relation of this Purāṇa with that part of the country, there are other evidences which point to Bengal as the place of its origin. These evidences are as follows :

(1) As we shall see presently, the Devī-p., unlike all other works of the Purāṇic literature, is written in highly incorrect Sanskrit which compares very favourably with Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit found in the Mahāvastu, Lalita-vistara and other works of East Indian origin. So, there can be little doubt about the fact that the Devī-p. also had its origin in Eastern India.

(2) Of the numerous lists of Upapurāṇas contained in different works it is only those given in the Ekāmra-p. (a work of Orissa) and Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva which include the name of the Devī-p.[197]

(3) Although the Devī-p. mentions 'Kāmarūpa' and

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aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dṛśyate /
vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam //
.. vinirgataṃ samudbhūtam / yathā mahājana-parigṛhīta-nandi-keśvara-purāṇ-ādipurāṇa-devīpurāṇādīti saṃkṣepaḥ /

[193] See Nīlakaṇṭha's com. Tilaka (on the Devī-bhāgavata), p. 3a— .. .. devīpurāṇa-kālikāpurāṇayor upapurāṇatvasya niścitatvāt .. .. /

[194] Cf. the verse—

'bhagavatyāś ca durgāyāś caritaṃ yatra vartate /
tat tu bhāgavataṃ proktaṃ na tu devīpurāṇakam //'

occurring in chap. 23 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bengal Śiva-p. (for which see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3665, p. 1357).

This verse is the same as verse 129 of chap. 44 of the Umā-saṃhitā of the Śiva-p. (Veṅkaṭ. ed., which reads 'vidyate' for 'vartate').

In his Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 358) Caṇḍeśvara once names the Devī-p. both as 'Devī-purāṇa' and 'Bhāgavata-purāṇa'.—See footnote 153 above.

[195] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 52ff.

[196] See Devī-p., chaps. 38, 39, 42, 46 (verses 63ff.), 63, 74-76, and so on.

[197] For these two lists see Vol. I, pp. 4-5 and 13.

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'Kāmākhyā' as places of Devī-worship, it does not add any importance to these, nor does it betray any influence of the method of Devī-worship followed in these places. On the other hand, it concerns itself with the praise and worship of Vindhyavāsinī (of whom, as the Daśa-kumāra-carita tells us, there was a famous temple at 'Dāmalipta' or Tamluk)[198], and the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Śakti-worship and its influence on Bengal become more and more prominent in the later Purāṇic works such as the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata and Bṛhaddharma-p.

(4) Most of the extant Mss of the Devī-p. are found in Bengal and are written in Bengali script, and those which are now available at or near about Benares, might have been copied from their originals taken there from Bengal. In other parts of India, Mss of this Purāṇa are very rare.

(5) As we have already seen,[199] the Devī-p. mentions *śatru-bali* in Durgā-pūjā in the following verse (22.16):

tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāc chatruṃ kṛtvā tu piṣṭajam /
khaḍgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-viśākhayoḥ //

Curiously enough, this custom survives in Bengal even to the present day.

Śatru-bali as a malevolent rite is very ancient. In early days it was performed after a pacificatory rite (śānti) by a king's priest with the use of *abhicāra-mantras* for the good of his royal patron. Varāhamihira mentions it in the following verse of his Bṛhat-saṃhitā (44. 21):

"śāntiṃ rāṣṭra-vivṛddhyai kṛtvā bhūyo 'bhicārakair mantraiḥ/
mṛnmayam ariṃ vibhindyāc chūlen-oraḥsthale vipraḥ //"

"After performing the propitiatory rite for the growth [and prosperity] of the kingdom the [learned] Brahmin [priest] should, by citing Abhicāra-mantras again, thoroughly pierce with a lance at its chest [the effigy of] an enemy made of clay."

But the association of 'śatru-bali' with Durgā-pūjā is of

[198] See Daśa-kumāra-carita, Ucchvāsa VI, p. 149— .. .. suhmeṣu dāmaliptāhvayasya nagarasya bāhyodyāne .. .. āyatane vismṛta-vindhya-rāga-vāsaṃ vasantyā vindhyavāsinyāḥ .. .. /

[199] See above p. 45, with footnote 123.

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comparatively late date. So far as we have been able to find, it is our Devī-p. which is the earliest extant work to mention this rite in connection with Durgā-pūjā. The other comparatively early Purāṇic works to prescribe it are the present Agni[200] and Garuḍa-p., the Mahābhāgavata and the Kālikā-p. Of these, the first, viz., Agni-p., says in connection with the worship of sixteen- or eighteen-handed Durgā annually on the Mahānavamī Tithi:

"tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāc chatruṃ piṣṭamayaṃ haret /
dadyāt skanda-viśākhābhyām .... //"
(185.13-14).

"In her (i.e. Devī's) presence the king should take his bath, destroy [the figure of] an enemy made of powdered rice, and give [it] to Skanda and Viśākha.....". In much the same words (especially as those of Devī-p. 22. 16) the Garuḍa-p. also says in the same connection:

"tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāc chatruṃ kṛtvā ca paiṣṭajam /
khaḍgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-viśākhayoḥ //"
(I. 135.3=Jīv.'s ed.I.134.2).[201]

It is to be noted that these two verses of the Agni and the Garuḍa-p. (and more particularly that of the latter) agree very much with Devī-p. 22. 16 quoted above, and have even the incorrect Saṃdhi in 'tasyāgrataḥ' (for 'tasyāḥ agrataḥ') like the Devī[202]. Moreover, chap. 134 of Garuḍa-p. I, which also deals with Durgā-pūjā on the Mahānavamī Tithi, has one line (6b) tallying completely with Devī-p. 22. 10a and two more (6a and 7a) agreeing remarkably with Devī-p. 22. 9a and 10b respectively. So, there is little doubt about the fact that both the Agni and the Garuḍa-p. had their

[200] This is a spurious work available in more printed editions than one and quite different from the genuine Āgneya-p. still surviving in Mss under the title 'Vahni-p.' For information about this genuine Āgneya-p. (*alias* Vahni-p.) see Hazra in Our Heritage, I, 1953, pp. 209-245 and II, 1954, pp. 77-110, and Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, V, 1955-56, pp. 411-416.

[201] Jīv.'s ed. wrongly reads 'śakraṃ kṛtvā ca paiṣṭakam' for the second half of the first line.

[202] We shall see hereinafter that the language of the Devī-p., unlike that of the other works of its class, is characterised by grammatical incorrectness at every step very much like that of the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, and several other Sanskrit works of the Buddhist literature.

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verses on *śatru-bali* composed on the basis of that of the Devī-p.

Now, the Agni-p. was compiled either in the eastern part of Orissa or in the western part of West Bengal (and most probably in the latter)[203], and the Garuḍa-p. originated

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[203] The earliest reference to the (spurious) Agni-p. occurs in the Dānasāgara of Vallālasena, a ruler of Bengal, who, by way of explaining why he did not utilise the contents of some Purāṇas, or particular parts thereof, in his great digest on gifts, says about four spurious Purāṇas including the present Agni and Garuḍa:

tārkṣyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ brāhmam āgneyam eva ca /
trayoviṃśati-sāhasraṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavam //
ṣaṭ-sahasra-mitaṃ laiṅgaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ tathā /
dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍayukti-ratna-parīkṣaṇaiḥ //
mṛṣā-vaṃśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ /
asaṃgata-kathābandha-paraspara-virodhataḥ //
tan mīnaketanādīnāṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-liṅginām /
loka-vañcanam ālokya sarvam evāvadhīritam //

(Dānasāgara, p. 7, verses 63-66).

From the contents of these works (viz., initiation, consecration of images etc., Tantric practices, testing of gems, false genealogies and accounts of kings and sages, lexicography, grammar, etc.) as mentioned in the above verses and from the fact that these works were utilised by Mīnaketanas and other Tantriks for deceiving people, it is sure that the Agni and the Garuḍa-p., rejected by Vallālasena, are the same as our present Agni and Garuḍa-p. published so often as genuine Purāṇas from different parts of India.

Being compiled some time during the ninth century A.D. this Agni-p. began its fight against the genuine Āgneya-p. for occupying the latter's position and was soon able to attain much popularity especially among those who had been influenced by Tantricism. But the apathy, or rather hatred, which the comparatively early Smṛti-writers bore towards the Tantras, prevented this Purāṇa from attaining a position of general acceptance as the genuine Mahāpurāṇa spoken out by the Fire-god. Thus, in the twelfth century, as Vallālasena's evidence shows, this Purāṇa was trying in Bengal to hold the ground against the genuine Āgneya-p. and took a few centuries more to attain a position of authority among the Smṛti-writers. In the meantime it was gaining ground in Orissa, where Viśvanātha Kavirāja (1300-1384 A.D.), the first known scholar to recognise its authority, quoted from it two verses (viz., 337.3 and 338.7) in his Sāhitya-darpaṇa, Pariccheda I, p. 2. The next writer to utilise this spurious Agni-p. also hailed from Orissa. He was Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, a Smṛti-writer who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century A. D. Even in the first quarter of the sixteenth century this work was able to attain only partial recognition in Bengal, where Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya (1520-1560 A.D.) was the first writer to look upon it as an authority and to utilise its contents profusely in his works. (For the above date of Govindānanda see Hazra in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, XVIII, pp. 97-108, and for the list of the verses quoted by him from the 'Agni-p.' or 'Āgneya' and traced in the present Agni-p., see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 318, and Our Heritage, I, 1953, p. 244). It is interesting to note that outside Bengal and Orissa this work attained recognition of scholars much later and took a few decades more to be looked upon as an authority in Western and Southern India, and in Mithilā it was not even referred to by any writer down to the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., if not later. So, there is little scope for doubt that the spurious Agni-p. originated somewhere in Eastern Orissa or Western Bengal. The complete silence of Maithila writers about

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in Mithilā, but most likely in that part of Bengal which was adjacent to Mithilā[204].

As to the Mahābhāgavata and the Kālikā-p., we shall see hereinafter that the former, which mentions the rite of *śatru-bali* in the verse

"tataḥ śatruṃ baliṃ dadyāt kṛtvā piṣṭamayaṃ mama /
navamyāṃ pūjitāhaṃ tu balibhir vividhair api //"
(45.33),

was written in Bengal (and most probably in its eastern part) some time during the tenth or eleventh century A.D., and the latter, which gives a description of the rite in chap. 71, verses 177ff., was compiled in the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.D. either in Kāmarūpa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it.

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this Agni-p. down to the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. (although some of them, such as Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati and others, recognised the authority of Tantras much earlier) and the fact that in spite of the mention of Kāmarūpa as a sacred place on two occasions (in Agni-p. 143.7 and 144.19) the Brahmins of that place (and not those of Bengal or Orissa) have been included in Agni-p. 39. 6-7 among those who were considered unfit for consecrating the images of Viṣṇu according to the Pāñcarātra method, tend to show that the Agni-p. was compiled neither in Mithilā nor in Kāmarūpa. On the other hand, the facts that Puruṣottama (modern Puri in Orissa), mentioned more than once in the Agni-p. (viz., in 117. 63, 174. 18, and 219. 68), has been located in 'Auḍra' (in Agni-p. 305. 13), that no Smṛti-writer of Orissa makes any mention of *śatru-bali* in connection with Durgā-pūjā, and that the name '*bhelakhī*' for a particular type of mystic Vidyā (widely known in Bengal under the popular name 'bhelkī') occurs in Agni-p. 133. 40-41 and 143. 3, make it very likely that this Purāṇa was compiled in the western part of West Bengal.

[204] Like the spurious Agni-p., the present Garuḍa-p. also was mentioned, for the first time, by Vallālasena of Bengal but rejected by him as unauthoritative for its spurious character and the Tantric elements in its contents. (For the relevant verses of Vallālasena's Dānasāgara see the immediately preceding footnote). Its authority was recognised, first of all, by Vidyāpati (1395-1440 A.D.) and Vācaspati-miśra (1425-1480 A.D.), both of whom hailed from Mithilā and drew upon it in their Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī and Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi respectively. In Bengal, it was Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya (1520-1560 A.D.) who was the first Smṛti-writer to recognise its authority and to draw upon it profusely in his Śrāddha-kaumudī and Varṣa-kaumudī and once in his Śuddhi-kaumudī. Following him, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa (author of the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa), and others also drew upon this work. In Orissa, it was not recognised till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., after which Gadādhara utilised it in his Kālasāra. On the other hand, the Garuḍa-p. names, among the great holy places of India, not only Ekāmra, Viraja and Śrī-puruṣottama of Orissa but also Kokāmukha, Kāmarūpa and Puṇḍravardhana with the particular mention of the deities Kāmākhyā and Kārttikeya of the last two places respectively. (See Garuḍa-p. I. 81. 11-17). So, the Garuḍa-p., undoubtedly a work of Eastern India, was compiled either in Mithilā or in the western part of Bengal (and most probably in the latter).

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Again, the earliest Smṛti work to mention the said rite of *śatru-bali* in Durgā-pūjā is Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru, but its only authority is the Devī-p., from which it quotes, in its Rāja-dharma-kāṇḍa, pp. 192-5, verses 3-24 of chap. 22 (including the verse on *śatru-bali*). In his Durgotsava-paddhati Udayasiṃha Rūpanārāyaṇa also quotes many verses from the Devī-p., and says (on fol. 15b):

> "anantaraṃ śatru-pratimāṃ piṣṭamayīṃ kṛtvā khaḍgena tac-chiraś chedayitvā 'oṃ skandāya namaḥ' iti skandāya śiro dattvā 'oṃ viśākhāya namaḥ' iti viśākhāya kabandhaṃ dadyāt".

Although Udayasiṃha Rūpanārāyaṇa does not quote Devī-p. 22.16 (on *śatru-bali*), his wordings show definitely that his authority for this rite was the Devī-p. In his Vidhāna-pārijāta (II, p. 651) Anantabhaṭṭa also quotes the said verse of the Devī-p. (and no other authority) in connection with *śatru-bali* in Durgā-pūjā. In Eastern India it is the Saṃvat-sara-pradīpa which is the earliest Smṛti work to include this rite in the annual worship of Durgā. It was written in the twelfth century A.D. by Halāyudha, a high state officer in charge of religious affairs under king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal; and its relevant lines (given without quoting any authority) are as follows:

> "tataḥ ... ... śāli-piṣṭaka-śatru-pratikṛtiṃ nirmāya maṇḍapa-dvāra-pārśve uttara-śirasaṃ saṃsthāpya lohita-puṣpeṇa saṃpūjya tīkṣṇa-khaḍgam ādāya amukāmukaṃ mārayamīti chittvā skanda-viśākhābhyāṃ nama iti nivedayet." (See fol. 25b).

There is also another Smṛti work of Bengal, viz., Durgā-pūjā-paddhati of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, in which there is mention of *śatru-bali* (see Durgā-pūjā-paddhati, fols. 46b-47b). Of the Smṛti-writers of Mithilā it is Caṇḍeśvara and Vidyāpati who mention *śatru-bali* in their Kṛtya-ratnākara (pp. 353, 360) and Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (pp. 35, 197) respectively, the authority cited by them on this rite being the Devī-p. only. The influence of the Bengal Nibandhas on the section on Durgā-pūjā in Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnā-kara and Vidyāpati's Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī is obvious. It

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is specially remarkable that in all cases the non-Bengal Nibandhas use the Devī-p. as their only authority on *śatru-bali*, that all the Purāṇas, except the Devī, which mention this rite, connecting it with Durgā-pūjā, belong either to Bengal or to places very near to it, and that this rite is found to be followed in some form or other in Bengal even at the present day. From all this it appears that both the rite of *śatru-bali* in Durgā-pūjā and the Devī-p. recording it originated in Eastern India and very likely in Bengal.

(6) The Devī-p. names, in some cases more than once, Kāmarūpa,[205] Kāmākhyā[206], and the different parts of Bengal, viz., Vaṅga[207], Rāḍhā[208], Varendra[209], Samataṭa[210] and Vardhamāna[211], and thus shows its familiarity with and partiality for this part of Eastern India.

(7) Among the few chief holy places sacred to Devī this Purāṇa recognises and names 'Ujjayanī' (a Śākta holy place in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal) and its presiding deity Ujjanī (popularly known as Ujānī)[212], which, being of local importance, are found mentioned only in the works of Bengal[213].

(8) As in Bengali versification, long vowels are often to be read as short for the sake of metre, and *vice versa*. See, for instance, Devī-p. 8.3 (bṛhaspatinā cākhyātam, in which the final 'ā' of 'bṛhaspatinā' is to be read as short), 14.25 (tathāpi kālo gadā tāṃ mumoca, in which the 'ā' of 'gadā' is to be read as short), 85.48b (kunta-karpūra-yaṣṭibhir bhuśuṇḍī-hala-mudgaraiḥ, in which the 'i' of '-yaṣṭi-' is to be read as long), and 85.49b (śalakaiḥ śilīmukhaiḥ śūlaiḥ paṭṭiśair mūṣalair halaiḥ). See also Devī-p. 2.10a, 3.24a, 3.25a, 4.1a; and so on.

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[205] Devī-p. 42. 8; 46. 71.
[206] *Ibid.*, 39. 6 and 144.
[207] *Ibid.*, 46. 69.
[208] *Ibid.*, 39. 144.
[209] *Ibid.*, 39. 144; 42. 9.
[210] *Ibid.*, 46. 70.
[211] *Ibid.*, 46. 70.
[212] *Ibid.*, 38.8—ujjayanyāṃ tu ujjanī jambu-mārge tathā sthitā.
[213] For the exact location of this 'Ujjayanī' and the names of the works mentioning it see footnote 125 above.

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(9) In the Devī-p. there are many words and expressions which are clearly based on those in popular use in Bengal. As instances, only a few are noted below :—

(i) The inflected form 'devyā' of 'devī' has been used in a large number of places as a basic word and declined like 'latā' and other feminine words ending in 'ā'. [It should be mentioned here that in rural Bengal the word 'devyā' (for ('devī') is popularly used as a title of Brahmin widows even at the present day.]

Similarly, 'mātā', 'duhitā', 'trātā', 'dātā', etc. have been used on several occasions as basic words respectively for 'mātṛ', 'duhitṛ', 'trātṛ', 'dātṛ' etc.—See Devī-p. 6. ii. 44; 17.17; 43.18; 7.38; 31.36; and so on.

(ii) As in Bengali, the word 'saṃmata' has been used to mean '*the person* who has agreed or given his consent' (and not '*the matter* agreed upon or consented to') in Devī-p. 7. 96—evaṃ tāḥ saṃmatīkṛtvā . . . . . / niyuktāḥ śaṃbhunā . . . . . / / (Cf. Bengali—'sammata kariyā').

(iii) Like the word 'ki' (for 'kiṃvā' meaning 'or') in Bengali, the Devī-p. uses 'kim' in 8. 12— . . . . . dvāre . . . / nāradas tiṣṭhate deva sthāpyatāṃ kiṃ praveśyatām / /

Cf. Bengali—देव, . . . द्वारे . . . नारद अवस्थान करितेछेन, [ताँहाके सेखानेइ] राखिते हइबे, कि, प्रवेश कराइते हइबे ? (Note the word 'sthāpyatām' for Bengali 'राखिते हइबे').

(iv) The verbal forms 'uttha' (for 'uttiṣṭha') in Devī-p. 8. 17 (uttha rājan mahābāho . . . . . .) and 'karanti' (for 'kurvanti') in Devī-p. 35. 27 (. . . bādhāṃ karanti ca), are very similar to their Bengali equivalents 'उठ' (rise) and 'करे' (present tense, third person, plural number of the Bengali root 'करा' for Sanskrit 'kṛ').

[See also the forms 'utthan' (for 'udatiṣṭhat') in Devī-p. 4.31, 'samutthanti' (for 'samuttiṣṭhanti') in 85. 33, 59, 'utthantaṃ' (for 'uttiṣṭhantaṃ') in 85. 43, and 'uttha' (for 'utthāya') in 85. 58.]

(v) As in Bengali, the Sanskrit root 'bhuj' (meaning 'to enjoy') has been used in the form 'bhuñj' in many places of the Devī-p. See, for instance, Devī-p. 2.42 (svarga-bhū-sapta-pātālān bhuñja tvaṃ . . .), 2.49, 5.16 (bhuñja svargam),

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4.10 (bhū-pātālāni bhuñjatha), 9.12 (bhuñjate pṛthvīm), 9.36 (bālā bhuñjanīyā), 9.39 (bhuñjan pṛthvīm), 9.45 (bhuñjayitvā), and so on.

(vi) On numerous occasions, nouns derived from verbal roots by means of Kṛt affixes denoting action have been allowed to govern objects having the second case-ending. For instances of such use we may refer to Devī-p. 1. 57 (śravaṇāt ... ... purāṇaṃ śiva-bhāṣitam, in which the word 'śravaṇa' governs the Accusative Case in 'purāṇa'), 8.57 (kanyām udvahanopari—about marying the girl), 9. 42 (tām udvāha-samutsukaḥ—eager to marry her), 9. 50 (vidyā *mohana*-śīlā yā sa-surāsura-*manavan*), 11. 22 (*divam* utsahate *jaye*), 11. 57 (evaṃ śakrasya brahmeṇa kathitaṃ *ketumucchrayam*?), 12. 19 (paṅkam uddharaṇaṃ kūpe), 13. 22 (asthīni darśanam), 15.2 (-bhītān parirakṣaṇāya), and so on. Similar use of Kṛd-anta nouns denoting action is very common in Bengali and has its root in the Vedic literature, in which there are a few instances, viz., Ṛg-veda VIII. 11. 7—agne tvāṃ-kāmayā girā (which Sāyaṇa explains as 'tvāṃ-kāmayā tvām abhilaṣantyā girā stutyā'), Atharva-veda VI. 139. 2, 4—māṃ kāmena—by loving me (Whitney), Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa II. 3. 1. 16—yady enaṃ kṣīraṃ kevalaṃ pāne 'bhyābhavet—if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk (Eggeling), and so on. In the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata also there are several instances of this type (for which see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 273).

(vii) The forms 'jvalanta' (for 'jvalat'), 'bhramanta' (for 'bhramat'), 'vahanta' (for 'vahat'), etc. have been used as basic words in Devī-p. 14. 27 (jvalanta-kopāḥ), 84. 14 (jvalantāgni-), 85.38 (bhramantāvṛtta-kuṭilam), 85.39 (vahantaiḥ), etc. (Cf. Bengali 'ज्वलन्त आगुन' —blazing fire, 'चलन्त गाड़ी' —moving car, 'घुमन्त शिशु' —sleeping child, and so on).

The form 'tejin' (for 'tejasvin'—spirited) occurs in Devī-p. 53.1 (sraṣṭāraṃ tejinam ... ...). (Cf. colloquial Bengali 'तेजी लोक' —a spirited man).

(viii) As in Bengali, the word 'pūrve' (with the seventh

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case-ending) has been used in Devī-p. 6. ii. 1 (mayā pūrve ca tvaṃ deva uktam āsīt . . .) in the sense of 'formerly', 'previously', and the word 'kapāla' appears in Devī-p. 33.31 in the sense of 'forehead'.

(ix) In several places of the Devī-p. the seventh case-ending has been used in place of the fourth in the Dative case. See, for instance, Devī-p. 11. 7 (vasiṣṭhenāpi sā dattā . . . . . sārasvate . . . .; bahvṛcas tāruṇe dadau, 'tāruṇe' being used for 'tām+āruṇe'; and so on), 106.5 (devyā bhakte pradātavyam).

Cf. Bengali 'ना मरे पाषाण वाप दिला हेन वरे' (Bhārata-candra's Annadā-maṅgala)— . . . . . gave [me] to such a bride-groom . . . . . .; 'सत्पात्रे दान करा उचित' —[one] shoûld make gifts to a worthy recipient; and so on.

On one occasion the seventh case-ending has been used in place of the third, viz., in 14.4—mahāmohe 'timohite (for '-mohenātimohite'). Cf. शोके कातर —afflicted with grief, चोखे देखा —seen with the eyes, हाते करा—handmade, कले तैरी—machine-made, and so on.

(x) As in Bengali, words have sometimes been used in different cases without any case-endings at all. See, for instance, Devī-p. 3.12, 21 (*mahāsaṃgrāma* cakrire), 14. 20 (vāmaṃ *bhuja* pūrayitvā . . . . . dhāvati *kruddha* kopāt), 14. 25 (tathāpi kālo *gadā* tāṃ mumoca), 14. 27 (evaṃ sa kālo *hata* bhairavaś ca . . .), and so on.

(xi) There are a number of cases in which adjectives, qualifying nouns in the feminine gender, have been used, as in Bengali, without any case-ending or change of gender required by the nouns they qualify. See, for instance, Devī-p. 2. 40—param *aṣṭāṅga* devasya *bhaktiṃ* . . . . . ., 9. 29—evaṃ tasya *matir bhūta* nārada-pathagā . . ., and so on.

(xii) The words '*aṣṭāśī*' (for 'aṣṭāśīti') in Devī-p. 12.31 (aṣṭāśīṃ tu . . . . . .) and '*pañca-pañcāśa*' (for 'pañca-pañcāśat') in Devī-p. 17. 8 have their parallels in colloquial Bengali (viz. 'अष्टाशी' or 'आटाशी', and 'पाँचपञ्चाश').

(xiii) As in Bengali, the *a* of a final or intermediate syllable of a word, though existing in writing, is on many occasions not taken into account in pronunciation. See,

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for instance, Devī-p. 13. 57—iṅgud-oḍumbaraṃ kharjura-mātuluṅgaiḥ sadāḍimaiḥ (in which the final *a* of 'kharjura' is not to be pronounced); similarly, 32.34—para*ś*u-cakra-dharau cānyau ḍama*r*u-darpaṇa cāparau, 32.36— ... kurvantī kala*k*alāravaiḥ, 39.159—śarabha-śaṅkhau hatau dṛṣṭvā ... ..., and so on.

(xiv) As in colloquial Bengali, the final Visarga of a word is sometimes not to be pronounced at all (for the sake of metre). See, for instance, Devī-p. 27.21 ... amṛtaṃ havi*ḥ* kāmikam (in which the Visarga of 'haviḥ' is to be ignored in pronunciation), 31.39—sa sukhaṃ yaśa*ḥ* saubhāgyaṃ ... ..., 36.34— ... ... pulahādibhi*ḥ* sattamaiḥ, and so on.

(xv) In a number of cases the *a* of a final or intermediate syllable of a word has been eliminated in writing, and for such elimination popular Bengali pronunciation must be held responsible. For instances see Devī-p. 39.15—*parśu-rāmeṇa* (for 'paraśurāmeṇa') toṣitā, 43.8—tadā tvaṃ *parśunā* (for 'paraśunā') hataḥ, 43.19—*parśuḥ* (for 'paraśuḥ') pibati śoṇitam, 98.27—*bālagbhir* (for 'bālakair') na ca ātmīyaṃ ... ..., and so on.

(xvi) As in Bengali, the word 'vinā' has been allowed to enter into an Avyayībhāva compound with a substantive and the seventh case-ending has been added to the final member. See, for instance, Devī-p. 51.21—bali-homa-kriyādīni *vinā-pātre* na sidhyati (vinā-pātre = vinā pātram). Cf. Bengali 'लोकटिर विना-दोषे शास्ति हइल'—the man was punished for no fault [of his]; 'से विना-खरचे सारा देश घुरियाछे'—he has travelled without expense throughout the whole country; and so on.

(xvii) The irregular compounds '*nṛpa-saha*', '*rocanā-saha*' etc. (in Devī-p. 12.56, 35.7, and so on), in which the indeclinable word 'saha' (meaning 'with' or 'together with') stands as the final member, have their parallels in Bengali.

(xviii) In Devī-p. 86.30 (nṛtyante paramo devo *asmākaṃ saha* vāsava) the sixth case-ending has been used in connection with the word 'saha'. In Bengali also, the sixth case-ending is employed in connection with the words 'saṅge' and 'sāthe',

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which are the indeclinable synonyms of 'saha', e.g. रामेर सङ्गे (or, साथे) आमार झगड़ा हइयाछिल'—I had a quarrel with Ram.

(xix) As in Bengali verse (especially of the early and the mediaeval period), the word 'darśana' has been used with *svara-bhakti* as 'daraśana' in Devī-p. 10.ix.11—daraśanam api puṇyaṃ yoga-mārga-sthitānām.

It is needless to cite more instances.

From the evidences adduced above it is clear that *the Devī-p. is an East Indian work written in Bengal.* The use of the simile of ships (*pota*) in more places than one in this Purāṇa,[214] tends to show that it was written somewhere about Tamluk, where, as we have already seen from the Daśa-kumāra-carita, there was a famous temple of Devī Vindhyavāsinī and whence ships were sent to distant countries outside India.

Although in the Devī-p., Devī appears mainly as a war-goddess[215], the method of Devī-worship, as given in this Purāṇa, is in many respects very different from that found at present in Bengal. The Devī-p. mentions *śatru-bali* but is silent about the customs of *nava-patrikā-pūjā* (worship of the nine plants), Devī's *bodhana* and worship in a Bilva tree, and the Śāvarotsava. This disagreement between the method of Devī-worship given in the Devī-p. and that found in present-day Bengal, can be explained away by saying that the above-mentioned customs (except *śatru-bali*), which are not found mentioned in any comparatively early work, can scarcely claim to have grown as early as the Devī-p. and that they were most probably due to the influence of Kāmarūpa. The direction for the worship of many gods and goddesses, especially of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa during Devī-worship, shows that the attempt at creating a sense of

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[214] Devī-p. 39.35 (paṅkodadhi-nimagnānām atipotā bhava tvaran); 72.73 ('potī potasya vā yathā' used in connection with the maintenance of a fort by its owner); 77.3 (.. .. śiva-potaṃ tu tena pāraṃ bhavārṇavāt); 77.15 (potaṃ nāvāplavaṃ khyātam); 83.36 (iṣu-cakr-āsi-makare tvaṃ poto bhava acyuta); 83.112 (daityaugha-majjamānānāṃ tvaṃ potā bhava śūlinī).

[215] It is for this reason that the Devī-p. is said to have been introduced on earth by kings and that it deals, among other topics, with warfare and the construction of towns and forts and the method of protecting these.

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brotherhood among the mutually conflicting sects among the Hindus began at an early date, and that such directions of the early Purāṇic works must have been incentives to the introduction of the 'pañcāyatana-pūjā' by the elimination of Brahmā, whose worship grew unpopular in later times.

The Devī-p. supplies us with important information regarding the different branches of Sanskrit literature known to it. Besides Itihāsa, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Ākhyāyikā, Jyotiḥ-śāstra, Vaidya-śāstra, Vīṇā-śāstra (93.65), etc. it frequently mentions a Devī-śāstra (literature on Devī)[216] which grew up before the composition of this Purāṇa; it refers to 'Purāṇas' dealing with Devī[217], thus showing that Devī had become the subject-matter of Purāṇic works even before the present Devī-p. was composed; and it speaks of the four Vedas as well as the Upavedas, Aṇgas etc.,[218] of Uśanas as an authority on warfare and construction of 'nadī-durga' (river-fort)[219], of Māṭhara as an authority on the method of Sun-worship[220], of the 'Śiva-siddhāntas' on Yoga and worship[221], of the 'Śivāgamas' as authorities on the method of worship of the divine Mothers[222], and of the political works spoken out by Śaṃbhu, Uśanas, Viṣṇu and Brahmā[223]. It not only mentions 'Tantra' and 'Āgama' very frequently[224] but names a good number of Tantric works, viz., Kāla-tantra[225], Gāruḍa-tantra[226], Mātṛ-tantra[227],

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[216] See Devī-p. 34.3 and 8; 89.14; 91.7 (devy-avatāra-śāstrāṇi); 99.17 (nandā-śāstra); 101.20; 105.9 (maṅgalā-śāstra).

[217] Devī-p. 37.74; 39.22

[218] Devī-p., chap. 107.

[219] Devī-p. 3.33; 72.55.

[220] Devī-p. 51.8. The meanings of the word 'māṭhara' are given by V.S. Apte as—(1) name of Vyāsa, (2) a Brāhmaṇa, (3) a distiller (śauṇḍika), and (4) one of the attendants on the Sun. It is most probably in the last sense that the word 'māṭhara' has been used in the Devī-p. This word seems to have nothing to do with the name of the author of the Māṭhara-vṛtti on the Sāṃkhya-kārikā.

[221] Devī-p. 10.4; 51.8.

[222] Devī-p. 88.1.

[223] Devī-p. 5.2.

[224] Devī-p. 6.30; 10.4; 33.49; 39.24-25; 56.22; 83.1 and 17; 110.3.

[225] Devī-p. 6.31; 88.1.

[226] Devī-p. 6.31; 32.43; 88.1; 91.14.

[227] Devī-p. 39. 25.

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Mūla-tantra[228], Bhūta-tantra[229], Bhairava-tantra[230], Bāla-tantra[231] and Nitya-tantra[232]. In Devī-p. 76.39 there is mention of a 'Mārkaṇḍeya-muniśreṣṭha-purāṇa' dealing with topics about the Narmadā and the Sarasvatī; but we have not been able to identify this work. It is also not known which Purāṇa is meant by Devī-p. 63.18 (aṣṭa-ṣaṣṭis tu nāmāni deva-devasya dhīmataḥ / purāṇe copagītāni brahmaṇā ca svayaṃbhuvā //). An extract, quoted by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 668 from the 'Devī-p.' but not found in the present Devī, contains the name of a 'Brahma-purāṇa' in connexion with a *mantra* to be pronounced during the worship of Viśvakarman, the divine architect.

In this connexion we should like to say a few words on the Tantric elements in the Devī-p. The Vedic influence on this work is quite evident from the facts that the contents of the Devī-p. are said to be 'vedārtha-tattva-sahita', that the four Vedas are called Devī's door-keepers, that the muttering of the Gāyatrī is prescribed during Śaiva-yoga, that the Vedas are called the highest authorities on *dharma*, that those who violate the rules of castes and orders of life are doomed to hell, that the worship often requires Vedic *mantras*, *kuṇḍa*, *homa*, etc., that the Brahmins are engaged as priests, and so on[233]. Yet this Purāṇa is infused with Tantric influence from beginning to end. It not only recognises the Tantra as an authority[234] but mentions 'Tantra' and 'Āgama' on several occasions and names a good number of Tantric works. The study of a large number of Tantras is even called the best of all purifiers[235].

The form of worship, which is often mainly Tantric,

[228] Devī-p. 9.65.

[229] Devī-p. 32.43; 88.1; 91.14. The Bhūta-tantra has been mentioned by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat-saṃhitā 16.19.

[230] Devī-p. 39.25; 91.14.

[231] Devī-p. 39.146; 91.14.

[232] Devī-p. 55.8.

[233] See Devī-p. 1.55; 7.22; 8.6; 10.v.9; 12.26; chaps. 25-26; 35.23; 72.26; 73.8; 82.11; 93.45; and so on.

[234] Devī-p. 55.8; 56.22.

[235] Devī-p. 110.3—bahu-tantrāvalokanaṃ vimalīkarāṇāṃ.....

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requires the use of Tantric *mantras* and the performance of *nyāsa*, *mudrā* etc.[236]; the use of wine and meat is prescribed in some cases[237]; the feeding of virgin girls is regarded as a very important part of all worships and festivals connected with Devī; the image (pratimā), altar (sthaṇḍila), sword (khaḍga), trident (śūla), circle (maṇḍala, with the figure of a lotus - *padma* - in it), book (*pustaka*), phallus (liṅga), foot-wear (pādukā), cloth (paṭa), knife (churikā), arrow (bāṇa), water, fire, heart (hṛdaya), picture (*citra*), and bow (*dhanus*) are to be used as mediums of worship in different cases[238]; and so on.

The Devī-p. mentions many mystic lores (vidyā), viz., Kāmikā, Padamālā, Aparājitā, Mohinī, Mṛtyuñjaya etc.,[239] which are intended not only for the attainment of magic powers such as ākarṣaṇa etc. but also for final emancipation (mukti)[240]. It elevates the position of the spiritual preceptors (*guru*) by prescribing their worship which is said to be as important as, or more important than, that of the gods, Fire and the Vidyās[241].

As to the position to be allowed to women and Śūdras, the Devī-p. holds a liberal view. It allows them as well as the Pukvasas, Caṇḍālas and others to perform the vows and worships connected with Devī[242] and even prefers a qualified Śūdra to a worthless member of any of the higher castes[243]. Women and Śūdras are directed to perform *homa* daily in a sanctuary (maṭha) or a kitchen (mahānasa) but never in a kuṇḍa[244]. Virgin girls are to be worshipped and fed in all the worships and festivals connected with Devī, because Devī, being herself a maiden, resides in all virgin

[236] Devī-p. 7.65-66; 7.88; 9.56; 9.68; 26.21-22; 29.14; 50.i.91; 50.iv.71; 52.8; 77.21-22; 91.40f.; 93.267f.; and so on.

[237] Devī-p. 39.173; 50.iii.18, 28 and 30; 118.6; and so on.
The Vīra-vrata requires the use of 'mahāmāṃsa' in *homa*.—Devī-p. 9. 68-69.

[238] Devī-p. 22.10; 26.35; 31.18; 50.i.61; 50.iv.42f. and 100; 54.10; 57.13; 58.19; 65.56f.; 91.40f.; 93.102-106; 98.7-9; 98.18-19; 100.5; 102.11-12; and so on.

[239] Devī-p. 1.63-64; 2.1; 9.49 and 52; 11.4; 76.31; and so on.

[240] Devī-p. 39.27; 39.122-4.

[241] Devī-p. 67.5; 124.1; chap. 125. Also cf. 39.170; 128.24 and 26f.

[242] Devī-p. 22.5-6; 22.23-24; 24.17; 88.4; 89.19; 91.1; and so on.

[243] Devī-p. 51.4-5.

[244] Devī-p. 121.5.

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girls[245]. Other women also are held in high esteem[246], so much so that their worship is prescribed on several occasions[247].

As has already been said, the highly incorrect language of the Devī-p. shows characteristics which are unique in the Purāṇic literature but have very often their parallels in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara and other Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit[248]. Although these linguistic peculiarities are too numerous to be noted here exhaustively, some striking cases are referred to below for giving a general idea of the highly varied nature of these, with the citation of a limited number of instances of each type taken mainly from the first few chapters of the Devī-p.

I. Unlawful[249] changes made not infrequently in the stems:

(i) Substitution of the final *i* of 'sakhi' (friend) with *āya*, as in

sakhāya (for 'sakhi') in 39.146[250]— . . . graha-rājasya sakhāyatve vyavasthitāḥ, 95.46—susakhāyaiḥ sahaiva tu, 95.44—sakhāyānāṃ tu lakṣaṇam, and so on[251].

(ii) Substitution of the final *ṛ* (of masculine words) with *a*, *ara*, *āra* or *u*, as in

bharta (for 'bhartṛ') in 9.10—bhartānupālakaḥ; *hota* (for 'hotṛ') in 11.33—yajña-hotāya namaḥ; *karta* (for 'kartṛ') in 26.34—bhūti-kartāya namaḥ;

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[245] Devī-p. 35.17-18—

kanyā devyā svayaṃ proktā kanyā-rūpā tu śūlinī /
yāvad akṣata-yoniḥ syāt tāvad devyā surārihā //

[246] Devī-p. 93.165f.

[247] Devī-p. 22.19; 90.21; 91.61.

[248] For information about Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit and its literature see F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary (Vol. I—Grammar, and Vol. II—Dictionary).

Although the name 'hybrid Sanskrit', given by Edgerton to the mixed language (Prakrit-Sanskrit) of the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, etc., is not very satisfactory, we have used it here from various considerations.

[249] So far as Sanskrit grammar is concerned.

[250] It is needless to say that this and similar other references below are to the Devī-p.

[251] For the use of 'sakhāya' for 'sakhi' in Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69 (10.8).

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pitara (for 'pitṛ') in 50.i.72—pitara-mātaraḥ, 91.50—mātarāḥ pitarās tathā;

hotāra (for 'hotṛ') in 121.27—avedakas tu hotāro naiva prīṇāti vai surān; *vettāra* (for 'vettṛ') in 32.42—tacchāstra-vettāraiḥ (Instrumental, plural), 121.6—mahā-vidyārtha-vettāraiḥ;

vidhātu (for 'vidhātṛ') in 7.9—jaya . . . . . -buddhīndriya-vidhātave (Dative for Vocative);

and so on[252].

(iii) Substitution of the final *ṛ* (of masculine words) with *ā* (the resultant form being used in the feminine gender), as in

dātā (for 'dātṛ') in 31.36—śivāyāḥ śiva-dātāyāḥ (for '. . . . . śiva-dātryāḥ', the word 'dātā' having been used in the feminine gender, for 'dātrī', on account of its final 'ā'); *stotā* (for 'stotṛ') in 6.ii.32-33— . . . devi . . . stotā tvaṃ ca stutis tvaṃ ca (for '. . . devi . . . stotrī tvaṃ . . . . . .'); *trātā* (for 'trātṛ') in 7. 38—trātās tāḥ sarva-devānām (for 'trātryas tāḥ .. .'); and so on.

It may be that of the words 'dātṛ', 'stotṛ', 'trātṛ' etc. the final *ṛ* was first replaced by *a* (as in 'hota', 'karta' etc. mentioned above) and then the feminine suffix *ā* was added for turning them into feminine bases.

So far as we have been able to find, the Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit do not contain a single instance of the above use of masculine words ending in 'ṛ'.

(iv) Substitution of the final *ī* of certain monosyllabic feminine words (such as 'dhī', 'śrī' and 'strī') with *iya* or *iyā*, as in

dhiya (for 'dhī') in 93.111—martyair jaḍa-dhiyair vātha . . . . . .;

śriyā (for 'śrī') in 7.51—śriyā rūpe sthitā tasya, 50.i.10—puṣṭiḥ śriyā umā, 50.i.84—teṣām āyuḥ śriyā, 50.i.115— . . . śriyā kāryā padmāsana-vyavasthitā,

[252] For similar use of 'napta' (for 'naptṛ'), 'māndhāta' (for 'māndhātṛ'), 'yaṣṭa' (for 'yaṣṭṛ'), 'karta' (for 'kartṛ'), 'bhrātara' (for 'bhrātṛ'), 'pitara' and 'pitu' (for 'pitṛ'), 'bhartu' (for 'bhartṛ'), 'śāstu' (for 'śāstṛ)', and so on in Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, etc. see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 90 (13.3-6) and 91 (13.16-17, 21-28).

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66.29—śriyā caiva tathomā ca;

striya and *striyā* (for 'strī') in 101.27—striyaiḥ kāryam, 9.68—striyākarṣaṇam, 67.74—striyā vā lakṣaṇopetā, 91.75—striyā vānena vidhinā vidyā-dāna-phalaṃ labhet; and so on[253].

(v) Substitution of the final *ṛ* (of feminine words) with *ā*, *ara*, or *arā*, as in

duhitā (for 'duhitṛ') in 43.18—agastya-duhitāṃ devīm;

mātā, *mātara* or *mātarā* (for 'mātṛ') in 6.ii.44—suhṛd-bandhu-mātā-balābalā-vadham, 17.17, 106.6—veda-māte (Vocative), 119.24—vīra-māte (Vocative), 7.84—mātara-saṃnidhau, 59.11—ravi-mātara-rūpā cā, 86.20—mātarāḥ, 86.4, 6, 8, 10, 14— -mātaraiḥ, 88.11—deva-mātarotpattim, 26.13—mātarā bhujagāmbikā, 45.6—mātarāsu ca (also 7.96—nāyikā mātarārtihāḥ, 22.21, 65.90—mātarāṇām, 26.17—mātarā loka-pālānām, 53.9—mātarāṇāṃ sadā-cakram, 65.81—mātarā graha-nāgāś ca, etc.); and so on[254].

(vi) Shortening of the final *ā* or *ī* of certain feminine words (very often for the sake of metre), as in

dīrghika (for 'dīrghikā') in 82.64, 93.75—dīrghikaiḥ; *jyotsna* (for 'jyotsnā') in 32.25—mayūkha-danta-jyotsnena cakāsantī taḍid iva; *mekhala* (for 'mekhalā') in 26.3—mekhalais tribhiḥ, 50.ii.1 — muñja-mekhala-bhūṣitā; *mudra* (for 'mudrā') in 52.8—varadābhaya-mudrau tu . . .; *narmada* (for 'narmadā') in 32.4—gaṅgā-narmada-vindhyādri-; *pāduka* (for 'pādukā') in 93.105—pāduke pratimāsu ca, 98.7— -pāduke paṭe, 98.19—pāduke vātha khaḍge ca; *patāka* (for 'patākā') in 51.27—patākaiḥ; *śobha* (for 'śobhā') in 50.ii.44—śobha-kṛt;

devi (for 'devī') in 14.23—sa devi-ghāto hata-bhū-niṣaṇṇaḥ, 14.28—te devi-bāṇāśani-bhinna-vakṣāḥ, 50.i.59—bhūṣayed devi-vedikām, 50.i.61—darśayed devi-

[253] For the use of 'śriyā' and 'striyā' (for 'śrī' and 'strī' respectively) in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69 (10.4-6).

[254] For instances of similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 90 (13. 7-13) and 91 (16-18).

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maṇḍale, 93.269— ... devi uddharet ...; *pārvati* (for 'pārvatī') in 43.37—pārvati-nandanaḥ; *patni* (for 'patnī') in 33.36—pratyaṅ-mukhāḥ patniṣu;

and so on[255].

(vii) Addition of *ā* after the final *ī* of certain feminine words (such as 'devī', 'koṭī', 'kumārī', 'vedī', etc.), as in

devyā (for 'devī') in 35.17—kanyā devyā svayaṃ proktā, 15.17—devyā kopānala-sudīpitāḥ, 7.37—tā devyā ṛṣi-mānavāḥ, 9.71—devyāyai vinivedaya, 32.14—devyāyā bhakti-kāraṇam, 37.100—devyāyā eṣa siddhāntaḥ, 92.13—devyāyām; *koṭyā* (for 'koṭī') in 2.37—koṭyāyuta-gajānvitaḥ; *kumāryā* (for 'kumārī') in 12.28—kumāryāḥ prathamāṃśagāḥ (Nominative, plural); *vedyā* (for 'vedī') in 65.99—paścimāyāṃ tu vedyāyām ...; and so on[256].

(viii) Addition of *a* to the final consonants mostly of masculine words and rarely also of feminine and neuter ones, as in

bhiṣaja (for 'bhiṣaj') in 58.5—purodhā-bhiṣajānvitaḥ, 58.7—bhiṣajaḥ ... laghu-hasto jitendriyaḥ; *sraja* (for 'sraj') in 50.ii.45—aśoka-sraja-homena, 65.2, 99.26, 29—srajaiḥ, 99.34, 101.7—sahakāra-srajaiḥ, 101.2—jāti-mayaiḥ srajaiḥ;

anicchata (for 'anicchat'—unwilling) in 9.36—na hi anicchatā[257] bālā bhuñjanīyā ('anicchatā' being the feminine form of 'anicchata' and qualifying 'bālā'); *bhavata* (for 'bhavat') in 9.31—yathāpi bhavato nāsmān ... bhāṣate (bhavataḥ = bhavān); *jānata* (for 'jānat'—jñā + śatṛ) in 4.13—deśaṃ caiva na jānatā (the *visarga* of 'jānatāḥ' being dropped);

saṃpada (for 'saṃpad') in 50.iv.6—āyuḥ-saṃpada-

[255] For instances of similar shortening of long vowels in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69 (10.10).

[256] The occurrence of the inflected forms 'devyāḥ' and 'koṭyāḥ' (Accusative plurals of 'devī' and 'koṭī') in the Saddharma-puṇḍarika and Lalitavistara, and of 'hiraṇyavatyāyāṃ' (Locative singular of 'hiraṇyavatī') in Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa (580.9), shows that the use of stems formed by adding ā to feminine words ending in ī was not unknown to the Buddhists.—See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 79 (10.162, 164), and II, p. 620.

[257] Some Mss of the Devī-p. read 'anicchatī' for 'anicchatā'.

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dāyakam; *śāstravida* (for 'śāstravid') in 16.12 — ... te deva śāstravidasya ...; *tadvida* (for 'tadvid') in 27.17 —deyā ca tadvidaiḥ;

samidha (for 'samidh') in 50.i.63—samidhāni, 55.16— -samidhāny etāni;

ātmāna (for 'ātman') in 8.19—ātmānaṃ paramaṃ devaṃ toṣaṇīyaṃ sadā budhaiḥ; *brahmaṇa* (for 'brahman') in 31.39—ity evaṃ brahmaṇo 'bravīt, 85.78—brahmaṇasya;

arthina (for 'arthin') in 32.11—sthāpayed deva-deveśaṃ sarva-kāmārthino yadi; *aśvina* (for 'aśvin') in 17.28—sāśvinān, 26.29—vasu-aśvina-rūpāya; *-dhāriṇa* (for '-dhārin') in 7.81—mahārudraḥ khaḍga-kheṭaka-dhāriṇaḥ; *-hāriṇa* (for '-hārin') in 4.56—... deva-deveśa umā-dehārdha-hāriṇaḥ / āgataḥ ..... //; *kariṇā* (for 'karin'—elephant) in 50.i.116—kariṇaiḥ kalasānvitaiḥ; *śūlina* (for 'śūlin') in 9.66—vaktum arhasi śūlina;

diva (neuter, for feminine 'div') in 4.6—divaṃ duḥkhena sādhyati, 4.10—na jetuṃ śakyate kāla divaṃ dharmeṇa rakṣitam;

diśa (for 'diś'—direction) in 50.i.52—pūrva-diśaiḥ; *nabhaḥspṛśa* (for 'nabhaḥspṛś') in 13.56—śāla-tālair nabhaḥspṛśaiḥ; *viśa* (for 'viś'—a Vaiśya) in 51.5—viśaḥ (singular), 22.5—viśaiḥ;

āyuṣa (for 'āyus') in 27.25—āyuṣa-kāmena; *dhanuṣa* (for 'dhanus') in 50.i.42—dhanuṣāṇāṃ, 53.2—dhanuṣāvadhi; *vapuṣa* (for 'vapus') in 43.50—divya-vapuṣe (Locative singular);

aṅgirasa (for 'aṅgiras') in 2.8—bhṛgv-aṅgiraṣa-vāsiṣṭha-māṇḍavyāḥ; *chandasa* (for 'chandas') in 17.29—nāmabhiś chandasaiḥ ... kīrtitam ...; *divaukasa* (for 'divaukas') in 33.17— ... modanti divaukasā iva ...; *jātavedasa* (for 'jātavedas') in 54.17—kuṣmāṇḍī-jātavedasaiḥ; *puṃsa* (for 'puṃs') in 8.44—puṃsaḥ saubhāgyam āpnuyāt, 33.109— ... labhate puṃsaḥ ..., 44.18— bhavate dhanavān puṃsaḥ ..., 108.32—tathā pradhāna-puṃsābhyām anyaḥ; *sumedhasa* (for 'sumedhas') in 9.38—rājā nāmnā sumedhasaḥ, 9.47—sumedhasas tato yātaḥ; *tejasa* (for

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'tejas') in 85.75—sva-tejasaiḥ; *vāsasa* (for 'vāsas') in 127.85 — rudrāṇī kṛṣṇa-piṅgā ca nīla-kauṣeya-vāsasā; and so on[258].

(ix) Addition of *ā* to the final consonants of certain feminine words (such as 'āpad', 'mṛd', 'saṃpad' and 'sruc'), as in

āpadā (for 'āpad') in 83.117—smaraṇād eva stotrasya sraṃsate mahad-āpadā; *mṛdā* (for 'mṛd') in 33.57—mṛdayā . . . aṅgam upalipya . . ., 33.89—mṛdāmbubhiḥ; *saṃpadā* (for 'saṃpad') in 8.25—saṃpadā dharma-bhogā hi . . .; *srucā* (for 'sruc') in 50.iv.78, 80, 84; and so on[259].

(x) Substitution of the final *at* (of words formed with the Taddhita suffixes 'matup' and 'vatup' and the Kṛt suffix 'śatṛ') with *anta*, as in

himavanta (for 'himavat') in 93.10—himavante mahāgirau;

tāvanta (for 'tāvat') in 50.i.27—tāvanta-bhedena;

bhramanta (for 'bhramat') in 85.38—bhramant-āvṛtta-kuṭilam; *jvalanta* (for 'jvalat') in 14.27—jvalanta-kopāḥ, 84.14—jvalant-āgni-latākāra-; *vahanta* (for 'vahat') in 85.39—śilīmukhair vahantaiś ca . . .;

and so on[260].

(xi) Substitution of the final *an* or *at* with *āna*, as in

śvāna (for 'śvan') in 13.19—śvāno vānti-mukho bhavet; *yuvāna* (for 'yuvan' or 'yuvat') in 12.22—yuvānair bala-saṃpannaiḥ, 50.iii.48 — bālā yuvāna-madhyā ca, 91.64—yuvānair api taṃ neyam; and so on[261].

(xii) Substitution of the final *as* of some masculine words with *ā*, as in

purodhā (for 'purodhas') in 58.5—purodhā-

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[258] For similar forms in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara etc. see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 95 (15. 7-8, 10-13) and 96-97 (16. 1ff.).

[259] For similar modification of stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 94 (15.1) and 95 (15.9).

[260] For instances of the use of similar stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 102 (18.5ff.).

[261] For similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 100 (17.37-39, 44).

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bhiṣajānvitaḥ, 58.10 — -purodhānumate sthitaḥ; and so on[262].

(xiii) Loss of the final single consonants (following *a*) of masculine and neuter words, as in

atharva (for 'atharvan') in 7.22—ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmātharvāṇām; *bhasma* (for 'bhasman') in 4.64—sitabhasmena, bhasmāt; *brahma* (for 'brahman') in 7.44—brahma (Vocative, singular), 11.57, 40.11, 83.46—brahmeṇa, 80.10—brahmāya, 6.ii.14, 12.59, 37.83, etc.—brahmasya; *carma* (for 'carman') in 14.20—carmeṇa; *karma* (for 'karman') in 34.7—karmeṇa, 122.27—nāma-karmaiḥ, 9.64—siddhānta-veda-karmāṇām; *nāma* (for 'nāman') in 33.96—svasti-nāmena, 46.83—nāmena, 16.16—mantra-nāmaiḥ, 16.20—nāmaiḥ, 93.287, 289—sva-nāmaiḥ, 16.19—sarva-nāmebhyaḥ, 50.ii.11—-nāme;

adha (for 'adhas') in 46.3—adhordhvaṃ kāñcanamayaḥ, 70.7 — adha-paṭṭagam, 84.10 — bhūtādham (for 'bhūtādhaḥ'), 87.5—adhordhva-; *ambha* (for 'ambhas') in 50.iv.94— -kumbhāmbhaiḥ; *aṅgira* (for 'aṅgiras') in 46.54—aṅgirādyā-; *apsara* (for 'apsaras') in 14.29—sahāpsarāḥ kiṃnara-cāraṇāś ca, 93.244—apsarāḥ, 12.40— -apsarādi, 17.20— -yakṣāpsaraiḥ, 93.217—apsaraiḥ; *āyu* (for 'āyus') in 79.iii.7—-putrāyu-saṃyutaḥ, 82.50—-kalpāyu-jīvitaḥ; *jātaveda* (for 'jātavedas') in 12.25—jātavedamayena; *mana* (for 'manas') in 37.51— -manādīnām, 39.69—manepsitaphala-pradam, 50.i.40—dig-bhāge mana-tuṣṭide, 116.iii.10—mane kṛtvā; *oja* (for 'ojas') in 8.51—śukrauja-balam eva ca, 84.25—tarjayantī mahaujena; *raja* (for 'rajas') in 37.33—rajādi-triguṇā matā, 65.59, 61—rajāḥ; *rakṣa* (for 'rakṣas') in 3.21—nāga-rakṣendradaiteyānām, 4.20—nirjitā asurā rakṣāḥ pātāla-talavāsinaḥ, 15.6—jaleśa-rakṣaiḥ, 17.28—sarakṣān; *sara* (for 'saras') in 65.28—sare, 82.68—dīrghikā-sara-madhyagāḥ; *śira* (for 'śiras') in 20.30—devyāḥ śire mudgara-pāśa-

[262] For similar modification of stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97 (16.29).

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ghātān, 50.i.53—sarveṣāṃ śira-paṭṭasthaṃ . . ., 50.ii.53—tac-chirottha-, 85.58— -kaṇṭha-śiroru-; *sumana* (for 'sumanas'—flower) in 31.25, 65.93—sumanaiḥ; *tama* (for 'tamas') in 32.22—tama-vaktreṇa; *tapa* (for 'tapas') in 2.37—vidyāvāṃs tapavāṃś caiva; *teja* (for 'tejas') in 2.59—satejāś ca sadā grahāḥ, 4.32—paśunā tu satejena, 7.22—mahātejāḥ (feminine, plural), 20.24—dīpta-tejāṃ tām, 39.102—tāṃ sutejām; *uśana* (for 'uśanas') in 5.2—nayāḥ . . . auśanāḥ . . ., 3.33—auśanoddiṣṭa-vidhinā, 67.70—uśanāc ca guruḥ prāptaḥ; *vakṣa* (for 'vakṣas') in 14.28—te devi-bāṇāśani-bhinna-vakṣā gatāsavaḥ, 32.26—pīnau vakṣau, 43.19— . . . te vakṣe parśuḥ pibati śoṇitam;

sapta (for 'saptan') in 25.18—pañcātha saptā vā, 96.4—pañca saptas tathā dvijaḥ; *aṣṭādaśa* (for 'aṣṭādaśan') in 2.76—mukto hy aṣṭādaśair doṣaiḥ;

dvātriṃśa (for 'dvātriṃśat') in 17.8—lakṣā dvātriṃśa; *dvipañcāśa* (for 'dvipañcāśat') in 17.31—dvipañcāśa-saṃkhyān; *pañcapañcāśa* (for 'pañcapañcāśat') in 17.8—aśvānāṃ pañcapañcāśa;

and so on.[263]

(xiv) Loss of the final consonant (following a vowel other than *a*), as in

nandi (for 'nandin') in 85.66—nandiṃ caiva mahā-balam; *pathi* (for 'pathin') in 95.9—tato gaccheta . . . . pathim; and so on.[264]

(xv) Loss of the final syllable (of certain words, mostly those denoting cardinal numbers), as in

aṣṭāśī (for 'aṣṭāśīti') in 12.31—aṣṭāśīṃ tu svayaṃ śakro nīla-varṇāṃ pradāpayet; *aṣṭāviṃśa* (for 'aṣṭāviṃśati') in 54.16—aṣṭāviṃśāṣṭa-homaṃ tu . . . .; *caturviṃśa* (for 'caturviṃśati') in 107.16—vargāṇāṃ caturviṃśa-śatāni ca; *ūnaviṃśa* (for 'ūnaviṃśati') in 107.29—kathitāḥ pariśiṣṭās tu ūnaviṃśāḥ;

kaṭa (for 'kaṭaka') in 93.207—kuṇḍalaiḥ kaṭa-keyūraiḥ;

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[263] For similar forms in the Mahāvastu and other Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 99-101 (17.1-64).

[264] For similar loss in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 77 (10. 42-43).

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ulū (for 'ulūka') in 65.21— -gṛdhr-olū-kākāni, 65.52— -kāk-olū-varāh-āhi-;

and so on.[265]

(xvi) Loss of the initial vowels of *api* and *atha*, as in *pi vā* (for 'api vā') in 12.9—śaśi-śākamayaṃ pi vā, 26.9—dvi-guṇaṃ tri-guṇaṃ pi vā, 35.6— . . . . dhātujaṃ pi vā, 50. iv. 4—kanakaṃ pi vā, 50. iv. 78, 54.15, 65.61, etc.—pi vā; *thavā* (for 'athavā') in 50. iii. 40—varadaṃ daṇḍa-matsyaṃ vā vāmārdhe yuvatī thavā, and so on.[266]

(xvii) Use of *pantha* (for 'pathin', or for 'panthan'?) in 19.8—yama-panthagāḥ, and *pāṇin* (for 'pāṇi' placed at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound) in 7.61—kṛpāṇa-vara-pāṇine, 14.12—kṛpāṇa-pāṇinī, 16.40—varad-odyata-pāṇinī.

And so on.

II. Shortening of long vowels and lengthening of short ones (evidently for the sake of metre), as in

4.11—yuddhaṃ dhvāṅkṣ-olukaṃ yathā (in which the 'ū' of 'ulūka' has been shortened for the sake of metre), 4.92—-ākhu-kāk-olukaṃ yathā, 15.9—yāṃ sāṃkhya-yogaiḥ sa-patañjal-ākhyaiḥ (in which the 'ā' of 'pātañjala' has been shortened), 32.4—gaṅgā-narmada-vindhyādri- (for '-narmadā-'), 65.95—sa-yajñopavitāni ca (for '-vītāni ca');

4.13—asmad-ripu-balā-śaktim (in which the final 'a' of '-bala-' has been lengthened), 7.82—vāsukī-kṛta-bhūṣaṇaḥ (for 'vāsuki-'), 25.19—pañca-saptā-navāsyaṃ vā (for '-sapta-'), 27.2—-sīta-gandhi ca pūjitaḥ (for '-sita-'), 32.37—siṃha-padmāsanā-saṃsthā (for '-āsana-saṃsthā'), 45.11—śānty-abhīṣeka-yāgeṣu (for '-abhiṣeka-');

and so on.[267]

III. Saṃdhi (euphonic combination) often made against the rules of Sanskrit grammar:

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[265] The Buddhist works contain forms like 'aṣṭāviṃśa', 'caturviṃśa' and 'ūna-viṃśa' mentioned above, but none like 'aṣṭāśī', 'kaṭa' and 'ulū'.—See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107 (19. 30-31), but pp. 107 (19.35) and 31 (3.118).

[266] For instances of similar changes in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 32 (4.3 and 12).

[267] For instances of similar changes in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 23-26 (3.5-46).

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(i) Double Saṃdhi (?), as in

āyātāvadan (for 'āyātāḥ+avadan') in 39.38—kim āyātāvadan surāḥ; *dānavāpi* (for 'dānavāḥ+api') in 13.65; *ekamanādhunā* (for 'ekamanāḥ+adhunā') in 29.3—.... tvaṃ ... śṛṇuṣv-aikamanādhunā; *ghorānīkāvatasthire* (for 'ghorānīkāḥ+avatasthire') in 13.59; *graha-nāgāpare* (for 'graha-nāgāḥ+apare') in 51.9; *jambhakādyātha* (for 'jambhakādyāḥ+atha') in 7.69; *mātarārtihāḥ* (for 'mātaraḥ+ārtihāḥ', or 'mātarāḥ+ārtihāḥ') in 7.96; *tasyāgrataḥ* (for 'tasyāḥ+agrataḥ') in 22.16; *yasyārthe* (for 'yasyāḥ+arthe') in 9.57;

chinna-pakṣeva (for 'chinna-pakṣāḥ+iva') in 85.62—chinna-pakṣeva parvatāḥ;

catur-odbhāsya (for 'caturaḥ+udbhāsya') in 87.1; *prāṅmukh-odaṅmukhaḥ* (for 'prāṅmukhaḥ+udaṅmukhaḥ') in 12.10; *saṃkṣepat-oddhṛtya* (for 'saṃkṣepataḥ+uddhṛtya') in 1.53; *soktaḥ* (for 'saḥ+uktaḥ') in 11.19; *yamadaṇḍ-ogradaṇḍaḥ* (for 'yamadaṇḍaḥ+ugradaṇḍaḥ') in 3.19;

and so on.[268]

As a matter of fact, the above instances are not those of double Saṃdhi at all, the preceding words having been used without their final Visarga like some of their parallels in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.

(ii) Irregular Saṃdhi, as in

mumocanena (for 'mumoca+anena') in 20.35; *patantyādhaḥ* (for 'patanti+adhaḥ') in 85.55; *sarvamaṅgalayāṃśagāḥ* (from 'sarvamaṅgalā+aṃśagā') in 50. i. 29; *mārkaṇḍa-ṛṣayāvāsam* (from 'mārkaṇḍa-ṛṣi+āvāsa') in 13.64; *śrāvaṇeṣāḍhe* (for 'śrāvaṇe+āṣāḍhe') in 93.48; *vidhvaṃsayiṣyeti* (for 'vidhvaṃsayiṣye+iti') in 84.8; *śabdamātraiva* (for 'śabda-mātre+eva') in 9.22; *tasyoṃkāram* (for 'tasya+oṃkāram') and *yasyoṃkārādhivāsitam* (for 'yasya+oṃkārā-') in 10. vii. 6; *vedoṃkāra-* (for 'veda+oṃkāra-') in 57.20;

śrāvaṇārabhya (for 'śrāvaṇāt+ārabhya') in 98.9; *bṛhodarau* (from 'bṛhat+udara') in 50. iii. 39; *sarva-*

[268] Instances similar to many of those cited above occur in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, etc.—See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 33 (4.29) and 34 (4.34-35).

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gatānubhūya (for 'sarva-gatān+anubhūya') in 33.25; *vividhānubhūya* (for 'vividhān+anubhūya') in 33.22;

tvaham (for 'tvam+aham') in 6. ii. 36; *devyānte* (for 'devyām+ante') in 6. ii. 46—mucyate sarva-pāpebhyo devyānte līyate naraḥ; *śakti-dvitīyāham* (for 'śakti-dvitīyām+aham') in 84.26—asyā śakti-dvitīyāhaṃ sṛjāmi aparājitām; *tāruṇe* (for 'tām+āruṇe') in 11.8—bahvṛcas tāruṇe dadau; *nandikārabhya* (for 'nandikām+ārabhya') in 23.1—kṣīrāśī nandikārabhya devyā bhakti-rato nṛpaḥ; *devīṣṭvā* (for 'devīm+iṣṭvā') in 60.30; *satyedam* (for 'satyam+idam') in 39.181; *stavedam* (for 'stavam+idam') in 83.11; *satyevam* (for 'satyam+evam') in 3.4;

hiraṇyākhya andhakāraś ca (for 'hiraṇyākhyaḫ+andhakāraś ca') in 3.17; *devya apāne* (for 'devyaḥ+apāne') in 7.51; *bhayebhya muñcati* (for 'bhayebhyaḫ+muñcati') in 15.4; *tatrasthā citrakarmāra-* (for 'tatrasthāḥ+citrakarmāra-') in 12.27; *pūrṇo aprāptaḥ* (for 'pūrṇaḥ+aprāptaḥ') in 10. iii. 7; *vānaro ṛkṣaḥ* (for 'vānaraḥ+ṛkṣaḥ') in 13.22; *so gatāsuḥ* (for 'saḥ+gatāsuḥ') in 14.26; *so vai* (for 'saḥ+vai') in 11.18; *rāho'tha* (for 'rāhoḥ+atha') in 26.33; *alipaṅktīva* (for 'alipaṅktiḥ+iva') in 32.21;

and so on.[269]

Besides the different types of irregular Saṃdhi cited above there are also many others including those having *d* (rarely), *m* or *r* as an intervening Saṃdhi-consonant (or hiatus-bridger), viz.,

kṛtvā-d-upāgataḥ (for 'kṛtvopāgataḥ') in 8.6;

ādya-m-antau (for 'ādyāntau') in 46.60; *avilambita-m-utthānam* (for 'avilambitotthānam'—Bahuvrīhi compound) in 12.46; *ayuta-m-ekam* (for 'ayutaikam') in 95.7; *daṇḍāsi-pāśa-m-udyatā* (for '-pāśodyatā') in 85.21; *eka-m-ekam* (for 'ekaikam') in 85.39, 90.24; *eka-m-ekena* (for 'ekaikena') in 31.20; *īśa-rakṣo'nila-toya-m-analātma-namaskṛte* (for '-toyānalā-') in 6. ii. 22; *kāla-gāruḍa-m-ādiṣu* (for '-gāruḍādiṣu') in 6. ii. 31—jyotir-vaidyādi-śāstreṣu

[269] For instances of Saṃdhi similar to many of those given above see Mahāvastu and other Buddhist works cited by Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 34 (4.36), 43 (7.14), and so on.

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kāla-gāruḍa-m-ādiṣu; *ketu-m-ucchrayam* (for 'ketūcchrayam') in 11.57; *koṭi-m-ekam* (for 'koṭyekam') in 93.255; *kṛṣṇāyasa-m-alaṃkārāḥ* (for '-yasālaṃ-') in 13.74; *mayūra-m-āsanārūḍhā* (for 'mayūrāsanā-') in 83.89; *-pātāla-m-ākāra-* (for '-pātālākāra-') in 84.12; *śubha-toraṇa-m-ākulam* (for '-toraṇākulam') in 12.46; *sūrya-m-ujjvalāḥ* (for 'sūryojjvalāḥ') in 85.59; *tathā-m-ayuta-koṭidhā* (for 'tathāyuta-') in 19.5; *vāyu-m-astram* (for 'vāyv-astram') in 15.21; *vidruma-m-anvitaiḥ* (for 'vidrumānvitaiḥ') in 93.75;

ghaṇṭā-kiṅkiṇī-r-āvṛte (for '-kiṅkiṇy-āvṛte') in 31.21; *puṣkariṇī-r-iva* (for 'puṣkariṇīva') in 93.79; *raudrāyasa-purī-r-iva* (for '-purīva') in 93.91; *ṛju-r-avraṇa-niṣṇātaiḥ* (for 'ṛjv-avraṇa-') in 50. i. 51; *śaṃbhu-r-ājñayā* (for 'śaṃbhv-ājñayā') in 16. 15;

and so on.[270]

IV. Hiatus created by absence of Saṃdhi in Samāsa.

As in Pali and Prakrit, the adjoining vowels in compounds have been left unchanged, with hiatus, on numerous occasions. See, for instance,

rasa-anya-kriyā-vāda- (6. ii. 31), vāsuki-*śaṅkhābja-ananta*-kṛta-mekhala (7.14);

aśva-mahiṣa-*mārjāra-ākhu*-kākolukam (4.92), ved-*odgīrita-ānanāḥ* (2.58);

karṇāpūrita-iṣave (7.14);

deva-udyānajān (12.5), kṛmi-*jālaka-utthāne* (12.53), *-mahācchadma-uragair* iva (7.26), *-mahākalpa-utpatti-* (6. ii. 28), *mahā-ulkā*-nibhāya (7.64), *-skanda-umā-* (2.13), yuga-manvantarā-*kalpa-utpatti-* (7.43), yugānta-*yuga-utpatti-* (6. i. 7);

pakṣa-*māsa-ṛtu*-dvi-tri-ayaneṣu (6. ii. 27), sam-*āyana-ṛtu*-māsa- (26.10), *-sattva-ṛṣi*-siddha-niṣevite (7.93), *vahnīśa-ṛṣi*-mantraiḥ (12.39);

vāsuki-upavītine (11.33);

vasu-aśvina-rūpāya (26.29);

and so on.[271]

[270] For similar instances in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 35-37 (4. 59-60, 64).

[271] Similar instances of absence of Saṃdhi in Samāsa are to be found in Buddhist works also.—See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 35 (4.51-54).

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V. Wrong formation of feminine bases, viz.,

(i) *anukīrtanā*[272] (from 'anukīrtana', a neuter word meaning 'narration', 'statement') in 1.19—cakracārānukīrtanām (an Inflectional Tatpuruṣa compound);

kīrtanā (from the neuter word 'kīrtana') in 6. ii. 33—... sarvā kṛta-kṛtyasya kīrtanā;

rajā (from the neuter word 'rajas' > 'raja') in 50. iv. 52—puṣpa-rāga-kṛtā rajā;

sahasrā (from the neuter word 'sahasra') in 49.7—trayaś ca tri-sahasrāsu devāḥ ....;

vāhanā (from 'vāhana', a neuter word meaning 'a mount') in 7.45—vāhanā hy ari-darpahā;

potā (from 'pota' meaning 'a ship') in 83.112—tvaṃ potā bhava śūlinī;

-kārakā (for '-kārikā') in 16.17—utpatti-sthiti-kārake (Vocative); *-dāyakā* (for '-dāyikā') in 90.11—tāḥ .... phala-dāyakāḥ;

anicchatā (or *anicchatī* according to some Mss, for 'anicchantī') in 9.36—na hi anicchatā bālā bhuñjanīyā; *dhātumayā* (for 'dhātumayī') in 32.19—vārkṣāṃ vā śailajāṃ vāpi ratna-dhātumayām api; *haimā* (for 'haimī') in 2.54, 22.10; *mahārājā* (for 'mahārājī') in 39.16—mahārājeti yā devī ....; *mohanā* (for 'mahanī') and *bhairavā* (for 'bhairavī') in 9.49—mohanā japyate vidyā padamāleti bhairavā; *mṛnmayā* (for 'mṛnmayī') in 57.6; *paurāṇikā* (for 'paurāṇikī') in 39.22—etāḥ paurāṇikā devyaḥ ....; *raudrā* (for 'raudrī') in 50. i. 15—kālī raudrā kapālī ca; *vārkṣā* (for 'vārkṣī') in 32.19 cited above in connection with 'dhātumayā';

dātā (for dātrī') in 31.36—śivāyāḥ śiva-dātāyāḥ ....; *trātā* (for 'trātrī') in 7.38—trātās tāḥ sarva-devānām;

(ii) *daityāntakī* (for 'daityāntikā') in 20.25; *-kārakī* (for '-kārikā') in 6. ii. 23—-bahu-kāraṇa-kāraki (Vocative), 46.84—utpāta-mṛtyu-kāraki (Vocative); *māyātmaka-rūpī*

[272] The final *ā* of 'anukīrtanā', 'kīrtanā', 'vāhanā' and 'potā' is really due to the lengthening of the short vowel *a*, as often made in Apabhraṃśa. See Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 4. 330—sy-ādau dīrgha-hrasvau // *apabhraṃśe* nāmno 'ntya-svarasya dīrgha-hrasvau sy-ādau prāyo bhāvataḥ /—In Apabhraṃśa the final vowel of a word is lengthened or shortened, in case the case-terminations 'si' etc. follow.

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(for '-rūpā') in 36.9 —māyātmaka-rūpi (Vocative); *-mocakī* (for '-mocikā') in 6. ii. 24—vadha-bandhana-mocaki (Vocative); *-pravartakī* (for '-pravartikā') in 6. ii. 24—-nānā-bhāva-pravartaki (Vocative), 9.65—sarva-karma-pravartakī; *-virodhakī* (for '-virodhikā') in 6. ii. 22—-candra-sūrya-virodhaki (Vocative); *sādhakī* (for 'sādhikā') in 24.26; *saṃkampayantī* (for 'saṃkampamānā') in 39.137; *śaṭhī* (for 'śaṭhā') in 8.49; *vāgeśī* (for 'vāgīśā') in 16.18;

adantī (for 'adatī'—eating) in 85.18; *rudantī* (for 'rudatī') in 9.44; *vācantī* (derived from the root *vac* with the suffix 'śatṛ') in 16.41;

kṛpāṇa-pāṇinī (for 'kṛpāṇa-pāṇi' meaning 'a female carrying a sword in her hand') in 14.12; *varadābhaya-pāṇinī* in 93.288; *varadodyata-pāṇinī* in 16.40, 50. i. 97, 101, 119, etc.;

kartārī (for 'kartrī'), *pradattārī* (for 'pradātrī'), *vettārī* (for 'vettrī'), etc. in 6. ii. 21—sṛṣṭi-saṃhāra-kartāri rudra-mūrti-prabhāvati (Vocative), 83.49—jaye bhuvana-kartāri (Vocative), 83.58—sarva-vidyā-pradattāri vidyeśvari namo 'stu te, 6. ii. 29—vidyā-vedana-vettāri (Vocative), and so on;

ghaṇṭā-mudgara-dhārī (for '-dhāriṇī') in 50. ii. 24; *mukt-ākṣa-sūtra-dhārī* (for '-dhāriṇī') in 50. ii. 41; *padma-kuṇḍala-dhārī* (for '-dhāriṇī') in 50. i. 120; *sruva-mekhala-dhārī* (for '-dhāriṇī') in 50. ii. 50; *ugra-saṃcārī* (for '-saṃcāriṇī') in 83.66;

kāma-rudra-samākṛtī (for 'kāma-rudra-samākṛti', a Bahuvrīhi compound) in 59.11;

and so on.[273]

VI. Wrong use of Number on many occasions

(i) in Dvandva compounds (irrespective of their nature or the number of their component parts), as in

aṣṭamī-navamīṣu—27.29, brahma-janārdanaiḥ—15.6, brahma-sūryāṇām—4.59, brahma-viṣṇoḥ—15.5, devī-brahmeśa-sūryam—104.9, eka-liṅga-druma-śaila-

[273] For some of the above-mentioned feminine forms as occurring in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 84 (11.1-3) and 81 (10.183-185).

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gṛha-goṣṭha-trikaṇṭake (Locative, singular)—32.7, indr-āgni-devasya—5.16, īrṣy-āsūyā-krodha-paiśunya-sāhasam—8.36, madya-maithuna-māṃsasya—8.41, māgha-caitre (Locative, singular)—27.29, nadī-tīra-drum-odyāna-vivikta-jana-saṃsadi — 1.59, nāga-rākṣasa-daiteyaḥ — 3.17, ravi-candramāḥ — 4.17, sādhu-liṅga-brahma-hareḥ—12.15, śiva-viṣṇoḥ—2.33, vibhav-āntaḥpurasya—8.54, viṣṇu-brahmaṇā—16.13, viṣṇu-brahmasya—7.18, viṣṇu-śakrāṇām—18.1, yam-endubhiḥ—15.6, and so on;[274]

(ii) in verbs (irrespective of the Number of their subjects), as in

4.1— .... tau ... *vajra-kālau* ... / *pṛṣṭavān* ... bhārgavaṃ ... / /, 4.28— ... *te* .... / *āruroha* purīṃ yāmyāṃ .... / /, 5.10—sukham *icchan divaukasaḥ* (for '..... icchantaḥ divau-'), 5.16—kṛtvā *bṛhaspatir viṣṇur jagmuḥ*, 6. ii. 18— ... ... *vayaṃ* ... / *tutoṣa* parayā bhaktyā ... ... / /, 9.38—tasya *patnī-sahasrāṇi* aṣṭāv aṣṭau *bhavet* kila / /, 9.57—yasy-ārthe udaraṃ *jagmur* madīyaṃ *bhārgavaḥ* purā, 14.28—*devā mumoc*-opari puṣpa-vṛṣṭim, 15.13—pranaṣṭa-rājya-*dravyāṇi* punar eva *bhaviṣyati*, 20.24—*ghoraḥ* ... ... *jagmuḥ* ..., 39.115— ... śaraṇaṃ *jagmuḥ* ... *surarāṭ* tadā, 55.6—*rudhiraṃ sravanti*, 82.32— ... *piban* pānāni ... / *asur*-ānena bhāvena devīṃ *pūjayate* sadā / /, 86.30—*nṛtyante* paramo *devaḥ*, 92.2—*sā* ca ... ... / yatra yatra ca *pūjyante* ..... / /, and so on;[275]

(iii) in adjectives, as in

5.16—*deva-devī tavāntakau*, 13.7—*vanaspatiḥ samastāś* ca phala-puṣpaiḥ *suśobhitāḥ* (for 'vanaspatayaḥ ...'), 26.4—*catvāri trīṇi dve* kuryād *aṅgulaṃ* kuṇḍa-mānataḥ, 34.4— ... *eka-viṃśati* .... *kulaṃ* ..., 43.41—na saṃkhyā vidyate tāta *ghātamānasya dānavān* (for '... ... hanyamānānāṃ dānavānām'), 79. ii. 15—*bhogān*

[274] For similar instances in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 125 (23.1-4).

[275] For similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 129 (25.1-6) and p. 38 (5.4).

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mahān[276] (for '. . . mahataḥ'), and so on;[277]

(iv) in pronouns (irrespective of the Number of the nouns for which they are used), as in 7.18—varaṃ vara *hare brahman* yat *te* manasi vāñchitam;

(v) in words denoting cardinal numbers, as in 50. i. 66—vidyā-mantraiś ca *ṣaṣṭibhiḥ* (for '. . . . . ṣaṣṭyā'); and so on.

VII. Frequent use of words in Genders other than those of their own (in very much the same way as that in Apabhraṃśa, in which, as Hema-candra, Trivikramadeva and others say, Gender has no rule—liṅgam atantram[278]):

(i) Masculine words used as neuter, viz.,

adhivāsa in 50. i. 64—adhivāsāni . . . kṛtvā . . .; *anta* in 15.10—na cādir asyā na ca madhyam antam . . .; *ātmāna* in 8.19—ātmānaṃ paramaṃ devaṃ toṣaṇīyaṃ sadā budhaiḥ; *dṛṣṭānta* in 37.91—dṛṣṭāntāni bruvanti ca; *ghāta* in 4.18—yuddhe ghātaṃ bhaved vatsa . . .; *grāma* in 9.7—pura-grāmāṇi; *homa* in 27.28— . . . bhaveddhomaṃ . . ., 54.16, 55.13—lakṣa-homaṃ . . . ., 54.18, 55.13— . . . koṭi-homaṃ . . ., 54.20—homaṃ kāryam, 57.14, 15—homam; *hutāśana* in 15.7—tvaṃ . . . . . hutāśanaṃ . . .; *jīva* in 8.51—tac ca jīvaṃ mataṃ budhaiḥ; *kṣaya* in 12.24— . . . . nemyā nāśe kṣayaṃ tathā (in which 'kṣayaṃ' is the subject); *mantra* in 10. vi. 3—yoga-mantraṃ viśiṣyate; *pāta* in 13.30—śakṛn-mūtr-āśru-pātāni (Tatpuruṣa compound); *putra* in 35.29—dānam iṣṭaṃ ca putraṃ ca devyā dīpas tathaiva ca; *rudra* in 54.3—śivaṃ rudraṃ sadā vatsa karṇikāyāṃ niveśitam; *śara* (arrow) in 43.43—āgneyaṃ cintitaṃ śaram, 43.45—muktaṃ nārāyaṇaṃ śaram; *śeṣa* in 12.30—śeṣāṇi; *soma* in 51.20—vedāḥ somaṃ kratur yajñāḥ pātrāṇy

[276] The Accusative plural (masculine) form of '*maha*' derived from '*mahat*' by dropping the final consonant '*t*'.

[277] For similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38 (5.5).

[278] See Hema-candra's Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 4.445, and Trivikrama-deva's Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana III. 4.68.

For instances of want of restriction as regards Gender in Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara etc. see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 39-41 (6.1-20).

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evaṃ vidur budhāḥ; *stava* in 26.26—tad-ante ca stavaṃ kāryaṃ . . .; *svapna* in 8.35—divā-svapnam (Nominative); *svarga* in 4.83—tvayā dattaṃ mama svargam . . .; *ucchraya* in 11.57 — . . . kathitaṃ ketu-m-ucchrayam; *uddeśa* in 26.10—uddeśaṃ kiṃcid atrāpi . . .; *vara* in 1.38—tapas taptvā varaṃ lebhe viṣṇunā . . ., 39.131—varaṃ varaya . . . yat te hṛdi vyavasthitam; *vigraha* in 3.8— . . . . . pātāla-vigraham / prārabdhaṃ . . . . . / /; *yoga* in 10. i. 12—kenopāyena tad yogaṃ prāpyate . . ., 10. i. 8—yena yogena sā vidyā . . . sidhyati / tac ca deva samākhyāhi . . . . . / /, 10. vi. 4—alpa-vīryaṃ hi tad yogaṃ . . . ., 13.2—kathitaṃ . . . yogaṃ nārada-pṛcchitam; and so on.

(ii) Neuter words used as masculine, viz.,

astra in 4.90—nārāyaṇāstra-brahmāstra-śaivāś cānye 'tha vāruṇāḥ; *bhūta* in 6.ii.40—na bhūtā na ca rākṣasāḥ; *dāru* in 90.13—dārum; *indriya* in 8.27—sevyamān-endriyā brahman pravṛddhim upayānti hi (in which the word 'sevyamān-endriyāḥ' is a Karma-dhāraya compound and subject to the verb 'upayānti'), 8.32— -gandha-vāg-indriyas tathā; *nakṣatra* in 39.92—nakṣatrā bahu-rūpāś ca; *pātāla* in 3. 18—pātālān, 3.30—taṃ jitvā tu pātālaṃ gatvā anyaṃ rasātalam, 4.3—nirjitāḥ sapta-pātālāḥ, 4.6—pātālāḥ, 8.1—martya-pātālāḥ, etc.; *puṣpa* in 54.6—gandha-puṣpāś ca dātavyāḥ, 69.18—puṣpāṃś citrān, 98.17—puṣpān; *śata* in 49.7—trayaś ca tri-śataś caiva . . .; *sthāna* in 68.9, 90.9—ete sthānāḥ . . . . . ; *vasu* (wealth) in 2.92—vasuṃ prati; *vrata* in 1.18—vratāś ca niyamādayaḥ; and so on.

(iii) Feminine words used as neuter, viz.,

diva (for 'div') in 4.6— . . . . . divaṃ duḥkhena sādhyati (passive voice), 4.10—divaṃ dharmeṇa rakṣitam, 15.7—tvaṃ bhūmi-vāyū khaṃ jalaṃ hutāśanaṃ diśo divaṃ sāgara-ṛkṣa-cakram; *koṭi* in 4.34—lakṣa-koṭīni; *patākā* in 12.42—patākāni; *pramadā* in 22.19— . . . pūjyeta kanyakāḥ pramadāni ca; *śobhā*

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in 50.i.61—anekāni ca śobhāni . . .; and so on.

(iv) Difference in Gender between nouns and their adjectives, as in

1.34— . . . artha-saṃprāptiḥ . . . bhāvyaṃ . . .; 3.2—ahaṃ . . . prāptaṃ . . .; 7.38— . . . āpatsu sumahatsu . . .; 8.21—brahmā . . . . . / strī-rūpa-dhāriṇī bhūtvā . . . . . //; 8.28—dāha-jvara-mahā-tāpo vahni-pitta-sumudbhavam; 9.9—amātya-sahito vāgmī candrabuddhir amantrayat (in which Candra-buddhi is the name of a female); 9.29—evaṃ tasya matir bhūta nārada-pathagā . . .; 12.42—tataḥ sa-kadalīkṣu-daṇḍān patākāni samucchrayet; 16.18— . . . saṃhāra-kārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya . . . (qualifying 'devi' in verse 17); 16.36—jayaṃ ca samare nityaṃ vidyā-lābhaṃ ca durlabham / dīrgham āyur athotsāhaṃ pārthivānāṃ ca iṣṭadā //; 17.11—yam-āntakaḥ . . . . . ghātitaṃ devyā . . .; 20.18— . . . saṃdhyāyāṃ samupasthite; 27.29—mahā āśvina-māse tu aṣṭamī-navamīṣu ca (in which 'mahā' qualifies 'aṣṭamī-navamīṣu'); 31.29— . . . strībhir maṅgala-vādibhiḥ; 33.12—nīlotpala-patra-gandha-surabhiṃ pītvā . . . madhu; 33.25—suracitaiḥ sragbhiḥ; 40.3—mahati pūjāyām; 42.11—devyāḥ (for 'devyaḥ') sar-vārtha-dātāraḥ . . . . . ; 43.50—tadā bhayaṃ mahān āsīt . . .; 43.58—yenāhaṃ smāritaṃ (for 'smṛtaṃ') tvayā (said by Pāśupata Śara to Gajānana); 50.iv.84—tābhyāṃ homaṃ sukhāvahā; 51.24—śaṅkha-nīlot-palākārān pātrāṇi parikalpayet; 55.16—phalavatī apāmārgam; 58.2—tuṣṭam umāpatiḥ; 82.74—evaṃ-vidhaiḥ sadā strībhir nityaṃ smara-nipīḍibhiḥ; and so on.

(v) Difference in Gender between nouns and their pronouns, as in

10.vi.9—śabda-brahma paraṃ brahma tasmin kṣīṇe yad akṣaram / sadā taṃ (for 'tat') manasā dhyāyet . . . . . //; 16.12—alpa-doṣā viśantīmāḥ . . . (for '. . . viśantīme'); 26.20—chede bhayaṃ vijānīyāt tad-arthaṃ tan na (for 'taṃ na') kārayet

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(the word 'tat' having been used for 'cheda'); 33.21—taṃ bhittvā . . . daity-āṅgan-āntaḥpuram (for 'tad bhittvā . . .'); 34.14—tasya jālaṃ . . . tam (for 'tat') avalambayet; 43.40—pāśodyata-karaṃ ghoram amayopari pāta saḥ (i.e. śaraḥ) / ratha-nāgāśva-pādātaṃ hanyamānaṃ (for 'ghnan') sahasradhā //; 65.40—rātrau tasmin . . .; and so on.

(vi) Adverbs used in the Masculine Gender, as in 3.17—kṣubhito mahān (for 'mahat').

VIII. Wrong declension, as in

(i) -mogha-vīryayaḥ (for '-mogha-vīryāḥ') in 84.17, su-hṛṣṭātmāḥ (for 'su-hṛṣṭātmānaḥ') in 72.5,

surāriṇam (for 'surārim') in 5.12, patiim (for 'panthānam') in 95.9, ūrdhva-retam (for '-retasam') in 63.9, purodhān (for 'purodhasaḥ') in 67.63,

viśvakarmeṇa (for '-karmaṇā') in 93.201, mūrdhanā' (for 'mūrdhnā') in 91.38, bālagbhiḥ (for 'bālakaiḥ') in 98.27, vettāraiḥ (for 'vettṛbhiḥ') in 32.42,

hotāya (for 'hotre') in 11.33, -kartāya (for '-kartre') in 26.34, -vidhātave (for 'vidhātre') in 7.9, vighna-hantāya (for '-hantre') in 83.34, mahāretāya (fo '-retase') in 100.21,

antyajām (for 'antyajānām') in 88.4, -mahoragām (for '-mahoragāṇām') in 98.10, -go-vṛṣām (for '-go-vṛṣāṇām') in 98.11, mātṛ-gaṇām (for '-gaṇānām') in 90.20, rājānām (for 'rājñām') in 55.11, 56.1,

pratyuṣi (for 'pratyuṣe' or 'pratyuṣasi') in 90.20, himavante (for 'himavati') in 93.10—himavante mahāgirau,

mahā-kapāla-mālāya (masculine, Vocative) in 11.32, and so on;

saptaḥ or saptā (for 'sapta') in 96.4—pañca-saptas tathā dvijaḥ, 25.18— . . . pañcātha saptā vā . . ., 25.19—pañca-saptā-navāsyaṃ vā, aṣṭam (for 'aṣṭa') in 82.59—upapātālam aṣṭaṃ tu . . .,

anyāḥ (for 'anye') in 12.43—anyāś ca vividhā bhogāḥ . . ., imaiḥ (for 'ebhiḥ') in 65.96—dravyair imaiḥ, 93.188—imair mantraiḥ;

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(ii) patākāni (for 'patākāḥ') in 12.42, patākān (for 'patākāḥ') in 65.94, pramadāni (for 'pramadāḥ') in 22.19, śobhāni (for 'śobhāḥ') in 50.i.61, lakṣa-koṭīni (for 'lakṣa-koṭyaḥ' or 'lakṣa-koṭayaḥ') in 4.34, mahākoṭyāḥ (for 'mahākoṭyaḥ' or 'mahākoṭayaḥ') in 17.11, vidyutāni (for 'vidyutaḥ') in 87.9, mṛdāni (for 'mṛdaḥ') in 50.iv.90—kāṣṭha-śaila-mṛdāni ca, srajāni (for 'srajaḥ') in 61.7,

mātṛm (for 'mātaram') in 91.6,

gadgadā (for 'gadgadayā') in 36.29, -jyotsnena (for '-jyotsnayā') in 32.25—mayūkha-danta-jyotsnena, mekhalaiḥ (for 'mekhalābhiḥ') in 26.3, vidyaiḥ (for 'vidyābhiḥ') in 86.4, bhaktinā (for 'bhaktyā') in 22.23, 39.69, 89.9, buddhinā (for 'buddhyā') in 27.25, sva-śaktinā (for 'sva-śaktyā') in 90.21, -paṅktī-bhiḥ (for '-paṅktibhiḥ') in 94.6,

-prakrīḍāya (for '-prakrīḍāyai') in 8.20,

yuga-pīḍāt (for '-pīḍāyāḥ') in 50.iv.2,

nandāya (for 'nandāyāḥ'—Genitive case) in 93.273,

navamīm (for 'navamyām') in 76.40, pratimau (for 'pratimāyām') in 79.iii.4, tṛtīyām (for 'tṛtīyāyām') and dvādaśīm (for 'dvādaśyām') in 99.12,

saṃhārakārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya (feminine, Vocative) in 16.18,

asyā (for 'asyāḥ'—Genitive case) in 84.26,

tisrāṇām (for 'tisṛṛṇām') in 80.24;

(iii) puṣpān (for 'puṣpāṇi') in 98.17, dārum (for 'dāru'—Accusative case) in 90.13,

dadhinā (for 'dadhnā') in 33.64,

dānasu (for 'dāneṣu') in 91.17, -kāṣṭhasu (for '-kāṣṭheṣu') in 6.ii.26, -madhyasu (for '-madhyeṣu') in 6.ii.3— -sarit-sāgara-madhyasu,

anyam (for 'anyat') in 3.30;

and so on.

For wrong declension of many other words ending in vowels or consonants see above (in the sections on changes made in the stems and on Genders).

[Similar instances of wrong declension are to be found

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in the Buddhist works also.—See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 48ff.].

IX. Incorrect use of case-endings (vibhakti):

(i) The first case-ending used

(a) for the second, as in 1.3—kathyatāṃ yatra ghorādyā bhūtāḥ sāṃprata-dānavāḥ / bhaviṣyāś ca vināśiṣye devī deva-namaskṛtā // (for '. . . ghorādyān bhūtān sāṃprata-dānavān / bhaviṣyāṃś ca . . . //'), 2.75—koṣa-vṛddhiḥ prajā-rakṣā . . . (for '-vṛddhiṃ prajā-rakṣām . . .'), 7.69— . . . te te khādaya . . . (for '. . . tān tān khādaya . . .'), 7.72—kāla-pīḍā kriyā-pīḍā pāpa-pīḍātha dhātujā / vāta-pitta-kaph-odbhūtāṃ śamaye bhairavaḥ sadā // (for 'kāla-pīḍāṃ kriyā-pīḍāṃ pāpa-pīḍām atha dhātujām / . . . śamayed bhairavaḥ . . . //'), and so on;

(b) for the third (in the *anukta-kartā* in the passive voice), as in 1.38—mantrādyāḥ sādhitā yatra nṛpā nāgā rasātale (for '. . . nṛpair nāgaiḥ . . .'), 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa nimn-onnata-virājitaiḥ (for 'ardhendubhir iva lalāṭair nimn-onnata-'), 7.76—ye cānye vairiṇaḥ kṛtāh (for '. . . vairibhiḥ kṛtāḥ'), and so on;

(c) for the fourth, as in 26.35— . . . tvaṃ pitre . . . (for '. . . tubhyaṃ pitre . . .');

(d) for the sixth, as in 4.92—na yuddhaṃ śreyase deva uragā nakulaiḥ saha (for '. . . uragāṇāṃ . . .'), 7.37—śāntidā vīta-rāgāṇāṃ tā devyā ṛṣi-mānavāḥ (for '. . . -manavānām')—those goddesses are the givers of peace to those sages and men who are free from desire;

(e) with the separated component parts of a compound, as in 6.ii.25—brahma-prajeśa-somaś ca yakṣa-rakṣaḥ-piśācaki (for '. . . -soma-yakṣa- . . .'), 13.75— . . . puṃbhiḥ pāśa-daṇḍodyatair mahān (for 'puṃbhiḥ mahāpāśa-daṇḍodyataiḥ').

(ii) The second case-ending used

(a) for the first, as in 3.5—kuśa-dvīpaṃ purā tena sa-balenaiva arjitam / jambuṃ śākaṃ tathā krauñcaṃ

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śālmalīm atha pauṣkaram / sapta dvīpās tatas tena deva-rāja vaśīkṛtāḥ //, 3.27—pauṇḍarīkaṃ ca duṣprekṣyaṃ śveta-bhadraṃ tathoragāḥ (for 'pauṇḍarīkaś ca duṣprekṣyaḥ śveta-bhadras tathoragāḥ');

(b) for the third, as in 33.72—dakṣiṇāṃ prīyatāṃ śivā (for 'dakṣiṇayā . . .'), 33.84—dakṣiṇāṃ prīyatāṃ jayā (for 'dakṣiṇayā . . .');

(c) for the fourth, as in 58.15—varaṃ dattaṃ dvijottamam (for '. . . dvijottamāya'), 69.21—brāhmaṇān bhojanaṃ dadyāt (for 'brāhmaṇebhyaḥ . . .'), 93.191—mahādevīṃ namas kṛtvā (for 'mahādevyai . . .'), 94.25—guhyeśvaraṃ namas kṛtvā (for 'guhyeśvarāya . . .');

(d) for the sixth (also in the *anukta-karma* of Kṛd-anta verbs in the active and the neuter voice), as in 1.57—. . . śravaṇāt . . . idaṃ purāṇaṃ śiva-bhāṣitam (for '. . . asya purāṇasya śiva-bhāṣitasya'), 7.28—nīlotpala-dala-prakhyair hariṇīr iva locanaiḥ (for '. . . hariṇīnām iva . . .'), 8.22—sarve ca sukham arthinaḥ (for '. . . sukhasya arthinaḥ'), 21.1—devīm upāsakāḥ (for 'devyāḥ . . .') ,43.41—na saṃkhyā vidyate tāta ghātamānasya dānavān (for '. . . hanyamānānāṃ dānavānām');

(e) for the seventh (in the Adhikaraṇa-kāraka), as in 4.69— . . . śatrur asmākaṃ vadham udyataḥ (for '. . . vadhe udyataḥ'), 9.53—yadi māṃ varado devaḥ . . . (for '. . . mayi varado . . .'), 66.6— . . . devatāḥ sarvā veṣṭayanti caturdiśam (for '. . . caturdikṣu'), 93.67—pati-hīnaṃ na rājate (for 'pati-hīne . . .'=pati-hīnāyāṃ. . . .);

(f) in connection with the words 'pravṛttaḥ', etc., as in 14.26—gadāṃ samādāya jayāṃ pravṛttaḥ . . . .

(iii) The third case-ending used

(a) for the first, as in 1.32—agastyā gīs tu nṛpagaiḥ (=nṛpagā bhūtvā) loke khyātiṃ gamiṣyati;

(b) for the seventh (in the Adhikaraṇa-kāraka), as in 6.ii.35—varadā ca abhūd ubhau (for '. . . abhūd ubhayoḥ')—granted boons to both (of them), 8.38—

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viṣayaiḥ saṃniveśyatām (for 'viṣayeṣu saṃ-'), 93.106—ebhiḥ sthānair mahādevī pūjitā varadā bhavet (for 'eṣu sthāneṣu . . .');

(c) in Avyayībhāva and Bahuvrīhi compounds having 'yathā' and 'yāvat', and 'saha' (contracted to 'sa'), respectively as their first members. See, for instance, 2.49, 65.66, 65.70, 68.7, 95.35, etc.— . . . yathepsayā (for '. . . yathepsam'), 8.55, 32.43, 32.44, etc.— . . . yathāśaktyā . . . (for '. . . yathāśakti . . .'), 100.14—yāvac-chaktyā (for 'yāvac-chakti'), 3.12—saṃnahya sabalenaiva mahāsaṃgrāma cakrire (for '. . . sabalam eva . . .'), and so on.

(iv) The fourth case-ending used

(a) for the second, as in 39.78—indrāya śaraṇaṃ gatāḥ (for 'indraṃ . . .'), 83.16—veda-vedānta-garbhāya namāmi . . . (for '-garbhaṃ namāmi . . .');

(b) for the sixth, as in 3.22—kāla-vajrasya hetave (for '. . . hetoḥ'), 52.11—snānaṃ śiṣyāya kartavyaṃ . . . (for 'snāpanaṃ śiṣyasya kartavyaṃ . . .');

(c) for the seventh, as in 39.112—indrāy-ābhimukho 'dhāvat (for 'indrasy-ābhi-');

(d) in the Vocative case, as in 7.7ff. (jaya . . . -kāraṇa-traya-hetave, jaya . . . -buddhīndriya-vidhātave, jaya . . . -pradhāna-puruṣātmane, jaya . . . śūline, jaya *kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kaṇṭhastha-jīrṇave*, jaya . . . śaṃbhave, jaya śmaśāna-vāsine, jaya sārdra-gaja-carma-prāvṛtāya mahātmane, jaya triśūla-hastāya karṇāpūrita-iṣave, and so on), 7.68—chinda chinda mahācakra iṣu-hastāya śaṃkara, 7.70—gadā-triśūla-hastāya sarvāṃ bādhāṃ vināśaya, 16.18—jaya saṃhārakārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya ca; and so on.

In the compound 'kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kaṇṭhastha-jīrṇave' (= kaṇṭhastha-kālakūṭa-mahāviṣa-jīrṇave) in Devī-p. 7.12, the part 'jīrṇave' has clearly been formed by adding the fourth case-ending (singular) to 'jīrṇu', a peculiar word having its parallel neither in the Devī-p. nor in any of the Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit. The meaning of the word 'jīrṇa' (which points to the thing digested and

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not to the person who digests a thing) and the fourth case-ending of 'jīrṇave' appear to indicate that the final *u* of 'jīrṇu' was not due to the influence of Apabhraṃśa, in which, as Hema-candra and others say[279], words ending in *a* have *u* before Nominative and Accusative singular terminations. So, one may feel tempted to assume that this word (jīrṇu) was derived from the word 'jīrṇa' after turning it into a Nominal verb (Nāma-dhātu) by the addition of *ṇic* and then adding the Kṛt suffix *u* (as in 'bhikṣu', 'cikīrṣu' etc.); and thus, the said compound would come to mean 'one (i.e. Śiva) who digested the great poison Kālakūṭa remaining in his throat'. But it is more probable that 'kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kaṇṭhastha-jīrṇave' is a Bahuvrīhi compound formed in imitation of those of the 'āhitāgni' class[280] and that its final *u* (before adding the fourth case-ending) was due to the influence of Apabhraṃśa.

(v) The fifth case-ending used

(a) for the third, as in 14.21—kṛpāṇa-ghātād api tāṃ jaghāna (for '. . . -ghātena . . .'), 14.24—śarebhyaś ciccheda (for 'śaraiś ciccheda').

(vi) The sixth case-ending used

(a) for the second (in Karma-kāraka), as in 3.2—ahaṃ . . . prāptaṃ tava janārdanāt (for '. . . prāptas tvāṃ janārdanāt'), 9.68—ekaikasya padasyāṣṭa-sahasraṃ japet . . . tilānāṃ madhunāktānām aṣṭa-sahasraṃ juhuyāt (for 'ekaikaṃ padam aṣṭa- . . . tilān madhunāktān aṣṭa- . . .'), 25.9—viprāṇāṃ koṭi-koṭīnāṃ bhojayitvā . . . (for 'viprāṇāṃ koṭi-koṭīr bhojayitvā'), 28.1—indrāc ca mama āgatam (for '. . . mām, or mayi, āgatam'), 39.108—paṇya-strīva yathā lobhāt kāmukānāṃ varāyate (for '. . . kāmukān varīyati'), 93.15—pārvatyāś ca praśaṃsante (for 'pārvatīṃ ca . . .');

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[279] See, for instance, Hema-candra's Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 4.331—syamor asy-ot.—The final *a* of a word is replaced by *u* in case 'si' and 'am' (*i.e.*, the Nominative and Accusative singular terminations) follow.

[280] See Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī ii.2.37—vāhitāgnyādiṣu, according to which the word 'āhita' (having the *kta*-pratyaya) may be placed before or after the word 'agni' in a Bahuvrīhi compound. Similarly, both 'pīta-taila' and 'taila-pīta' are correct.

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(b) for the third, as in 4.72—mamāyaṃ vinipātitaḥ (for 'mayāyaṃ vini-'), 86.30—nṛtyante ... asmākaṃ saha ... (for '... asmābhiḥ saha');

(c) for the fourth very often in Saṃpradāna-kāraka and rarely also on other occasions (as in connection with the word 'namaḥ'), e.g. in 1.14—yatra saṃkīrtayed brahmā manv-ādīnāṃ prapṛcchatām (for '... manvādibhyaḥ prapṛcchadbhyaḥ'), 1.36—utpattikīrtanaṃ sṛṣṭeḥ prathamaṃ samudāhṛtam / ... ṛṣīṇāṃ paripṛcchatām // (for '... ṛṣibhyaḥ paripṛcchadbhyaḥ'), 2.20— ... vidyā viṣṇor dattā ... / pitāmahasya tenāpi ... // (for '... viṣṇave ... / pitāmahāya ... //'), 2.32— ... tasya vara-dānaṃ ... (for '... tasmai vara- ...'), 2.41—pradadau tasya daityasya yathepsita-varaṃ nṛpa (for '... tasmai daityāya ...'), 2.50—evaṃ dattvā varaṃ tasya ... (for '... tasmai ...'), 2.100—evaṃ tasya varaṃ dattvā ... (for '... tasmai ...'), 40.15—ugrasenasya saṃkruddhā (for 'ugrasenāya ...'), and so on,

26.33—(namaḥ) bṛhaspataye śukrāya śane rāho 'tha[281] ketave (for '... śanaye rāhave 'tha ...');

(d) for the fifth (in Apādāna-kāraka), as in 3.4—śṛṇuṣva gadato mama (for '... gadato mat'), 3.18—bhītās teṣāṃ (for 'bhītās tebhyaḥ'), 93.143—prāsādasyottare (for 'prāsādād uttare');

(e) for the seventh (in Adhikaraṇa-kāraka), as in 1.32—tathā manv-atri-bhṛgubhir asmākam avatāritā (for '... asmāsu ...'), 2.39—tuṣṭas tasya khagāsanaḥ (for '... tasmin ...'), 2.40—param aṣṭāṅga devasya bhaktim ekāṃ tu yācate (for '... deve ...'), 2.49—ārtasya me sudīnasya dayāṃ tvaṃ kuru keśava (for 'ārte mayi sudīne ...'), 7.18— ... tadā devo viṣṇubrahmasya tuṣṭavān (for '... viṣṇu-brahmaṇoḥ ...'), 11.51—tutoṣa keśavas teṣāṃ ... (for '... teṣu ...'), 33.10—yeṣāṃ haraḥ prīta-manā babhūva (for 'yeṣu

[281] We have already seen that 'rāho 'tha' is the result of Saṃdhi between 'rāhoḥ' and 'atha'.

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haraḥ . . .'), 39.47— . . . yācanāṃ kasya karomi . . . (for '. . . kasmin . . .').

(vii) The seventh case-ending used

(a) for the first (in the secondary object in the passive voice), as in 35.2— . . . śakreṇa brahmaṇi pṛṣṭaḥ pūrvaṃ . . . (for '. . . brahmā . . .');

(b) for the second (and also for the third or fifth in some cases), as in 83.16—. . . namāmi tvayi . . . (for '. . . tvāṃ . . .'), 51.21—vinā pātre na sidhyati (for 'vinā pātraṃ, or pātreṇa or pātrāt, . . .');

(c) for the third (in Karaṇa-kāraka), as in 14.4—mahāmohe 'timohite (for 'mahāmohenātimohite'), 51.6—avidhau yaḥ śivāṃ pūjyeta . . . (for 'avidhinā yaḥ . . .');

(d) for the fourth in connection with the word 'namaḥ' and in Saṃpradāna-kāraka, as in 6.i.2—bhūta-bhavya-bhaviṣyāṇāṃ kāraṇākāraṇe namaḥ (for '. . . kāraṇākāraṇāya . . .'), 7.58—namaḥ . . . koṭar-ākṣāya bhairave (for '. . . bhairavāya'), 7.59—namas te . . . surāsura-bhayaṃkare (for '. . . -bhayaṃkarāya'), 26.27— . . . namas te . . . / . . . pīta-vāsāya pāvane // (for '. . . pāvanāya'), 26.28— . . . brahmaṇe dahane namaḥ / . . . sarvāśine sarva-gate . . . namo namaḥ // (for '. . . dahanāya . . . / . . . sarva-gatāya . . . //'), 26.34—sarvage graha-rūpāya (namaḥ) (for 'sarvagāya . . .'), and so on,

9.60—tvayāpi vatsale deyā abhakte nājitendriye (for '. . . vatsalāya . . . abhaktāya nājitendriyāya'), 11.7-11— . . . sā dattā . . . sārasvate / . . . trivṛṣeṇa bharadvāje . . . / antarīkṣeṇa bahvṛce . . . / tasy-āruṇena balaje tenāpi ca kṛtaṃjaye / kṛtaṃjayena ṛṇaje . . . / vājaśravās tathā some . . . // (for '. . . sārasvatāya / . . . bharadvājāya . . . / . . . bahvṛcāya . . . / . . . balajāya . . . kṛtaṃjayāya . . . / . . . ṛṇajāya . . . / . . . somāya . . . //'), and so on;

(e) for the fifth, as in 2.78 — . . . nāparādho mam-opari / kartavyo mama vākyeṣu . . . // (for '. . . vākye-bhyaḥ . . .'), 7.78-79— . . . siṃha-khaḍgi-bhayeṣu ca/

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trāya māṃ . . . taskareṣu . . . // (for '. . . bhaye-bhyaḥ . . . / . . . taskarebhyaḥ . . . //');

(f) for the sixth, as in 33.32— . . . vidyādharīṣu nivasanti kucāntareṣu (for '. . . vidyādharīṇāṃ ni-');

(g) in Saṃbodhana, as in 7.7—jaya . . . / . . . sākṣi-bhūta-guṇa-traye // (for '. . . -guṇa-traya');

(h) in certain Avyayībhāva compounds (such as 'prati-sthānam' etc.), as in 39.146—prati-sthāne sthitāḥ.

(viii) Different case-endings used in nouns and their adjectives. See, for instance, 95.8—trayo lakṣān.

(ix) For other instances of wrong use of case-endings see 4. 35b-37a, 7. 27ff., 9. 29-32, and so on; also 6.ii.1—*pūrve* (for 'pūrvam' meaning 'formerly')[282], 6.ii.28—*mānavān* deva-śatrūṇāṃ brahmādy-asmāka-jantuṣu, 7.55—bhūta-rākṣasa-vetālādy-*arīṇāṃ* saṃka-ṭeṣu ca, 16.36—*jayaṃ* ca samare nityaṃ *vidyā-lābhaṃ* ca durlabham / dīrgham *āyur* ath-*otsāhaṃ* pārthivānāṃ ca iṣṭadā // (in which the root 'dā' in 'iṣṭadā' has been taken as governing the Accusatives in 'jayam', 'vidyā-lābham' etc.), 93.207—*kuṇḍalaiḥ kaṭa-keyūrair* mukuṭādi-vibhūṣitā, 94.7—nānā-śayyā-samākīrṇair nānā-cāmara-*śobhitaiḥ* / nānā-vastra-*vitānaiś* ca nānā-vimāna-saṃkulā //, 20.23—*tasya* saṃcaramāṇasya kampate ca vasuṃdharā—and the earth quakes as he moves, 27.2—*megha-dundubhi-śaṅkhānāṃ* veṇu-vīṇā-svanaḥ śubhaḥ (for '-śaṅkha-veṇu-'), vṛṣendra-nṛpa-kākānāṃ kokilā-svana pūjitaḥ (for -'kāka-kokilā-svanaḥ pūjitaḥ'), 27.3—siṃha-barhiṇa-śyenānāṃ cāmarākṛtir iṣṭidaḥ (for '-śyena-cāmarā-'), and so on.

It is to be noted that instances of wrong use of case-endings are innumerable, and on many occasions words have been formed and case-endings added to agree with the sounds of the final words of the neighbouring compounds. For such word-formation and use of case-endings see Devī-p. 6.ii. 19ff., 7.7ff., 7.58ff., and so on.

[282] For similar use of 'pūrve' see Lalitavistara 196.5 (=P.L. Vaidya's ed. 142.17).

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[For instances of indifferent use of cases in Buddhist works see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 42ff.]

X. Use of words (in the Nominative or the Objective case) without the relevant case-endings, as in 2.40—param aṣṭāṅga (for 'aṣṭāṅgīṃ') devasya bhaktim ekāṃ tu yācate, 2.92—mantri-vāky-ānal-otthena udyotita vasuṃ prati / matir dānava-nāthasya vrat-ārādhanam āyayau // (for '. . . udyotitā . . . / mati-'), 3.12, 21—mahāsaṃgrāma cakrire (for '-saṃgrāmaṃ . . .'), 4.12— . . . yuṣmat (for 'yuṣmākaṃ') suraiḥ sārdhaṃ yuddhaṃ . . ., 7.73—carmeṇa vāmaṃ bhuja (for 'bhujaṃ') pūrayitvā jayā-mukho dhāvati kruddha (for 'kruddhaḥ') kopāt, 14.25—tathāpi kālo gadā (for 'gadāṃ') tāṃ mumoca, 14.26—kālaṃ hataṃ bhairava (for 'bhairavaḥ') saṃnirīkṣya, 14.27—evaṃ sa kālo hata (for 'hataḥ') bhairavaś ca . . . devyā (for 'devyāṃ' =devīṃ) samāsādya jvalanta-kopāḥ, 15.22—jighāṃsa vajraṃ bala-vajra-vīrya (for '-vīryaṃ') śareṇa haima-dala-patritena, 17.14—rakṣo 'nalaṃ vāyu (for 'vā-yuṃ') tathā kuveraṃ . . ., 17.31— -phalaṃ vāpi sūkṣma (for 'sūkṣmaṃ') tyajitvā vrajante, 27.2—kokilā-svana pūjitaḥ (for '-svanaḥ pū-'), 32.34-35—śara-cāp-āparau tābhyām ṛṣa-mudgara cāparau/ paraśu-cakra-dharau cānyau ḍamaru-darpaṇa cāparau // śakti-kunta-dhṛtau cānyau hala-mūṣala cāparau / pāśa-tomara cānyau tu ḍhakkā-paṇava cāparau //, 37.72—sravaṇa syandanasyārthe (for 'sravaṇaṃ . . .'), 37.73—aveti rakṣaṇe dhātu adhipra-kaṭane tathā (for '. . . dhātuḥ . . .'), 50.ii.44—śobha-kṛd rati kartavyā . . . (for '. . . ratiḥ . . .'), and so on.[283]

In putting down the characteristic features of Apabhraṃśa in his Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 4.329ff. Hemacandra gives two rules, viz., 'sy-am-jas-śasāṃ luk' (4.344) and 'ṣaṣṭhyāḥ' (4.345), which say that in Apabhraṃśa the Nominative, Accusative and Genitive terminations, both singular and plural, are often dropped. (For similar rules

[283] Instances of similar use of words without case-endings are to be found in the Buddhist works also.

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see also Trivikramadeva's Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana III. 4.16-17).

XI. Kṛd-anta nouns governing cases.

For instances see above (pp. 87,115). Also 43.48—brahmāstraṃ prativāraṇe—for preventing the Brahma-missile, 53.9-10—mātarāṇāṃ sadā cakraṃ . . . / pūjanaṃ . . . // (for '. . . cakrasya . . .'), 84.6—śaṃbhuṃ ghātāya (for 'śaṃbhoḥ . . .'), 91.14—śāstrāṇi paṭhanād dānāt. . . (for 'śāstrāṇāṃ . . .'), and so on.[284]

XII. Use of cases (Kāraka) without verbs:

(i) Nominatives without verbs, as in

4.35—durnirīkṣyāṃ *ripur ghoras* tasya dṛṣṭvā tu vāhinīm, 6. ii. 36—tadā *tvahaṃ* (=tvam+ahaṃ) ca saṃcintya sahāyā bhava suvrate, 13.15—tā dṛṣṭā *munayaḥ* kṣobhaṃ kiṃ punar asurādhipāḥ, and so on.

(ii) Accusatives without verbs, as in

2.105—nirjitya sarva-nṛpatīṃs tathā dvīpeṣu *codyamam*, 10.i.2—sanatkumāraṃ varadaṃ tapasā dhūta-kalmaṣam/mama putraṃ mahāprajñaṃ śiva-bhāvena bhāvitam//, 12.23—vṛttā vā bhaṅgam ādhatte rājñaḥ *putraṃ purohitān*, 12.51—chatra-pāto nṛpaṃ hanyāt patākā *mahiṣī-vadham*, 41.9—evaṃ taṃ kṛṣṇa-dharmāṇaṃ mahābala-parākramam/ saṃgare nihataṃ vatsa brahmendra-parirakṣitam//

(iii) Datives without verbs, as in

12.58-59—evaṃ pūrvaṃ hariḥ ketuṃ prāptavān vṛṣa-vāhanāt// tathā *brahmasya* tenaiva brahmaṇaḥ śakram āgatam/

XIII. Irregularities in the formation of compounds (Samāsa):

(i) Wrong position of the component parts, as in

2.1—nṛpavāhana-mahātmā, 39.115—bṛhaspati-mahāmatim (=mahāmati-bṛhaspatim), 2.16—viṣa-bhaujaṃga-(for 'bhaujaṃga-viṣa-'), 7.12—kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kaṇṭhastha-jīrṇave (for 'kaṇṭhastha-kālakūṭa-

[284] Instances similar to these and most of the others noted in sections XII-XXI are to be found in the Buddhist works also, but it is no longer necessary to point out these parallelisms, except in special cases.

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mahāviṣa-jīrṇave'), 7.26—veṇī-bandha-mahācchanda[285] uragair iva pṛṣṭhagaiḥ (for 'mahācchanda-veṇībandhair uragair . . .'—with highly graceful braids of hair moving like snakes on the back), 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa nimn-onnata-virājitaiḥ (for 'ardhenubhir iva nimn-onnata-virājita-lalāṭaiḥ'—with foreheads having depressions and elevations like the half-moon), 7.32 —guru-vistīrṇa - nitamba - māṃs - opacita-śobhitaiḥ (for 'upacita-māṃsa-śobhita-guru-vistīrṇa-nitambaiḥ'), 7.85—nadī-saṃgama-puṇye (for 'puṇya-nadī-saṃgame'), 7.88—patra-bhūrjeṣu (for 'bhūrja-patreṣu'), 8.15— . . . rājā bhūmyāṃ jānu-gata-śirāḥ (for 'rājā bhūmi-gata-jānu-śirāḥ'), 12.56—nṛpa-saha rāṣṭram (for 'saha-nṛpaṃ, or sa-nṛpaṃ, rāṣṭram'), 13.15—śaśāṅka-saṃpūrṇā vilāñchana ivānanāḥ (for 'vilāñchana-saṃpūrṇa-śaśāṅk-ānanāḥ'—having faces like the stainless full-moon), 15.16—lakṣyate bāṇa-dhārotthair vajra-daṇḍa-mahāsvanaih (for 'lakṣyate vajradaṇḍa-bāṇa-dhārotthair mahāsvanaiḥ'), 16.8—yasya kari-mahāgandhā mada-mattā na rāṣṭrajāḥ (for 'yasya mahāgandha-kariṇo mada-mattā na rāṣṭrajāḥ'), 66.33—sarit-saraḥ-sakhātena (for 'sakhāta-sarit-sarobhyāṃ'), 93.82—jātī-phala-sadāḍimaiḥ (for 'sadāḍima-jātī-phalaiḥ'), and so on.

(ii) Unlawful separation of the component parts (sometimes adding no case-endings to those which are not final), as in

7.4— . . . aṅghriṃ ca yugasyādhaḥ (for '. . . aṅghri-yugasyādhaḥ'), 7.78—nakra-vyāghra-varāheṣu siṃha-kaḍgi-bhayeṣu ca (for '-varāha-siṃha-'), 8.15 (cited above), 12.14—śukl-āmbara-dharaṃ caiva samudra-taraṇaṃ nadī (for '. . . nadī-samudra-taraṇam'), 13.15 (cited above), 13.75— . . . tathā puṃbhiḥ pāśa-daṇḍ-odyatair mahān (for '. . . tathā puṃbhir mahā-pāśa-daṇḍ-odyataiḥ'), 26.6—catvāri kaṭak-opetam (for

[285] For '-mahācchanda-' the printed edition of the Devī-p. reads '-mahācchadma-', which, though occurring in many Mss, seems to be a mistake for '-mahācchanda-' meaning 'highly graceful.'

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'catuṣ-kaṭak-opetam'), 27.29—mahā āśvina-māse tu aṣṭamī-navamīṣu ca (in which the word 'mahat' qualifies the words 'aṣṭamī' and 'navamī'), 53.3—śubhodayaṃ jayaṃ bhāgyaṃ kalyāṇam aparājitam / maṅgalam aṣṭa-siddhiṃ ca vibhavaṃ śubhadaṃ śubham // (for 'śubhodaya-jaya-bhāgya-kalyāṇ-āparājita-maṅgal-āṣṭa-siddhi-vibhava-śubhadaṃ śubham'), 92.5—kalau ghore mahā prāpte (for 'mahā-ghore kalau prāpte'),

2.40—param *aṣṭāṅga* devasya *bhaktim* ekāṃ tu yācate, and so on.

(iii) Occasional insertion of *m* or *r* (or *ra*) either as a Saṃdhi-consonant or as a connecting link between the component parts.

For instances see under Saṃdhi above.

Also 7.89 — sarva-tīrtha-tapo-dāna-ṃ-sarva-vrata-pradāyikā (for '-dāna-sarva-'), 13.57—iṅgud-oḍumbara-ṃ-kharjura-mātuluṅgaiḥ (for '-oḍumbara-kharjura-'), 16.7—vyūha-kriyā-bhāva-maṇḍala-ṃ-tattva-veditā (for '-maṇḍala-tattva-'), 33.5—taṃ buddhvā tad-gata-ṃ-cittam (for '-tadgata-cittam'), 84.12—prabhā-m-pātāla- (for 'prabhā-pātāla-');

85.38—cala-dṛṣṭi-ra-kātaram (for 'cala-dṛṣṭi-kātaram'); and so on.

(iv) Occasional insertion, between the component parts, of any of the indeclinables '*atha*', '*hi*', '*ca*', '*tathā*'[286] etc., as in

6.ii.26—lava-syanda-truṭi-meṣa-muhūrta-atha-kāṣṭhāsu, 13.22—tṛṇa-keśa-muktā-hy-asthīni darśanam, 13.43— -makarākula-c-odakā (narmadā), 79.iv.4—ayuta-traya-c-ottamā (for '-trayottamā'), 17.18—-caturthī-tath-aikādaśī-kṛṣṇapakṣ-otsave (for 'caturthy-aikādaśī-'), and so on.

It is to be noted that in 'aṅghri-ṃ-ca-yugasyādhaḥ' (for 'aṅghri-yugasyādhaḥ' in 7.4) there are both the intervening Saṃdhi-consonant 'm' and the indeclinable 'ca'.

[286] For an instance of insertion of '*tathā*' between the component parts of a compound in a Buddhist work see Sādhana-mālā, No. 171 (p. 343)—puṣpa-dhūpa-*tathā*-dīpa-gandha-naivedya-saṃcayaiḥ.

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(v) Wrong use of the Samāsāntas, as in 4.51—kaustubhoraska-maṇḍitaḥ, 11.50—kaustubhoraska-bhūṣaṇam, etc.

(vi) Various other irregularities, as in 2.58, 50.ii.2—vedodgīrita-ānanāḥ, 4.33—yama-bhaṅgāya mahiṣasya (for 'yamasya mahiṣasya bhaṅgāya'—for the defeat of Yama's buffalo), 6.ii.28—brahmādy-asmāka-jantuṣu, 6.ii.34—evaṃ-bhūtārtha-bhavyaiḥ, 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa-nimnonnata-virājitaiḥ (cited above), 7.40—anaupamā (meaning 'incomparable'), 7.42—svāmi-bhūtā, 7.55—ātmanaḥ para-rakṣāsu—in protection of (one's own) self from others (i.e. enemies), 7.76—iṣuj-opala-vārkṣaḥ—(injuries) created by arrows, stone and trees, 83.117—mahad-āpadā (for 'mahāpat'), 8.34—mahad-aiśvaryāt (for 'mahaiśvaryāt'), 54.7—kṣayādi-mahadāpadaḥ (for '-mahāpadaḥ'), 97.8— ... brahma-viṣṇu-maheśvarāḥ ... striyaḥ pāna-mano-'nugāḥ— ... Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara ... have their minds running after women and drink, 17.12— ... ghoraḥ ... yuddha-mano'nugaḥ— ... Ghora ... had his mind bent on war, 7.61—pināka-vara-pāṇine (for '-pāṇaye'—Dative), 14.12—kṛpāṇa-pāṇinī—(a female) with a sword in (her) hand, 16.40, 50.i.97, 101, 119, etc.—varad-odyata-pāṇinī—(Devī) who has raised her hand for granting a boon, 93.288—varad-ābhaya-pāṇinīm, 17.23—bhūtāni-tāri (feminine, Vocative)—(a female) who delivers beings, 25.14, 19—pakveṣṭa[287]-śaila-dārvam—made of burnt bricks, stone and wood, 25.18—viṃśaikam (for 'eka-viṃśatim'), 26.10—samāyana-ṛtu-māsa-pakṣ-āho-rātra-pūrvavat, 32.33—viṃś-āṣṭā—twenty-eight, 32.35—śakti-kunta-dhṛtau—holding (the missiles) Śakti and Kunta, 33.6—vibhīṣaṇa-karam—terrifying, 33.70—darbha-mūlābhiḥ (mṛdbhiḥ)—(with mud) that sticks to the roots of Kuśa grass, 35.8—dhvajā-pālana-kartavyā—protection of the banner should

[287] For 'pakveṣṭa-' Devī-p. 25.14 and 19 wrongly read 'paṣṭāṅka-' and 'paṣṭāṅga-' respectively. For the reading 'pakveṣṭa-' see Devī-p. 118.2—pakveṣṭa-dāru-śailaṃ....

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be made, 37.25—mātarāṇy-agrajā—(a female deity) born before the mothers, 39.45—sa-vistarī, 39.157—vināhava-nipātane, 43.14—vana-kānanām (Bahuvrīhi compound), 48.3—paśc-āstamita-bhāskare, 50.i.27—tāvanta-bhedena, 50.i.32, 124—sarvābharaṇa-bhūṣāṅgī (feminine), 50.iii.27, 85.20—bhayānanā, 82.56—traya-rākṣasāḥ, 83.35—rakṣā-pālakaḥ, 82.47—khaḍga-kar-odyataḥ, 85.21—daṇḍāsi-pāśa-m-udyata, 86.27—sa-kṣipram (adverb), 93.63—soṣṇena, 93.285—vīṇā-gṛhīta-hastām (Bahuvrīhi compound), 91.38—evaṃ-vidha-kṛtena, and so on.

XIV. Wrong formation and use of verbs:

(i) Parasmaipadīya roots used in their Ātmanepadīya forms, viz.,

(a) bhvādi-gaṇīya

bhū in 8.53, 9.20, 23.17, 19, 24.7, 26.43, etc.—bhavate (for 'bhavati'), 86.27—bhavadhvam (for 'bhavata'), 33.21—bhaveta (for 'bhavet'),

car in 47.16—carate (for 'carati'),

dṛś in 7.5—paśyate (for 'paśyati'), 13.72—paśyeta (for 'paśyet'), 34.13—apaśyata (for 'apaśyat'), 1.70—dadṛśe (for 'dadarśa'),

gam in 33.62, 34.5, 42.15, etc.—gacchate (for 'gacchati'), 86.16—gacchase (for 'gacchasi'), 84.4—gacchadhvam (for 'gacchata'), 95.9—gaccheta (for 'gacchet'),

jap in 1.40—japate (for 'japati'),

ji in 4.5—jayāmahe (for 'jayāmaḥ'),

jval in 8.30—jvalate (for 'jvalati'),

kṛṣ (ava+) in 49.2—avakarṣate (for 'avakarṣati'),

kṣar in 49.12, 17, 19—kṣarate (for 'kṣarati'),

pā (to drink) in 48.11—pibate (for 'pibati'),

pat in 27.10—patate (for 'patati'),

paṭh in 7.84—paṭhate (for 'paṭhati'),

rakṣ in 7.80, 14.8—rakṣate (for 'rakṣati'),

rakṣ (pari+) in 41.2—parirakṣase (for 'parirakṣasi'),

sad (pra+) in 1.26—prasīdate (for 'prasīdati'),

smṛ in 91.52—smarate (for 'smarati'),

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sthā (to remain) in 2.14, 3.34, 7.90, 8.12, etc.—tiṣṭhate (for 'tiṣṭhati'),

sthā (ut+, meaning 'to rise') in 55.6—ketavaś cottiṣṭhante (for '... cottiṣṭhanti'),

tap in 13.25—tapate bhānuḥ (for 'tapati ...'),

tyaj in 13.19—tyajate (for 'tyajati'),

vad (to say) in 4.84, 6.ii.12, 14.6, etc.—vadate (for 'vadati'), 37.41—vadante (for 'vadanti'),

vas (to reside) in 9.11—vasante (for 'vasanti'),

vraj in 99.33—vrajate (for 'vrajati');

(b) adādi-gaṇīya

i (to go) in 39.108—eṣyate (for 'eṣyati'),

snā• (+ṇic) in 68.2—snāpayeta (for 'snāpayet');

(c) divādi-gaṇīya

nṛt in• 13.74—nṛtyante (for 'nṛtyanti'),

tuṣ in 51.11—tuṣyante (for 'tuṣyanti');

(d) svādi-gaṇīya

āp (pra+) in 6.ii.40—prāpayiṣyate (for 'prāpsyati'),

sādh in 1.24—sādhate (for 'sādhnoti'),

śru in 3.4—śṛṇuṣva (for 'śṛṇu');

(e) tudādi-gaṇīya

iṣ in 4.17—iccheta (for 'icchet'),

pracch in 2.18—pṛcchate (for 'pṛcchati'), 9.67, 13.1, 35.2—pṛcchase (for 'pṛcchasi'), 13.3—pṛcche (for 'pṛcchāmi'), 2.101—apṛcchata (for 'apṛcchat'),

viś in 16.5—viśate (for 'viśati').

(ii) Ātmanepadīya roots used in their Parasmaipadīya forms, viz.,

(a) bhvādi-gaṇīya

bādh in 16.5—bādhanti (for 'bādhante'),

dṛś (used in the passive voice) in 85.60—dṛśyanti (for 'dṛśyante'), 95.16—dṛśyet (for 'dṛśyeta'),

ji (vi+) in 2.98—vijayāmi (for 'vijaye'), 98.9—vijayet (for 'vijayeta'),

labh in 33.43—labhati (for 'labhate'), 11.11, 59.3, etc.—labhet (for 'labheta'),

lamb (vi+) in 9.56—vilambasi (for 'vilambase'),

rabh (sam+ā+) in 58.10—samārabhat (for 'samāra-

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bhata'), 59.20—samārabhet (for 'samārabheta'),

ram in 82.75—ramanti (for 'ramante'), 7.92—rarāma (for 'reme'),

sah (sam+ut+) in 43.51—samutsahet (for 'samutsaheta'),

sev in 93.20—sevanti (for 'sevante'), 10.iv.1, 8—sevet (for 'seveta'),

sthā (ava+) in 69.4—avatiṣṭhati (for 'avatiṣṭhate'),

trai in 6.ii.12—sā trāya (i.e. 'sā atrāyat', for 'sā atrāyata'), 7.79—trāya (for 'trāyasva'),

yāc[288] in 6.ii. 35, 16.41, 83.21—yāca (for 'yācasva'), 39.131—yayāca (for 'yayāce');

(b) adādi-gaṇīya

han (used in the passive voice) in 85.12—hanyanti (for 'hanyante');

(c) divādi-gaṇīya

jan in 33.22, 28—jāyanti (for 'jāyante'),

man in 93.290—manyet (for 'manyeta'),

yudh in 4.13, 14—yudhyanti (for 'yudhyante'),

vid in 33.30— ... na vidyati nṛṇāṃ ... (for '... vidyate ...'),

(d) kryādi-gaṇīya

stambh in 7.75—stambha (for 'stabhāna'—Loṭ, second person, singular).

(iii) Irregular conjugation of verbs (sometimes with unauthorised change of Gaṇa, sometimes without the augment *a* in Laṅ, sometimes with the loss of the reduplitive syllable, and so on):

(a) bhvādi-gaṇīya

bhāṣ in 39.55—avabhāṣata (for 'avābhāṣata'),

bhram (pari+) in 43.15—paribhramat (for 'paryabhramat'),

bhū in 14.1—bhavat (without the augment 'a' in Laṅ, for 'abhavat'),

bhū (sam+ut+) in 4.66—samudbhavat (without the augment 'a' in Laṅ, for 'samudabhavat'),

diś (ā+) in 39.133—ādiśaya (for 'ādiśa'),

[288] It is rarely used as a Parasmaipadīya root.

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dru (abhi+) in 11.23, 39.77, 43.15—abhidravat (without the augment 'a' in Laṅ, for 'abhyadravat'),

gam in 32.1—jagma (for 'jagāma'),

gam (prati+ā+) in 93.200—pratyāgamāmi (for 'pratyāgacchāmi'),

ji in 4.74—jayiṣyati (for 'jeṣyati'),

pat in 43.40—pāta (for 'papāta'),

rakṣ (conjugated as a curādi-gaṇīya root) in 12.47—rakṣayet (for 'rakṣet'),

smṛ (anu+) in 14.3—anusmarat (in Laṅ, for 'anvasmarat'),

śri (ut+) in 23.19—ucchraye (for 'ucchrayet'),

sthā (ava+, sam+ut+, ut+) in 13.45—avatiṣṭhata (without the augment 'a' in Laṅ, for 'avātiṣṭhata'), 85.33, 59—samutthanti (for 'samuttiṣṭhanti'), 4.31—utthan (for 'udatiṣṭhat'),

śubh in 2.53—śobhire (for 'śuśubhire'),

vah in 13.25—vahan (in Laṅ, for 'avahan'), 14.29—vavāha (for 'uvāha'),

vas in 10.iv.11—uṣet (for 'vaset'),

vṛdh in 43.3—vṛdhe (for 'vavṛdhe'),

yāc (conjugated as a curādi-gaṇīya root) in 9.52, 39.63—yācayāmi (for 'yāce'), 39.59—yācaya (for 'yācasva'), 4.77—yācayiṣyati (for 'yāciṣyate'),

yāc (prati+) in 43.17—pratyayāca (for 'pratyayācata'),

yaj in 99.36—ijyet (for 'yajet'),

yat (pra+) in 93.268—prayatneta (for 'prayateta');

(b) adādi-gaṇīya

cakās in 119.38—cakāsanti (for 'cakāsati'),

i (ut+) in 119.34—udayāmāsa (for 'udiyāya'),

han in 9.56, 85.4—hana (for 'jahi'), 16.42, 39.131—vadha (for 'jahi'), 43.35, 68.16—hanet (for 'hanyāt'), 15.22—jighāṃsa (for 'jaghāna' or 'avadhīt'), 83.23—vadhiṣyati (for 'haniṣyati'),

han (ni+) in 14.8—nighnāmi (for 'nihanmi'), 85.12—nighnanti (for 'nihanti'),

han (vi+) in 2.31, 32—vighnate (for 'vihanyate'),

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rud in 119.37—rurodanti (for 'rudanti'),

stu (conjugated as a bhvādi-gaṇīya root) in 2.43—stavati (for 'stauti' or 'stavīti'), 2.95, 11.29—stavate (for 'stute' or 'stavīte'), 80.19—stavase (for 'stuṣe' or 'stavīṣe'),

vā in 55.7—vāyante (for 'vānti'),

śās in 72.5—śāsat (for 'aśāt');

(c) hvādi-gaṇīya

dā in 93.123—dadanti (for 'dadati'), 11.50, 86.28—dada (for 'dehi'), 91.74—dadet (for 'dadyāt') (the forms 'dadate' in 37.2, 'dadase' in 83.15, and the like having been derived probably from the root 'dad' meaning 'to give'—cf. Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī iii.1.139—dadāti-dadhātyor vibhāṣā, and Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 672 and 794 j),

dhā in 2.50, 116.iii.18 (antar+)—antaradhīyata (for 'antaradhita'—Luṅ, third person, singular), 48.22 (vi+)—vidhet (for 'vidadhyāt');

(d) divādi-gaṇīya

as (vi+ni+) in 44.1—vinyasat (for 'vinyāsyat'),

budh in 8.38—buddha (Loṭ, second person, singular, for 'budhyasva'),

śam in 6.ii.44, 8.30—śamate (for 'śāmyati'), 8.29—śamet (for 'śāmyet'),

vyadh in 43.36—vyādha (for 'vivyādha'),

yudh in 39.82—ayodhyanta (for 'ayudhyanta'), 43.32 (vi+)—vyayodhayat (for 'vyayudhyata');

(e) svādi-gaṇīya

āp (pra+) in 6.ii.40—prāpayiṣyate (for 'prāpsyati'),

sādh in 1.24—sādhate (conjugated as bhvādi-gaṇīya, for 'sādhnoti'), 4.18—sādhyanti (conjugated as divādi-gaṇīya, for 'sādhnvanti' or 'sādhayanti'),

vṛ in 39.131—varaṃ varaya govinda (for '... vṛṇu ...');

(f) tudādi-gaṇīya

kṛt in 9.56—karta (for 'kṛnta'), 7.67 (vi+ni+)—daityān hi vinikṛntaya (for '... vinikṛnta'),

muc in 4.70, 7.87—mocate (conjugated as bhvādi-

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gaṇīya, for 'muñcati'), 119.35—mumocati (for 'muñcati'), 15.18—vimokṣa (for 'vyamuñcat' or 'vyamukta'),

vid in 2.30, 9.43—vindyāt (conjugated as rudhādi-gaṇīya, for 'vindet');

(g) rudhādi-gaṇīya

bhid in 13.21—bhindate (for 'bhinte'),

bhuj (to protect, to enjoy) in 9.12—bhuñjate (for 'bhunakti'), 4.10—bhuñjatha (for 'bhuṅktha'), 9.8—bhuñjāmi (for 'bhunajmi'), 2.42, 2.49, 5.16, 9.56, etc.—bhuñja (for 'bhuṅgdhi'), and so on,

chid in 7.68—chinda (for 'chindhi'), 12.13—chindayet (for 'chindyāt'), 12.20—chindeta (for 'chindīta');

(h) tanādi-gaṇīya

kṛ in 35.27—karanti (for 'kurvanti'), 9.8—kurvāmaḥ (for 'kurmaḥ'), 7.78—kurva (for 'kuru');

(i) kryādi-gaṇīya

bandh in 7.66, 9.56—bandha (Loṭ, second person, singular, for 'badhāna'),

grah in 9.56, 85.4, 116.iii.14—gṛhṇa (Loṭ, second person, singular, for 'gṛhāṇa'), 95.35—gṛhya (for 'gṛhāṇa'),

jñā in 85.34—jānayanti (for 'jānanti'),

lī in 95.43—līyanti (for 'līnanti');

(j) curādi-gaṇīya

cint in 2.32—cintate (for 'cintayate'),

dhū (ava+) in 4.64—avadhūnayat[289] (Laṅ, third person, singular),

kath in 1.31—kathiṣyati (conjugated as bhvādi-gaṇīya, for 'kathayiṣyati'), 82.1—katha (for 'kathaya'),

kīrt in 99.50—kīrtanti (for 'kīrtayanti'),

pīḍ in 24.18—pīḍati (conjugated as bhvādi-gaṇīya, for 'pīḍayati'),

taḍ in 41.3, 4—tāḍayat (without the augment *a* in Laṅ, for 'atāḍayat').

(iv) Irregular Causative (ṇijanta) and Denominative verbal forms, viz.,

bhojīyāt (for 'bhojayet') in 33.67, *daṃśāpayati* (for

[289] The reading 'avadhūnayat' seems to be a mistake for 'avadhūlayat'.

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'daṃśayati') in 9.68, *mocāpayati* (for 'mocayati') in 9.68, *niyāmase* (for 'niyamayasi') in 36.10, *nṛtyāpayati* (for 'nartayati') in 9.68, *pātayat* (without the augment 'a' in Laṅ, for 'apātayat') in 41.8, *pratiṣṭhayet* (for 'pratiṣṭhāpayet') in 32.8, 50.i.45, 50.ii.3, *preṣayāt* (for 'preṣayet') in 40.14, *śamaye* (Vidhi-liṅ, third person, singular, for 'śamayet') in 7.72, *toṣati* (for 'toṣayati') in 2.40, *utthāpayat* (for 'udasthāpayat') in 39.154, *vādayat* (for 'avādayat) in 39.158, *vārate* (for 'vārayate') in 37.57, *vināśiṣye* (for 'vināśayiṣyet') in 1.3,

homaye (Vidhi-liṅ, third person, singular, for 'homayet') in 26.36—satataṃ homaye'nale—should always perform 'homa' in fire, *kṣamāyeta* (for 'kṣamāpayet') in 31.27, 36.29.

(v) Wrong use of Denominative verbs, as in

39.108—paṇya-strīva yathā lobhāt kāmukānāṃ varāyate (for '..... varīyati')—just as a harlot wants to have, out of greed (for money), lustful persons as her husbands.

(vi) Wrong formation of Kṛdanta words, viz.,

(a) Present Participles (in 'śatṛ' and 'śānac'), such as *bhuñjayat* (for 'bhuñjat') in 8.40—bhuñjayan punar anyāś ca striyo ratna-vibhūṣitāḥ, *utthat* (for 'uttiṣṭhat') in 85.43—kvacit patantam utthantaṃ ...,

bhramanta (for 'bhramat') in 85.38—bhramantāvṛtta-kuṭilam ..., *chādayanta* (for 'chādayat') in 43.39—chādayanto diśaḥ sarvāḥ pūrayanto navāmbubhiḥ / ... amay-opari pāta saḥ //, *jvalanta* (for 'jvalat') in 14.27—jvalanta-kopāḥ, 84.14—jvalantāgni-, *pūrayanta* (for 'pūrayat') in 43.39 (cited above), *vahanta* (for 'vahat') in 85.39—vahantaiḥ,

anicchamāna (for 'anicchat') in 9.43—anicchamānāpi tathā gṛhītā pāṇinā kare (for 'anicchanty api ...'), *cintamāna* (for 'cintayat') in 36.32—vedārthaṃ cintamānena viṣṇunā ..., *dhyāyamāna* (in active voice, for 'dhyāyat') in 10.vi.4—yas tu kāya-kṛtān bhogān dhyāyamānas tu sevate, *ghātamāna* (in active voice, for 'ghnat') in 32.38—ghātamānā ripuṃ devī ... (for 'ghnatī ...'),

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hasamāna (for 'hasat') in 34.15—āgataḥ ... hasamānaḥ, *japamāna* (for 'japat') in 39.50, 56, *krīḍamāna* (for 'krīḍat') in 4.78, *paṭhamāna* (for 'paṭhat') in 39.51, *praviśamāna* (for 'praviśat') in 12.37—prathamaṃ praviśamānā bhūmiṃ yaṣṭir hanti rāṣṭram (for 'prathamaṃ praviśantī bhūmiṃ ....'), *rudamāna* (for 'rudat') in 9.46—tena sā vimanā dṛṣṭā rudamānā tu kanyakā (for '... rudatī tu ...'), *tarjamāna* (for 'tarjayat') in 32.37—tarjamānaṃ hataṃ mūrdhni nāga-pāśena veṣṭitam (for 'tarjayantaṃ ...'),

ghātamāna (in the passive voice, for 'hanyamāna') in 8.31—śatravo ghātamānā hi kṣīyante hy avicāraṇāt, 43.41—ghātamānasya;

(b) Past Participles (in 'kta'), such as

bhidita (for 'bhinna') in 52.7— ... aṣṭadhā bhiditena ..., *chadmita* in 1.39—chadmito guruṇā punaḥ—again deceived by Guru (the preceptor of gods), *ghātita* (non-causative) in 11.41—viṣṇunā ghātitāḥ kecit ... (for '... hatāḥ ...'), 39.68—evaṃ sa ghātitaḥ ... (for '... sa hataḥ ...'), *kṛntita* (for 'kṛtta') in 119.9, *paṭhata* (for 'paṭhita') in 32.38-39— ... devī ... // sthāpitā pūjitā śakra smaratā paṭhatāpi vā / prayacchati śubhān kāmān ... //, *praṇamita* (for 'praṇata') in 33.23— ... sarva-surāsura-praṇamitaṃ śambhuṃ ..., *pṛcchita* (for 'pṛṣṭa') in 13.2—kathitaṃ ... yogaṃ nārada-pṛcchitam, 39.26—pṛcchito vṛṣa-vāhanaḥ, 93.15—pṛcchitaḥ śivaḥ, 92.15 (pra+)—devyā prapṛcchitam, 39.38 (sam+)—saṃpṛcchitās tataḥ sarve ..., *rañgita* (for 'rañjita') in 91.38, *smarata*, *smarita* and *smārita* (for 'smṛta') in 32.39 (cited above in connection with 'paṭhata' for 'paṭhita'), 39.69—smaritaṃ bhaktinā, 43.58—yenāhaṃ smāritaṃ tvayā;

(c) Gerunds (in 'ktvā' and 'lyap'), such as

apasthāpayitvā (for 'apasthāpya') in 3.18, *bhuñjayitvā* (for 'bhuktvā') in 9.45, *chinditvā* (for 'chittvā') in 86.22, *krīḍayitvā* (for 'krīḍitvā') in 87.14, *namaskṛtvā* (for 'namas-kṛtya') in 10.i.14, *racitvā* (for 'racayitvā') in 86.19, *saṃ-matīkṛtvā* (for 'saṃmatīkṛtya') in 7.96, *smaritvā* (for

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'smṛtvā') in 39.45, *tyajitvā* (for 'tyaktvā') in 17.31, *ujjhayitvā* (for 'ujjhitvā') in 13.13, *uttha* (for 'utthāya') in 85.58, *vācitvā* (for 'uktvā') in 28.7, *vyāpayitvā* (for 'vyāpya') in 7.97, 39.147, *yaṣṭvā* (for 'iṣṭvā') in 58.13,

bhojya (for 'bhojayitvā') in 35.11, *gṛhya* (for 'gṛhītvā') in 39.107, 112, *khyāpya* (for 'khyāpayitvā') in 7.19, *kṣepya* (for 'kṣiptvā') in 39.113, *paśya* (for 'dṛṣṭvā') in 14.22, *preṣya* (for 'preṣayitvā') in 39.101, *pūjya* (for 'pūjayitvā') in 5.13, 33.70, *ruhya* (for 'rūḍhvā') in 39.71, *samaruhya* (for 'saṃruhya') in 39.112, *snāpya* (for 'snāpayitvā') in 33.70, *sthāpya* (for 'sthāpayitvā') in 4.4, 33.73, *tarpya* (for 'tarpayitvā') in 2.73, *tyajya* (for 'tyaktvā') in 14.12, and so on;

(d) miscellaneous other primary bases, such as

bhuñjanīya (from the root 'bhuj') in 9.36—na hi anicchatā (=anicchantī) bālā bhuñjanīyā kadācana, *darśakārin* (for 'darśaka') in 10.iii.6-7, *dhyāpana* (for 'dhyāna') in 10.v.12—ity ete dhyāpan-opāyā ṛṣibhiḥ parikīrtitāḥ, *saṃjitṛ* (conqueror) in 15.3—yamasya vahner api saṃjitāram, *vaivāha* (for 'vivāha') in 27.6— . . . yajña-vaivāhasthāpane—in sacrifice, marriage and consecration.

(vii) Wrong use of Gerunds, as in

43.3—mahādevī . . . ghoraṃ hatvā devena viṣṇunā/ dattāparājitā candre . . . //, 55.4—rātrāv indradhanur dṛṣṭvā . . . śmaśāne dhūmo jāyate, 95.36—bhuktvā tu vipulān bhogān paścān mokṣo bhaviṣyati.

(viii) Wrong use of Tenses and Moods:

(a) Laṭ used for Liṭ, as in

15.18—vavarṣa *plavate* (for 'plāvayate') sarvāṃ dānavīṃ vāhinīṃ tadā—then rain poured down and *flooded* the entire army of the Dānavas;

(b) Vidhi-liṅ (Potential) used for Laṅ, as in

2.69—atandrita-manāḥ śakra dharmādīni na *hāpayet* (for 'ahāpayat'=ajahāt), 2.71-72—ghṛte vā darpaṇe vāpi mukhaṃ *paśyed* (for 'apaśyat') dadau ca gām // tataḥ sabhāṃ samāsthāya *paśyet* (for 'apaśyat') kāryāṇi kāryiṇām /, 2.73—sabhā-maṇḍapam āsthāya *paśyet* (for 'apaśyat') svāni balāni ca, 2.76—mukto hy aṣṭādaśair

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doṣaiḥ *kuryād* (for 'akarot') rājyaṃ mahāsuraḥ, 13.67—sa cāśvina-prathamāhe girīndram *avarohayet* (for 'avārohayat'=avārohat), 13.69—karaṃ *prasārayed* (for 'prāsārayat') devyāḥ ... —stretched out (his) hand towards Devī, 13.70—saṃdhyāyāṃ vijayā gatvā kāraṇāyāṃ *nivedayet* (for 'nyavedayat'), 13.72—ghoro 'pi svapnān *paśyeta* (for 'apaśyat'), 40.13-15—muṇḍaṃ *saṃpīḍayed* (for 'samapīḍayat') devī ... // indrāya *preṣayāt* (for 'praiṣayat') śaktiṃ ... // ... indraṃ khaḍgena *tāḍayet* (for 'atāḍayat') //, 40.17—vāyavyaṃ *prakṣiped* (for 'prākṣipat') devī ..., and so on;

(c) Āśīr-liṅ (Benedictive Mood) used for Vidhi-liṅ, as in 12.54—ketor niratā yajane *bhūyād* vipra-kanyāś ca, 67.53—vastraṃ kārpāsikaṃ *dhriyāt* (for 'dharet', i.e. 'dhārayet').

(d) Lṛṭ (future) and Vidhi-liṅ (Potential) mixed up, as in 1.3—vināśiṣye (for 'vināśiṣyet'[290] <'vināśayiṣyet' formed by wrong conjugation of the root 'naś').

(ix) Causative (ṇijanta) forms of verbs used for the non-Causative (aṇijanta), as in

2.69—*hāpayet* (for 'ajahāt'), 6.ii.40—*prāpayiṣyate* (for 'prāpsyati'), 9.56—*bhedaya* (for 'bhindhi'), 12.41—*ghātitāḥ* (for 'hatāḥ'), 13.67—*avarohayet* (for 'avārohat'), 20.18—tathāstaṃ *prāpite* (for 'prāpte') sūrye ..., 43.59—*mocitam* (for 'muktam'), 43.61—*ghātayitvā* (for 'hatvā'), 66.6— ... devatāḥ sarvā veṣṭayanti (for 'veṣṭante') ..., and so on.

(x) Non-Causative (aṇijanta) forms of verbs used for the Causative (ṇijanta), as in

2.94— ... tasya deva-devo janārdanaḥ / *dadarśa* (for 'darśayāmāsa') svāṃ tanuṃ ... // —Janārdana, the god of gods, showed his own person to him ..., 9.51—tadā tasya *dadarśa* tām—then (Nandin) showed him that

[290] A similar form (kārayiṣyet) occurs in Mahāvastu i.267.9 (prose). See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 152 (31.37 and 40). See also Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 938 (pp. 333-4) for similar forms in the Ṛgveda, Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc.

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(Padamālā Vidyā), 7.6—stavenainaṃ *tutoṣa* (for 'toṣayāmāsa'), 15.18—(meghaḥ) vavarṣa *plavate* (for 'plāvayate') sarvāṃ dānavīṃ vāhinīṃ tadā, 27.8—yā *śamate* (for 'śamayate') ca hutāśanam—and which extinguishes the fire, 42.16— ... brahma-hatyādi-pātakam / *śamate* sā na saṃdeho vidyā ... // (śamate=śamayate), 52.11—*snānaṃ* śiṣyāya kartavyam (for 'snāpanaṃ śiṣyasya kartavyam), 88.6—śaktibhir jātam (for 'janitam'), and so on.

(ix) Confusion as regards voice:

(a) Active forms of verbs used in the passive voice, as in

2.31-32—*vighnate* (for 'vihanyate'), 2.77—so 'pi tātena *dṛṣṭavān* (for 'dṛṣṭaḥ'), 21.8—*kṛtavān* sarva-devaiś ca pūjāḥ ... ... (for 'kṛtāḥ ...'), 11.9—(vidyā) bharadvājena *prāptavān* (for 'prāptā'), 15.4—bhayebhya *muñcanty* avicāraṇena ... tvām āśritā vīta-bhayā bhavanti (for '... mucyante ...'), 17.27—te 'pi pāpāt *pramuñcanti* (for 'pramucyante'), 90.4—viṣṇuḥ śakreṇa *pṛṣṭavān* (for 'pṛṣṭaḥ'), and so on.

(b) Passive forms of verbs used in the active voice, as in

83.2—tvaṃ punaḥ *kathyate* (for 'kathayasi') ... ..., 3.2—tvaṃ ca ... kathāṃ pūrvāṃ *prakathyase* (for 'prakathayasi'), 4.86—tasya kaḥ *śakyate* (for 'śaknoti') yuddhe, 9.11—sa kathaṃ *mucyate* pathaḥ (for '... muñcati panthānam'), 9.74—yas tu devīṃ na *pūjyate* (for 'pūjayate'), 43.40— ... ... saḥ (śaraḥ) / ratha-nāgāśva-pādātaṃ *hanyamānaṃ* (for 'ghnan') sahasradhā //, 51.6—avidhau yaḥ śivāṃ *pūjyeta* (for 'pūjayeta'), and so on.

(c) Active and passive voice mixed up, as in

2.23—śakreṇa ca samāyāntaṃ dṛṣṭvā devaṃ pitāmaham / tyaktvā siṃhāsanaṃ tūrṇaṃ daṇḍavat patito bhuvi //

3.5— ... tena ... arjitam / jambuṃ śākaṃ tathā krauñcaṃ śālmalīm atha pauṣkaram / /

4.42-43—indreṇa tau samāyātau dṛṣṭvā yama-hutā-

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śanau / mahākṣobhaṃ samāsthāya gaja-rājaṃ ruroha saḥ //

8.4— ... ghoraḥ ... / ... kṛto yatnaḥ ... //

8.11—dvāḥsthena taṃ samāyāntaṃ dṛṣṭvā brahma-sutottamam / praviṣṭo yatra vai rājā ghoro ghora-parākramaḥ //

11.22—tena dvīpādhipān jitvā divam utsahate jaye,

15.18—taṃ dṛṣṭvā vajra-daṇḍena mahāmāyā-samudbhavam / vāyuṃ mumoca ... //

17.3—evaṃ pṛṣṭas tadā brahmā .. ... / vimṛśya kathyate sarvaṃ ... ... //

35.32—rājñā vānena vidhinā ... dhvaja-yaṣṭiṃ samucchrayet,

and so on.

(d) Wrong formation of passive verbs, as in

24.19—pīḍante naṭa-nartakāḥ (for 'pīḍyante naṭa-').

XV. Wrong formation of Taddhitānta words, viz.,

dārva (for 'dārava'—wooden) in 25.14, 25.19, 32.39, *sakhāyatva* (for 'sakhitva') in 39.146, *sphāṭikamaya* (for 'sphāṭika' or 'sphaṭikamaya') in 93.226, *tapavān* (for 'tapasvān') in 2.37, *tāvanta* (for 'tāvat') in 50.i.27, *vaimāna* (for 'vimāna') in 64.3—vāta-raṃhasa-vaimānaiḥ, *viṃśatima* (for 'viṃśatitama') in 10.ii.3—tac ca viṃśatimaṃ tattvam ..., *yathāśaktitaḥ* (for 'yathāśakti') in 35.17— te yathāśaktitas toṣyāḥ ..., and so on.

XVI. Defects in versification:

(i) Want of restriction with regard to the number of syllables in a Pāda, as shown by

(a) the Pādas having more syllables than necessary, as in

2.7—sanakaḥ sanatkumāraś ca, 2.22—kṛtvā kratu-śataṃ vidhivat ..., 3.16—hilihilo bhadranāmā ca, 4.78—yama-mahiṣam ivāparam, 7.29—kunda-kuṭmalavad-ābhāsa-, 8.7—yena kenacid upāyena, 13.57—iṅgud-oḍumbara-ṃ-kharjura-, 27.2 — manaḥśilā-kuṣṭha-karpūra-, 84.10, 86.1—kavacinaḥ sottara-cchadāḥ,

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50.i.10—ṛddhir vṛddhir unnatiḥ siddhiḥ, and so on,

(b) the Pādas wanting in syllables, as in

2.52—tam āyāntaṃ tu śrutvā, 5.12—tvaṃ devarṣe viprendra, 7.64—mahāvidyujjihvāya, 15.6—taṃ devī dṛṣṭvā bhasmī-prayātam (Upajāti), 29.8—sakala-bhūdivaṃ bhūtam, 57.21—sa ca maṅgalāṃ rūpām, and so on.

(ii) Indiscriminate use of (metrically) long and short syllables in a Pāda, as in

2.1—nṛpavāhana-mahātmā, 2.8—śāṇḍilyo maharṣir vahni-, 3.25—bhogāḥ kulikaḥ sauvarṇaḥ, 4.90 (second Pāda)—vināśaḥ kena kriyate, 6.ii.20—pīta-padmāruṇahema-, 6.ii.25—paśu-mṛga-pakṣi-tiryak-, 7.14—karṇāpūrita-iṣave, 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa-, 8.32—śabda-sparśa-rasa-rūpa-, 8.36—daṇḍair vācā īrṣyāsūyā-, 54.9—rakta-karavīra-puṣpaiḥ, 85.58 — chinna-bāhu-kara-kaṇṭha-śiroru-vinistambhitāḥ, 89.7 (first Pāda)—kartavyaṃ jita-dvandvena, and so on.

(iii) Wrong pronunciation or non-pronunciation of vowels and consonants necessitated:

(a) Long vowels to be pronounced as short, as in

7.14—jaya triśūla-hastāya (in which the 'ū' of '-śū-' is to be pronounced as short), 7.22—ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmātharvāṇām (in which the 'ā' of '-mā-' is to be pronounced as short); similarly in 8.3 (third Pāda)—bṛhaspatinā cākhyātam, 13.76 (third Pāda)—tamo 'ndhakāre kāntāre, and so on.

(b) Short vowels to be pronounced as long, as in

5.14—tava ghora-suta vajra (in which the final 'a' of '-suta' is to be pronounced as 'ā'), 6.ii.20—pīta-padmāruṇa-hema- (in which the 'a' of '-ṇa-' is to be pronounced as 'ā'); similarly in 6.ii.26—lava-syanda-truṭi-meṣa-, 7.14—jaya sārdra-gaja-carma-, karṇāpūrita-iṣave, 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa-, 15.22—śareṇa haimadala-patritena, 32.2—saṃmārjanam upalepam, and so on.

(c) Consonant-groups to be pronounced as single consonants, as in

6.ii.25—paśu-mṛga-pakṣi-tiryak- (in which '-pakṣi-'

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is to be pronounced as '-pakhī-'), 6.ii.33 (fourth Pāda)—vettā tvaṃ vedanī ca tvam (in which 'tvam' is to be pronounced as 'tam'), 9.33—varuṭī puṣpa-granthinī (in which '-gra-' is to be pronounced as '-ga-'); similarly in 27.14—sātatyād avi*cch*edinī, 41.15—dahyamānaḥ sa*s*yandanaḥ, 55.14—pāyasaṃ dadhi-*kṣ*īrājyam, 67.67—catuṣke ghṛta-*dy*otitaiḥ, 79.iii.1—vrataṃ me mana-*st*uṣṭidam, 79.iv.8—patantī viya*cc*āriṇī, 80.21—pṛcchāmi jaga*ddh*etave, 85.58—śiroru-vini*st*ambhitāḥ, 87.21—brahmaṇā śiva-*sk*andena, and so on.

(d) Non-pronunciation of intermediate or final vowels of words, as in

2.7—sanakaḥ sanatkumāraś ca (in which 'sanat-' is to be pronounced as 'sant-'), 2.22—kṛtvā kratu-śataṃ vidhivat (in which 'vidhivat' is to be pronounced as 'vidhvat'), 3.16—hilihilo bhadranāmā ca (in which 'hilihilo' is to be pronounced as 'hilhilo'), 4.78—yama-mahiṣam ivāparam (in which 'yama-' is to be pronounced as 'yam-'), 13.57—iṅgudoḍumbara-ṃ-kharjura-mātuluṅ-gaiḥ sa-dāḍimaiḥ (in which the final 'a' of '-kharjura-' is not to be pronounced), 32.34—paraśu-cakra-dharau cānyau ḍamaru-darpaṇa cāparau (in which 'paraśu-' and 'ḍamaru-' are to be pronounced respectively as 'parśu-' and 'ḍamru-'), 32.36—kurvantī kalakalāravaiḥ (in which 'kalakalā-' is to be pronounced as 'kalkalā-'), 51.2—maṅgalāḥ śākambharī kālī (in which 'maṅgalāḥ' is to be pronounced as 'maṅglāḥ'), and so on.

That the above mode of pronunciation was actually in practice, is shown by the occurrence of the word 'parśu' (for 'paraśu') in a number of verses, viz., 39.15 (parśurāmeṇa), 43.8 (parśunā) and 43.19 (parśuḥ).

(e) Non-pronunciation of the final Anusvāra and Visarga of words, as in

15.7—tvaṃ bhūmi-vāyū khaṃ jalaṃ hutāśanam (in which the Anusvāra of 'khaṃ' is not to be pronounced), 82.20—vibhūti-krīḍaṃ saṃkṣepāt (in which the Anusvāra of '-krīḍaṃ' is not to be pronounced), and so on;

3.25—bhogāḥ kulikaḥ sauvarṇaḥ (in which the

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Visarga of 'kulikaḥ' is not to be pronounced), 27.21—amṛtaṃ haviḥ kāmikam (in which the Visarga of 'haviḥ' is not to be pronounced), 31.39—sa sukhaṃ yaśaḥ saubhāgyam (in which the Visarga of 'yaśaḥ' is not to be pronounced), 36.3—pulahādibhiḥ sattamaiḥ (in which the 'Visarga' of '-pulahādibhiḥ' is not to be pronounced), and so on.

In 'kavacinaḥ sottara-cchadāḥ' (84.10, 86.1), both the 'a' and Visarga of '-naḥ' are to be overlooked in pronunciation. So, 'kavacinaḥ' is to be pronounced as 'kavacin'. (It may also be pronounced as 'kavcinaḥ').

That the final Anusvāra and Visarga of words were sometimes not pronounced (for the sake of metre) will be evident from the instances cited above (in section X). See also 65.52— -nigranthayaḥ (for '-nirgranthayaḥ'), 72.55—ity uvāc-ośanā svayam, 84.26—asyā śakti-dvitīyāham.

(iv) Very frequent presence of hiatus (caused by absence of Saṃdhi) in verses, as in

1.14—varṇāśrama-sthitir yatra ācārasya ..., 1.26— ... devī ātma-bhāv-ānurūpataḥ, 1.35— ... yati iha-loke ..., 1.36— ... tu ṛṣīṇāṃ ..., 1.54— ... pādaṃ vā ādyādhyāya-trayaṃ ..., 2.1—nṛpavāhana-mahātmā agastyasyāśramaṃ gataḥ, 2.2— ... yatra ṛṣayaḥ ..., 2.5— ... ramante ekataḥ sadā, 2.14— ... ramye agastyas tiṣṭhate ..., 2.17— ... pratipūjāṃ tu āsan-ārghya-, yathā ṛtvig guruś caiva ..., 2.22—brahmā ṛṣi-varair yuktaḥ, 2.25— ... veda-garbhāya utpatti- ..., 2.29—evam uktas tu indreṇa ..., 2.34—parā vā aparā vātha ..., 2.38—tena ārādhitaḥ pūrvaṃ ..., and so on.

(v) Unwarranted Svara-bhakti (Anaptyxis) already made in the text, or required to be made in pronunciation, as in

10.ix.11—*daraśanam* api puṇyaṃ yoga-mārga-sthitānām (for 'darśanam ...'),

15.6—taṃ devī dṛṣṭvā *bhasmī*-prayātam (in which 'bhasmī-' is to be pronounced, with Svara-bhakti, as 'bhasamī-').

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XVII. Use of wrong words, such as

bhukṣā (for 'bubhukṣā') in 33.6—bhukṣormi-tṛṣitam,

gavī, *gāvī* (for 'go') in 64.1—vṛṣaṃ gavīṃ ..., 103.2—... sukha-dohāṃ gavīṃ ..., 103.8—śubhāṃ hema-mayīṃ gāvīṃ kārayet ...,

lāñcha (for 'lāñchana') in 35.38— ... vāhana-lāñchena lāñchitāḥ ....,

nomālī (for 'navamālikā') in 62.2—nomālī-kusumaiḥ pūjā ...,

varākin (for 'varāka') in 4.21—brāhmaṇena varākinā, and so on.

See also 6.ii.19ff. (for the words 'praśāmatī', 'bhāvatī', 'virodhakī, etc.).

XVIII. Use of verbal roots in peculiar meanings, such as

dakṣ (in the sense of 'paying honorarium—dakṣinā—to') in 33.79— ... kanyā bhojyeta ... śaktyā dakṣeta vācayet, 99.43—bhojanīyās tathā dakṣed go-bhū-dāna-hiraṇyataḥ.

XIX. Use of nouns as adjectives, as in

4.11—mājāra-mūṣikaṃ yadvad yuddhaṃ dhvāṅkṣ-olukaṃ yathā, 4.12—mahiṣāśvaṃ yathā yuddhaṃ yathā danti-mṛgādhipam, 4.92—aśva-mahiṣa-mārjāra-ākhu-kākolukaṃ ... yuddhaṃ ..., 39.121—uvāca sauṣṭhavāṃ vāṇīṃ ...

XX. Use of synonymous words, as in

2.2—yatra veda-*dhvaniḥ śabdaḥ*, 2.3—vidyā-*vedaka-vettāraḥ*, 2.60—svādu-*jal-odakāḥ* (dīrghikāḥ), 2.61—*svabhāva-prakṛti*-sthitāḥ, 4.71—*sākhilaṃ sarvaṃ*, 13.76—*tamo'ndhakāre* kāntāre, 14.23—*vajrāśani-vajra*-kopaḥ, 17.16—*sarvān samastān* api pīḍayitvā, 33.7—*vañcita*-mokṣa-mārga-*rahitam*, 43.14—pṛthivīṃ *vana-kānanām*, 83.100—ghaṇṭā-*ninād-śabdena*, 91.42—sarvartu-*kusumaiḥ puṣpaiḥ*, and so on.

XXI. Ungrammatical construction of sentences, of

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which only a very few instances are cited below:

2.92—mantri-vāky-ānal-otthena uddyotita vasuṃ prati / matir dānava-nāthasya vrat-ārādhanam āyayau //

4.32-33—yugāntakas tathā cakre ... / mahiṣaṃ yama-bhaṅgāya mahiṣasya mahābalam //

4.42-43—indreṇa tau samāyātau dṛṣṭvā ... / mahā-kṣobhaṃ samāsthāya gaja-rājaṃ ruroha saḥ //

4.70—na yuktaṃ śatru-pakṣasya vṛddhiṃ dātuṃ kadācana,

4.71—nipātya sākhilaṃ sarvaṃ mūlaṃ yasya na khanyate,

4.86—tasya kaḥ śakyate yuddhe sabalasya nipātitam,

4.90—nārāyaṇāstra-brahmāstra-śaivāś cānye 'tha vāruṇāḥ / tasya evaṃvidhaḥ śatror vināśaḥ kena kriyate //

6.ii.18—tadā tvayā mahādeva jñātvā śaktiṃ mahā-balām / ... vayaṃ ... / tutoṣa ... //

9.14—yadā hi vyasanāsaktaṃ nṛpaṃ buddhi-viparyaye / vijñāya sa tadāmātyaḥ prākṛtaṃ darśayed bhayam //

9.23—strī-svarūpā yadā kiñcin mayā vāṇī na saṃskṛtā / tathāpi mama kṣantavyaṃ bālānāṃ hi na ruṣṭatām // (in which '-svarūpā' has been used for '-svarūpayā', and 'ruṣṭatām' for 'ruṣyatām'),

9.29—vayaṃ tvaṃ ca tathāgaccha pratyakṣam anu-śāsyatām,

9.31—yathāpi bhavato nāsmān vācāyām api bhāṣate,

9.51—ārādhya nandinā pūrvaṃ deva-devaṃ jagad-gurum / yogābhyāsena mahatā tadā tasya dadarśa tām //

11.46-47—yathā na śaktāḥ samare daityān yoddhuṃ pitāmaha / śatrūṇāṃ paribhūtānāṃ śaraṇaṃ tvā gatā vayam // yathāhaṃ cintayāmāsa śakra viṣṇu-divau-kasām /

16.2— ... suṣeṇaḥ pratyabhāṣata / mayā tvaṃ sarva-devānāṃ buddhir nābhyadhiko mataḥ //

39.70—atha devair gate svargaṃ ...,

39.76—atha tad-danu-rājendraḥ pitṛ-vairānalo 'bhavat,

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39.134—pūrvaṃ so'haṃ hato mayā,

43.41—na saṃkhyā vidyate tāta ghātamānasya dānavān (for '... tāta hanyamānānāṃ dānavānām').

The peculiar features of the language of the Devī-p., noted above, are perhaps sufficient to show that they have much in common with those of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit found in the Mahāvastu, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and a good number of other works on Buddhism. There is little scope for doubt that they are due chiefly to the influence of (early) Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, which have controlled to a very great extent the formation of stems used in this work and are responsible for the peculiar features of its euphonic combination, declension, conjugation, formation of compounds, use of numbers, genders and cases, and so on. As a matter of fact, it is mainly Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa which form the basis of the un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit of this Purāṇa[291], which occupies a unique position in the Purāṇa literature from the linguistic point of view.

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[291] That Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa had much to do with the language of the Devī-p. is evident from the rules of Prakrit grammars with regard to formation of stems, euphonic combination (Saṃdhi), formation of feminine bases, declension, conjugation etc. A few instances may be cited here:

In his Prākṛta-prakāśa Vararuci says that the final 'ṛ' of words is replaced by 'āra', in case any of the case-terminations follows (ṛta āraḥ supi—5.31), that the word 'mātṛ' has its final 'ṛ' changed into 'ā' under the same conditions (mātur āt—5.32), and that the words 'pitṛ,' 'bhrātṛ' and 'jāmātṛ' have, for their final 'ṛ', 'ara' (and not 'āra') in all the cases (pitṛ-bhrātṛ-jāmātṛṛṇām araḥ—5.34) and also 'ā' in Nominative singular only (ā ca sau—5.35). Hemacandra also says in his Prakrit grammar Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana that the (feminine) words 'svasṛ' etc. have the 'ḍā'(=ā) Pratyaya (and thus give rise to the stems 'sasā', 'duhiā' etc.—svāsrāder ḍā—3.35), that the final 'ṛ' of words are substituted by 'āra' in the presence of any of the case-endings (āraḥ sy-ādau—3.45), that in the same circumstances the word 'mātṛ' has its 'ṛ' changed into 'ā' and 'arā', with the former of which this word means 'a mother' and with the latter, 'a mother-goddess' (ā arā mātuḥ—3.46, bāhulakāj janany-arthasya ā devatārthasya tu arā ity ādeśaḥ—commentary), and that (such) words (as 'pitṛ', 'bhrātṛ' and 'jāmātṛ') meaning 'designation' have their final 'ṛ' changed into 'ara' in all the cases, but into 'ā' in Nominative singular only (nāmny araḥ—3.47, ā sau na vā—3.48, in which the word 'nāman' means 'saṃjñā' and not 'nomen' or 'noun' as held by Pischel, P. L. Vaidya and others). Similar statements have also been made in Trivikramadeva's Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana ii.2.41—svasṛgāt ḍāl, and ii.2.49-52—āraḥ supi, mātur ā arā, *saṃjñāyām* araḥ, ā sau vā. By following these processes of change the Devī-p. forms its stems 'dātā', 'stotā', 'trātā', 'hotāra', 'vettāra', 'pitā', 'pitara', 'mātā', 'mātara', 'mātarā', and so on, in imitation of those in Prakrit.

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Now, the question arises as to whether the Devī-p. is indebted to the Buddhist works for its peculiar language,

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In Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa there is a rule (4.6—antyasya halaḥ) which states that the final consonant of a word is dropped (in Prakrit). Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva also give similar rules in their Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana (1.11—antya-vyañjanasya, 1.12—na śrad-udoḥ) and Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana (i.1.25—antya-halo 'śrad-udī) respectively. So, the Devī-p. has such stems as 'atharva', 'bhasma', 'brahma', 'adha', 'ambha', 'sapta', 'aṣṭādaśa' etc. on the basis of their parallels in Prakrit.

See also Prākṛta-prakāśa 4.7—striyām āt and 4.9—na vidyuti, Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 1.15—striyām ād avidyuti, and Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana i.1.29—avidyuti striyām āt, which provide for the formation of Prakrit stems like 'sariā', 'saṃpaā' etc. Consequently, the Devī-p. has 'āpadā', 'mṛdā', 'saṃpadā', 'srucā', etc. (for 'āpad', 'mṛd', 'saṃpad', 'sruc', etc.).

According to Vararuci, Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva, the pronoun 'idaṃ' is replaced by 'ima' in all the cases (idama imaḥ—Prākṛta-prakāśa 6.13, Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 3.72, and Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana ii.2.76). So, the Devī-p. has the stem 'ima' (for 'idam'), which it declines as 'imaiḥ' in Instrumental plural (masculine and neuter).

In treating of euphonic combination Hemacandra says that Saṃdhi between the vowels of two words (of a compound) is optional (see Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 1.5—padayoḥ saṃdhir vā). Vararuci and Trivikramadeva also give similar rules in their Prākṛta-prakāśa (4.1—saṃdhāv acām aj-lopa-viśeṣā bahulam) and Prākṛta-śabdānuśā-sana (i.1.19—saṃdhis tv apade). So, for Sanskrit 'vyāsarṣiḥ,' Prakrit has 'vāsesī' and also 'vāsa-isī' (with hiatus). Similarly, the Devī-p. has 'rasa-anya-kriyā-', '-śaṅkh-ābja-ananta-', '-mārjāra-ākhu-', etc. (with hiatus).

According to Vararuci, Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva, a vowel, when followed by another, is often dropped (see Prākṛta-prakāśa 4.1 cited above, Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 1.10—luk, Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana i.1.4—lopaḥ). Thus, for Sanskrit 'tridaśeśaḥ' Prakrit has 'tiasīso' (from 'tiasa+īso'<Sanskrit 'tridaśa+īśaḥ'). In a similar way the Devī-p. has 'mumocanena' (for 'mumoca+anena'), etc.

In his Prākṛta-prakāśa Vararuci says that the Kṛt suffixes 'śatṛ' and 'śānac' are replaced respectively by 'nta' and 'māṇa' in Prakrit (nta-māṇau śatṛ-śānacoḥ—7.10) and that in the feminine gender these suffixes are replaced by 'ī' as well as 'nta' and 'māṇa'. Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva also make similar statements in their Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana (3.180—nta-māṇau, 3.181—śatr-ānaśaḥ, 3.182—ī ca striyām) and Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana (ii.4.41—māṇa-ntaul ca lṛṇaḥ, ii.4.42—śatṛ-śānacoḥ, ii.4.43—striyām ī ca) respectively. Thus, for Sanskrit 'hasantī' Prakrit has 'hasaī' (<'hasatī') 'hasantī', 'hasamāṇā' and 'hasamāṇī', and for Sanskrit 'vepamānā' Prakrit has 'vevaī' (<'vepatī'), 'vevantī', 'vevamāṇā' and 'vevamāṇī'. Similarly, the Devī-p. has 'anicchatī', 'adantī', 'rudantī' etc.

Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva say that in conjugation the root 'bhuj' becomes 'bhuñj' (see Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 4.110 and Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana ii.4.137). Consequently, the Devī-p. conjugates the root 'bhuj' (meaning 'to protect', 'to enjoy') often as 'bhuñj' (as in 'bhuñjate', 'bhuñjatha', 'bhuñjāmi, etc.).

For change of the root 'kṛ' to 'kara' and 'jñā' to 'jāṇa' in conjugation, see Prākṛta-prakāśa 8.12-13—ṛto 'raḥ, kṛñaḥ kuṇo vā, and 8.23—jño jāṇa-muṇau, Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana 4.234—ṛ-varṇasy-āraḥ, 4.7—jño jāṇa-muṇau, and Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana ii.4.66—ara uḥ, ii.4.130—jāṇa-muṇau jñaḥ. So, the Devī-p. has the forms 'karanti', 'jānayanti' etc.

It is needless to multiply examples.

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and, if not, how this type of incorrect Sanskrit came to be adopted in such an important work of the Hindus. The references to the decadent state of Buddhism in several places of this work and its mention of the Tantrik Bauddhas and of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, tend to create the impression that in its language the Devī-p. was influenced by the Mahāvastu and other Buddhist works mentioned above. But a critical study of the Devī-p. and a consideration of several matters relating to Indian religion, literature and culture encourage us to hold a perfectly different view. We have already seen that the Devī-p., *as we have it now*, is the result of several revisions and abridgments to which its original text was subjected in different ages before attaining its present form, and that this work *in its present state* (excepting a very few interpolated passages and verses) comes down from the sixth century A.D. and most probably from its latter half. So, there can be little doubt about the fact that, in spite of its incorporation of matters bearing stamps of comparatively late dates, the Devī-p. contains chapters (or parts thereof) and verses which were composed much earlier than the sixth century A.D. Thus, it is evident that the language of this Purāṇa had a much earlier beginning, which finds strong support in the Tantric Mantras and Vidyās recorded in it as well as in the striking similarity it has in some respects with the Mahāvastu. It can hardly be denied that the various Tantric Vidyās, and more particularly the Tantric Mantras, like the Vedic ones, are not in every case new creations made by individual authors but have long traditions behind them. The frequent reference to Āgamas and Tantras as authorities and the mention of a good number of them by name show that a rich Tantric literature had developed before the rise of the Devī-p. and that this work derived its Vidyās and Mantras from these Āgamas and Tantras. As a matter of fact, the Devī-p. expressly says with regard to a particular 'Mahāvidyā' called Pada-mālā (or Mantra-mālā) that after extracting this Vidyā from 'a crore of works' (koṭī-granthāt) Śiva spoke it out to Vīreśa (Nandin) in the

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Mūlatantra[292]. The Devī-p. even connects this Vidyā with the Atharva-veda by calling it 'atharva-pada-dīpanī'[293]. So, the history of the Vidyās and more particularly of the Tantric Mantras (both of which are replete with incorrect forms based on or influenced by Prakrit) goes far back to the pre-Christian days. Consequently, the period of origin of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Devī-p. has to be pushed farther back, probably up to, or even beyond, the time of first composition of the oldest Buddhist hybrid text, viz., Mahāvastu, the nucleus of which is believed to have 'originated as far back as in the 2nd century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the 4th century A.D. and perhaps still later, by additions and interpolations'[294]. This early origin of the language of the Devī-p. is supported by certain facts, which may be stated as follows.

After critically examining the language of Buddhist hybrid texts Edgerton divides these works into three main classes[295], viz., *class i* consisting principally of the Mahāvastu, and also of a short citation made in Śāntideva's[296] Śikṣā-samuccaya from the lost Bhikṣu-prakīrṇaka, and a short Jātaka printed in the Appendix to Āryaśūra's[297] Jātaka-mālā, *class ii*, of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara, Gaṇḍavyūha, Kāśyapa-parivarta, Daśabhūmika-sūtra, Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā, Sukhāvatīvyūha (both the longer and the shorter text), Samādhirāja-sūtra, Suvarṇa-

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[292] Devī-p. 9.65—devy uvāca
kailāsa-pīṭha-madhyasthaṃ vīreśaṃ paramaṃ prabhum/
uktā yā ca mahāvidyā mūlatantre tvayā prabho/
koṭī-granthāt samāhṛtya sarva-karma-pravartakī/
(The printed text of the Devī-p. reads 'samāhitya' for 'samāhṛtya' contained in many Mss.).

[293] *Ibid.*, 9.64—
tathā te 'haṃ pravakṣyāmi śṛṇu tattvena vāsava/
siddhānta-veda-karmāṇām atharva-pada-dīpanīm/
anayā tu samā vidyā na bhūtā na bhaviṣyati//

[294] Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 247.

[295] See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. xxv.

[296] Śāntideva belonged to the seventh century A.D.—Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 365 ff.; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 72.

[297] Āryaśūra probably lived in the fourth century A.D.—See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 276; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 68.

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bhāsottama-sūtra, Udānavarga (containing no prose), and nearly the entire Śikṣā-samuccaya (consisting mainly of quotations from older texts mostly extinct at present), and *class iii*, of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda-vinaya, Divyāvadāna, Avadāna-śataka, Prātimokṣa-sūtra, Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, Bodhisattvabhūmi, Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, Mahāmāyūrī, Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā, and a few other works (including the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra). As regards the language of these three classes of works, Edgerton says that in the works of class i 'the prose parts are thoroughly hybridized, showing as many Middle-Indicisms as the verses', that in the works of class ii 'the verses are hybridized, as in the first class, but the prose contains relatively few signs of Middle Indic phonology or morphology', and in the texts placed in class iii 'even the verses (if any; ...) are substantially as Sanskritised as the prose parts' and 'the entire text of these works resembles linguistically the prose parts of the second class'. These strata in the Sanskritisation of the Buddhist hybrid texts indicate that about the second century B.C. when the Mahāvastu first came into existence, hybrid Sanskrit as a language of religious texts was quite popular and that, with the progress of time and the consequent changes in the country, Sanskrit attained greater popularity even with the Buddhists, who consequently set their hands to Sanskritising their hybrid texts more and more, evidently for effecting better circulation of their religious views. Now, the date of original composition of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and the Lalitavistara is most probably to be placed in the second or even the first century A.D.[298]; and the verses of these two

[298] Though 'the whole of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka only gives expression to a later phase of Buddhism', the nucleus of this work is most probably to be dated as early as the first century A.D., because it was quoted by Nāgārjuna (who probably lived towards the end of the second century A.D.) and was translated into Chinese first in 223 A.D. and again by Dharmarakṣa in 286 A.D. There were also other translations in later times.—Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 303-4. Also Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 52, and Nalinaksha Dutta in his Introduction (pp. xv-xvii) to his edition of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka.

The Lalitavistara belongs to the first two centuries of the Christian era but also contains materials of later dates.—See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 255-6; P. L. Vaidya's Introduction (pp. xi-xii) to his edition of the Lalitavistara.

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works as well as of the others constituting class ii have Prakritisms as frequently as the Mahāvastu, but their prose parts show signs of the influence of Prakrit on a small number of occasions. A greater tendency towards Sanskritisation is found even in the early works placed in class iii. For instance, the Avadāna-śataka, which was composed about the first or second century A.D.[299], has very few Prakritisms in its verses, its prose portions being almost clear of these. Similar peculiarities are also found in the language of the other works of the third class. So, it can hardly be denied that from about the beginning of the Christian era Sanskrit had begun to find favour with the Buddhists and to make its way into the Buddhist works in a greater degree, with the result that in works like the Prātimokṣa-sūtra as found in Anukul Chandra Banerjee's edition (Calcutta, 1954), prose and verse have become almost totally free from Prakritisms.

As regards our Devī-p., it is remarkable that the prose portions show as much influence of Prakrit as the verses; and in this respect it is similar to the Mahāvastu, which also, unlike the other hybrid texts of the Buddhists, has Prakritisms equally in its verses and prose parts. There is another point of agreement between the Mahāvastu and the Devī-p. Unlike the other Buddhist hybrid texts the former has its Nominative and Accusative singular ending in 'u' in rare cases[300]. Similarly, the Devī-p., as we have already seen, appears to have the final 'a' of a word replaced by 'u' on a single occasion (in Devī-p. 7.12—kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kaṇṭhastha-*jīrṇave*). So, the history of the language of the Devī-p. can reasonably be traced back to the time of origin of the Mahāvastu.

But the dissimilarities between the language of the Devī-p. and the Mahāvastu are so varied and serious and outnumber the similarities to such an extent that the former

[299] This date of the Avadāna-śataka is based mainly on its translation into Chinese in the first half of the third century A.D. and on its mention of Dīnāra as a minted coin (lakṣaṇāhataṃ dīnāra-dvayam).—Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 279, and P. L. Vaidya's Introduction (p. x) to his edition of the Avadāna-śataka.

[300] See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 49 (8.20-21) and 51 (8.30). Also *ibid.*, pp. 12 (1.95) and 26 (3.51 ff.).

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work can never be said to have been influenced in its linguistic peculiarities by the latter. In order to show the nature of the Prakritisms in the Mahāvastu, two extracts are quoted below from its verse and prose protions.

(a) apare pi parasparaṃ praduṣṭamanasaṃkalpā āyasehi nakhehi pāṭenti tīkṣṇāni ca asipatrāṇi hasteṣu prādurbhavanti gātrāṇi cchindanti na ca kālaṃ karonti yāvat sānaṃ pāpakā karmā na parikṣīṇā // kālasūtre mahānarake adrākṣīt satvāṃ kālasūtreṇa sūtritāṅgā nihatakṣīyantāṃ paraśūhi pi vipāṭīyantāṃ karapatrehi vipāṭīyantāṃ //

Mahāvastu Avadāna, p. 5.

(b) imaṃ lokaṃ pāralokaṃ satvānām āgatiṃ gatiṃ /
cyuti-upapatti-saṃsāraṃ saṃbuddho svayamaddasā //
āvajjanto saphalatāṃ karmaṇāṃ prāṇa-saṃśritāṃ /
yathāsthānaṃ vipākaṃ ca svayam avabudhye muniḥ //
so abhijñāya ākhyāsi narakān aṣṭa gautamaḥ /
pratyakṣa-dharmā bhagavāṃ sarva-dharmeṣu
cakṣumāṃ //

Mahāvastu Avadāna, p. 9.

That these sorts of Prakritisms are not peculiar with the Mahāvastu only, will be evident from the following quotations made from the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara, Gaṇḍavyūha and Sukhāvatīvyūha:

(a) yehī mahī śobhatiyaṃ samantāt
parṣāś ca catvāra sulabdha-harṣāḥ /
sarvaṃ ca kṣetraṃ imu saṃprakampitaṃ
ṣaḍbhir vikārehi subhīṣma-rūpam //
sā caiva raśmī purimā diśāya
aṣṭādaśa-kṣetra-sahasra-pūrṇāḥ /
avabhāsayī eka-kṣaṇena sarve
suvarṇa-varṇā iva bhonti kṣetrāḥ //
yāvān avīcī paramaṃ bhavāgraṃ
kṣetreṣu yāvanti ca teṣu sattvāḥ /
ṣaṭsū gatīṣū tahi vidyamānāḥ
cyavanti ye cāpy upapadyi tatra //
karmāṇi citrā vividhāni teṣāṃ
gatīṣu dṛśyanti sukhā dukhā ca /
hīnā praṇītā tatha madhyamā ca

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iha sthito addaśi sarvam etat //

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, p. 5 (Gāthās 3-6).

atītam adhvānam anusmarāmi
acintiye aparimitasmi kalpe /
yadā jino āsi prajāna uttamaś
candrasya sūryasya pradīpa nāma //
saddharma deśeti prajāna nāyako
vineti sattvāna ananta-koṭyaḥ /
samādapetī bahu-bodhi-sattvān
acintiyān uttami buddha-jñāne //

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, p. 18 (Gāthās 57-58).

(b) athāpi vā tṛṇasya tūli bhūmito gṛhītvanā
dadāti māya āturāṇa sarvi bhonti nirjarā /
saukhya-prāpti nirvikāra gehi gehi gacchiṣu
bhaiṣajya-bhūti vaidya-rāji kukṣi-saṃpratiṣṭhite //
yasmi kāli māya-devi svātanuṃ nirīkṣate
adṛśāti bodhi-sattva kukṣiye pratiṣṭhitam /
yathaiva candra antarīkṣa tārakai parīvṛtaṃ
tathaiva nāthu bodhi-sattva-lakṣaṇair alaṃkṛtam //

Lalitavistara, p. 55 (verses 31-32).

(c) tvat-prabhāvata ahaṃ mahāmate
bodhi prasthitu hitāya dehinām /
tatra niścayu ananta-gocaro
yo mamā bhavati taṃ śṛṇohi me //

Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 54 (Gāthā 1).

ye eta naya samudrān avatīrṇa sthihitva buddha-bhūmī ye /
te bhonti sarva-darśī śikṣanto lokanāthānām //

Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 57 (Gāthā 7).

(d) ... ...
... ... /
sūrya-maṇi-girīśa-candra-ābhā
na tapita bhosiṣu ebhi sarva-loke //
rūpam api anantu sattva-sāre
tatha api buddha-svaro ananta-ghoṣaḥ /
śīlam api samādhi-prajña-vīryaiḥ
sadṛśu na te 'stiha loki kaścid anyaḥ //
gabhiru vipulu sukṣma-prāptu dharmo-

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'cintitu buddha-varo yathā samudraḥ /
tenonnamanā na cāsti śāstuḥ
khila-doṣāñ jāhyā ato 'dhikālaṃ //

Sukhāvatīvyūha, pp. 7-8 (Gāthās 1-3).

It will be noticed that in these extracts, as also in the other relevant parts of the hybrid texts, Prakrit phonology and morphology have been followed to a very great extent. Thus, the conjunct consonants have often been assimilated, single consonants have not rarely been dropped or replaced by others, non-final vowels of words have been subjected not infrequently to various changes or eliminated in some cases, new vowels have been inserted at times, non-Sanskrit endings (Vibhaktis) have very often been used in declension and conjugation, and so on. The Devī-p., on the other hand, has Prakrit influence in a much limited sphere. It allows assimilation of conjunct consonants not in its written text but only in pronunciation, evidently for the sake of metre; it does not drop or change any single consonant unless it is final; it scrupulously avoids the use of non-Sanskrit endings of verbal inflection, and has non-Sanskrit case-endings only in extremely rare cases[301]; and so on. As a matter of fact, the Devī-p. uses Prakrit practically as a basis for its un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit but does not allow it to exert too much influence on the latter and thereby to obliterate its character. So, the language of this unique Purāṇa follows a tradition very different from that of the Buddhist hybrid texts. The occasional similarity in language, which the Devī-p. has with the Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa and the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, does not deserve any serious consideration, because these two Buddhist texts come from comparatively late dates[302] and the points of their linguistic

[301] As in '-prakrīḍāya' (for '-prakrīḍāyai') in Devī-p. 8.20, 'nandāya' (for 'nandāyāḥ'—Genitive case) in Devī-p. 93.273, 'tṛtīyām' (for 'tṛtīyāyām') in Devī-p. 99.12, and 'saṃhārakārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya' in Vocative feminine in Devī-p. 16.18.

[302] Regarding the period of original composition of the Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa Benoytosh Bhattacharya says: "The Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa deals with the formulâe and practices which lead to the material prosperity of the followers of Mahāyāna, and probably belongs to the early centuries A.D. but decidedly after the time of the composition of the Amitāyus Sūtra or the Sukhāvatī Vyūha which ushered in the conceptions of Amitābha or Amitāyus and Avalokiteśvara for the first time in Mahāyāna. The

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dissimilarity with the Devī-p. far outnumber those of their similarity with it.

There is another matter which cannot be overlooked here. Long before the rise of the Mahāvastu and other Buddhist hybrid texts the Hindus accepted the standard of correct Sanskrit set up by Pāṇini in his famous grammar Aṣṭādhyāyī; and the language of their Sanskrit works, written after Pāṇini's time, has been controlled to a very great extent by the rules laid down by that great grammarian. On the other hand, the Buddhists were looked down upon and called Pāṣaṇḍas (heretics), with whom the Hindus following the Vedic tradition did not like even to meet or talk. Thus, the Viṣṇudharma, which was composed some time during the third century A.D.[303], severely denounces the heretics (including the Buddhists)[304], identifies the founders of the heretical faiths with the dreadful Mahāmoha born of the malevolent rite (kṛtyā) performed by the demons Ṣaṇḍa and Marka for the destruction of the gods[305], and characterises the language of the religious works of these heretics as 'Meccha-bhāṣā'[306]. The Viṣṇu-p. gives out the Bauddhas, Ārhatas (Jainas), and other anti-Vedic sectaries

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Amitāyus Sūtra was first translated into Chinese at a period between A.D. 148 and A.D. 170 and hence the time of its composition may be fixed at about 100 A.D. or a little later. The Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa in that case would be only about a hundred years later than the Amitāyus Sūtra." (See B. Bhattacharya's Introduction, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi, to his edition of the Sādhana-mālā, Vol. II). But according to M. Winternitz, the arguments, put forward by B. Bhattacharya in favour of such an early date of the Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, 'are by no means convincing.' (See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 635). That this work was composed earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century A.D., admits of no doubt, because it 'was translated into Chinese as a Mahā-Vaipulya-Sūtra between 980 and 1000 A.D. and into Tibetan as a Tantra in the 11th century.' (See Winternitz, *op.cit.*, II, p. 397). J. N. Farquhar ascribes it to the tenth century A.D. (See Farquhar, Outline, pp. 272 and 398).

[303] For the evidences in favour of this date of the Viṣṇudharma see Vol. I, pp. 137-143.

[304] *Ibid.*, pp. 124 and 147-149.

In chap. 105 of the Viṣṇudharma the following heretical sects have been named: Utkocas (v.l. 'utkaucāḥ' for 'utkocāḥ'), Saugatas, Mahāyānists, Kāpilas, Bhikṣus, Śākyas, Śrāvakas, Nirgranthas, and Siddhaputras. (For the relevant verses of the Viṣṇudharma see Vol. I, p. 150).

[305] For a summary of the relevant story contained in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 25, see Vol. I, pp.128-9.

[306] For the relevant verse of the Viṣṇudharma see Vol. I, p. 150.

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as 'Pāṣaṇḍas' and 'Nagnas' (naked, i.e. bereft of the raiment or covering consisting of the triple Veda) and fabricates stories to show how the demons led themselves to ruin by forsaking the Vedic Dharma and taking to the religious rites and practices of the Bauddhas, Jainas and other heretics, and how king Śatadhanu incurred sin by speaking with a heretic just after his holy bath in the Ganges during his observance of a fast on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika and consequently became a dog, a jackal, a wolf, a vulture, and so on in his successive rebirths. The Purāṇa (III.18.95-102) then says:

"eṣa pāṣaṇḍa-saṃbhāṣa-doṣaḥ prokto mayā dvija /
... ...
tasmāt pāṣaṇḍibhiḥ pāpair ālāpa-sparśane tyajet /
viśeṣataḥ kriyā-kāle yajñādau cāpi dīkṣitaḥ //
kriyā-hānir gṛhe yasya māsam ekaṃ prajāyate /
tasy-āvalokanāt sūryaṃ paśyeta matimān naraḥ //
kiṃ punar yais tu sā tyaktā trayī sarvātmanā dvija /
parānna-bhojibhiḥ pāpair veda-vāda-virodhibhiḥ //
pāṣaṇḍino vikarmasthān baiḍāla-vratikān śaṭhān /
haitukān baka-vṛttīṃś ca vāṅ-mātreṇāpi nārcayet //
dūrād apāstaḥ saṃparkaḥ sahāsyāpi ca pāpibhiḥ /
pāṣaṇḍibhir durācārais tasmāt tān parivarjayet //
ete nagnās tavākhyātā dṛṣṭyā śrāddh-opaghātakāḥ /
yeṣāṃ saṃbhāṣaṇāt puṃsāṃ dina-puṇyaṃ praṇaśyati //
ete pāṣaṇḍinaḥ pāpā na hy etān ālaped budhaḥ /
puṇyaṃ naśyati saṃbhāṣād eteṣāṃ tad-din-odbhavam //"

"Such is said to be the sin of speaking with a heretic, [O] twice-born man, ...

"So, [one] must avoid discourse with and contact of the heretical sinners, especially at the time of observing [a religious rite] and also after getting initiated for [the the performance of] sacrifice etc.

"A wise man is to look at the sun after beholding one in whose house there is omission of [Vedic] rites for a month.

"What, again, [O] twice-born man, [can he be required to do after beholding] those sinning anti-Vedic

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parasites who have forsaken the triple Veda completely?

"One must not honour even with a word [of the mouth] the heretics, the performers of acts not meant for them, the followers of the [deceitful] course of conduct of cats, the scoundrels, the sceptics, and those [hypocrites] who behave like cranes,

"far from having any intercourse with these sinful heretics of ignoble practices; so, one must avoid them by all means.

"These persons, spoken of to you, are the Nagnas, who spoil a Śrāddha ceremony by their very sight, and conversation with whom destroys the [religious] merit of persons earned in a day.

"These are the sinning heretics, with whom a wise man must not speak, [because] the [religious] merit obtained [by the speaker] on a particular day will be lost through conversation with them."

In his commentary on Yāj. 1.103 Aparārka ascribes to the 'Brahmāṇḍa-p.' a number of verses in which the Bauddhas, Jainas, Kāpālikas and others have been decried as 'following bad practices and being foreign to the acts of purification' (durācārāḥ śaucācāra-bahiṣkṛtāḥ) and classed with the outcasts. The Ṣaṭtriṃśan-mata, as quoted in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā (II, p. 310), says:

"bauddhān pāśupatāñ jainān lokāyatika-kāpilān /
vikarmasthān dvijān spṛṣṭvā sacelo jalam āviśet /
kāpālikāṃs tu saṃspṛśya prāṇāyāmo 'dhiko mataḥ //"

"After touching the Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas, and those twice-born [people] who take to unlawful acts, [a man] should get into water with [all his] clothes on; but in case of contact with the Kāpālikas [performance of] prāṇāyāma is prescribed as [an] additional [duty]."

Going to suggest an alternative explanation of two Sūtras of Jaimini[307] for the rejection of the scriptures of the Buddhists and other anti-Vedic sectaries as authorities on

[307] Viz., Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra i.3.3—virodhe tv anapekṣaṃ syād asati hy anumānam, and i.3.4—hetu-darśanāc ca.

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Dharma, Kumārila-bhaṭṭa points out that *the texts compiled by Śākya* (i.e. the Buddha) and the propounders of the systems of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata and the like, in which there are statements about Dharma and Adharma, are not accepted as authorities by those who know the Veda, that these texts have in them a certain mixture of the Vedic Dharma which serves as a thin cloak to hide their true character, that they are meant for achieving selfish ends such as a good following, pecuniary gain, respect, fame, etc., and that, in spite of their occasional recording of statements about non-killing, truthfulness, self-control, charity, kindness, etc. in agreement with those of Śruti and Smṛti, they *are opposed to the Veda*. So, Kumārila says, the said two Sūtras establish the unacceptability of the above-mentioned works as authorities on Dharma for their anti-Vedic character as well as for the worldly motives lying behind them, because the rejection of the authority of these works has not been established in any other Adhikaraṇa and also because they are sufficiently known and *have wide circulation "like the knowlegde of the imports of* [*such incorrect forms of*] *words* [*as*] *'gāvī' etc.*"[308] Again, after referring to the statement of the Purāṇas that Śākya and others would become the causes of confusion of Dharma in the Kali age, Kumārilabhaṭṭa says in his commentary on Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra i.3.7 that, like very small quantities of real gold-dust, camphor etc. put in masses of artificial ones, the few Vedic truths, mixed up in these works

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[308] yad vā, *yāny etāni trayīvidbhir na parigṛhītāni kiṃcit-tan-miśra-dharma-kañcuka-cchāyā-patitāni* lokopasaṃgraha-lābha-pūjā-khyāti-prayojana-parāṇi trayī-viparīt-āsaṃ-baddha-dṛṣṭa-śobhādi-pratyakṣ-ānumān-opamān-ārthāpatti-prāya-yukti-mūl-opanibad-dhāni sāṃkhya-yoga-pāñcarātra-pāśupata-*śākya-nirgrantha-parigṛhīta-dharmādharma-nibandhanāni* viṣa-cikitsā-vaśīkaraṇ-occāṭan-onmādanādi-samartha-katipaya-mantr-auṣadhi-kādācitka-siddhi-nidarśana-balena ahiṃsā-satyavacana-dama-dāna-dayādi-śruti-smṛti-saṃvādi-stokārtha-gandha-vāsita-jīvikā-prāy-ārthāntar-opadeśini,....., *teṣām evaitac-chruti-virodha-hetu-darśanābhyām anapekṣaṇīyatvaṃ pratipādyate*/ na caitat kvacid adhikaraṇāntare nirūpitaṃ *na cāvaktavyam eva gāvy-ādi-śabda-vācakatva-buddhivad atiprasiddhatvāt*/

yadi hy anādareṇ-aiṣāṃ na kalpyet-āpramāṇatā/
aśakyaiveti matv-ānye bhaveyuḥ sama-dṛṣṭayaḥ//
...../'

Tantra-vārttika, pp. 114–5.

For this extract see also Mīmāṃsā-darśana, p. 194 where it reads, '-grantha-' (for '-nirgrantha-').

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with numerous other statements misrepresenting Dharma, lose themselves in the latter, and thus, like milk kept in a bag of dog-skin, remain unacceptable to us until they are discovered in the recognised Dharmaśāstras (already mentioned in the Tantra-vārttika). Kumārila adds that when these truths are clearly known from these Dharmaśāstras, the works of Śākya and others become useless for us. So, Kumārila concludes, *no compilation outside the recognised Śāstras such as the Veda etc. is to be recognised as an authority on the Vedic Dharma.*[309] At another place of his Tantra-vārttika Kumārila-bhaṭṭa says that *the scriptures of the Śākyas, Jainas and others, abounding in incorrect words* and being thus bad and unreliable compilations, *cannot be recognised as Śāstras* and that *they are composed in incorrect words consisting mostly of those of Māgadha, Dākṣiṇātya and their Apabhraṃśas.* Thus, Kumārila says, the objects denoted by such words as are themselves unreal, cannot be accepted as real, and *the words having deteriorated forms, cannot be recognised as eternal.*[310]

It is needless to refer to any more authorities.

From the Viṣṇudharma and other works cited above it is evident that the followers of the Vedas and the varṇāśrama-dharma bore a very strong feeling of hatred towards the

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[309] .....
smaryante ca purāṇeṣu dharma-vipluti-hetavaḥ/
kalau śākyādayas teṣāṃ ko vākyaṃ śrotum arhati//
yathā kṛtaka-karpūra-suvarṇādiṣu dīyate/
yad bījaṃ tad api vyaktam agrāhyatvāt pralīyate//
tena karm-ānurūpya-sāmānyato dṛṣṭārth-āpatti-balāt tad-abhiprāya-kalpita-dharm-ābhāsa-madhya-patitaṃ san-mūlam apy ahiṃsādi śva-dṛti-nikṣipta-kṣīravad anupayogy aviśrambhaṇīyaṃ ca tan-mātr-opalabdhaṃ bhavatīty avaśyaṃ yāvat-pariganita-dharmaśāstrebhyo nopalabhyate tāvad agrāhyaṃ bhavati/
yadā śāstr-āntareṇ-aiva so'rthaḥ spaṣṭo 'vadhāryate/
tadā tenaiva siddhatvād itarat syād anarthakam//
tasmād yāvat-pariganita-vedādi-śāstra-vyatirikta-nibandhanaṃ tad-dharma-pramāṇa-tvena nāpekṣitavyam iti.—Tantra-vārttika, p. 127.

[310] asādhu-śabda-bhūyiṣṭhāḥ śākya-jain-āgamādayaḥ/
asan-nibandhanatvāc ca śāstratvaṃ na pratīyate//
māgadha-dākṣiṇātya-tad-apabhraṃśa-prāy-āsādhu-śabda-nibandhanā hi te/ 'mama vi hi bhikkhave kammavac ca isī save/ tathā ukkhitte loḍammi uvve atthi kāraṇam/.. ...../ aṇuppatti-kāraṇam' ityevam-ādayaḥ/
tataś cāsatya-śabdeṣu kutas teṣv artha-satyatā/
dṛṣṭ-āpabhraṣṭa-rūpeṣu kathaṃ vā syād anāditā//
Tantra-vārttika, p. 171.

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Buddhists and their scriptures and had no respect for their language, which they called 'Mleccha-bhāṣā' and denounced as being quite unfit for religious works. Under these circumstances the Devī-p., which is a religious work of the Hindus and holds the Vedas in high esteem as the sources of Dharma, cannot be expected to have derived its peculiar language from the Buddhist religious texts. If, in spite of the strong feeling of antagonism and hatred between the Hindus and the Buddhists, this Purāṇa was written by somebody in such undesirable language in imitation of the Buddhist works, it would hardly be able to attain wide popularity and to occupy and enjoy for long a position of high authority even among the Smṛti-writers including Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka and others who do not recognise the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas and similar other sectaries as sources of Dharma[311]. As a matter of fact, we do not know of a single scholar, Smārta or otherwise, who has raised the slightest objection against its language. It is true that Vallālasena does not utilise its contents in his Dānasāgara and rejects its authority with the following remark:

"tat-tat-purāṇ-opapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ kaśmala-karma-yogāt /
pāṣaṇḍa-śāstr-ānumataṃ nirūpya devī-purāṇaṃ na nibaddham atra//"[312]

"Finding that the Devī-p., which was excluded from the [recognised] lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its connection with (i.e. treatment of) foul acts, followed

[311] As a matter of fact, Lakṣmīdhara does not draw upon the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, Śaivāgamas etc. in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, nor does he care to mention the names of these works even by way of rejection in course of selecting the authorities on Dharma at the beginning of the Brahmacāri-kāṇḍa.

Aparārka, on the other hand, discusses at length the question of accepting the religious texts of the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Pāñcarātras and other similar sectaries as sources of Dharma and comes to the following conclusion: These works are not to be decried, nor are their prescriptions to be carried out into action in their totality; and one may follow in practice only such statements of these works as agree with, or do not go against, the directions of the Vedas. But those texts of these sectaries which are of human authorship (pauruṣeya), are to be rejected without any reservation. (See Aparārka's commentary on Yāj. 1.7).

[312] Dānasāgara, p. 7, verse 67.

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the scriptures of the Pāṣaṇḍas, it was not drawn upon here."

But the word 'pāṣaṇḍa', as used in this verse, definitely means the 'Tantriks', and not particularly the 'Buddhists'[313]; and this meaning of the word finds strong support in Vallālasena's statements made in the introductory verses of the Dānasāgara about the Bhaviṣya-p. and five other Purāṇic works which he considered spurious. Going to explain why he did not utilise those parts of the Bhaviṣya-p. which dealt with the procedures of religious rites to be observed on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī Tithis, Vallālasena says:

"saptamy-**avadhi** purāṇaṃ bhaviṣyam api saṃgṛhītam
atiyatnāt /
tyaktv-āṣṭamī-**navamyoḥ** kalpau *pāṣaṇḍibhir* grastau //"[314]

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[313] In his Introduction (p. xxiii) to his edition of the Dānasāgara Bhavatosh Bhattacharya takes the word 'pāṣaṇḍa-śāstra' in the said verse to mean 'the Buddhistic Scriptures.'

[314] See Dānaṣāgara, p. 7, verse 59.

The printed edition wrongly reads 'saptamy-aiva' (for 'saptamy-avadhi') in the first line, and '-navamyau' (for '-navamyoḥ') in the second. Of these two readings the former is clearly arbitrary as well as nonsensical, being supported neither by any of the Mss used in this edition nor by sense or grammar, and the latter, though contained in two Mss, is equally unsuitable for the same reasons. So, we have to prefer the readings 'saptamy-avadhi' and '-navamyoḥ' given by two Mss of the Dānasāgara, viz., the India Office Ms (for which see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., Part III, p. 544) and the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Ms (No. 1374, fol. 3a). It is remarkable that these two readings can be made to stand in correct grammatical relation with the other words of the said verse and to create a perfectly relevant meaning in it, and that the former (viz., 'saptamy-avadhi') finds considerable support in the corrupt reading 'saptamy-avāva' of Ms B written in Bengali scripts. Moreover, in the printed edition of the Bhaviṣya-p. the Brāhma-parvan (which consists of chaps. 1-215) is found to deal with the 'kalpas' (procedures of religious rites) to be followed on the different Tithis from Pratipad to Saptamī in the following chapters:

Chaps. 16-18—Pratipat-kalpa, chaps. 19-20—Dvitīyā-kalpa,
chap. 21—Tṛtīyā-kalpa, chaps. 22-31—Caturthī-kalpa,
chaps. 32-38—Pañcamī-kalpa, chaps. 39-46—Ṣaṣṭhī-kalpa,
chaps. 47-215—Saptamī-kalpa (including stories of Sāmba and others relating to Sun-worship).

Vallālasena's statement shows that the Ms. of the Bhaviṣya-p., current in Bengal in his days and used by him in his Dānasāgara, contained chapters on the Aṣṭamī- and the Navamī-kalpa and that these chapters had already been influenced by the Pāṣaṇḍas in Vallālasena's time. That chapters on the Aṣṭamī-kalpa and Navamī-kalpa did once occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., is also shown by some Mss of this work (for which see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, Nos. 3739 and 3741, Shastri, Notices, II, No. 151, and Mitra, Notices, Nos. 1742 and 2553) as well as by those verses, ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (Vol. II) and in other Smṛti Nibandhas, which deal with the

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"The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa also has been drawn upon with much care up to [the part dealing with] the Saptamī [-kalpa], leaving off [the parts on] the Aṣṭamī- and the Navamī-kalpa [which were] taken up by the *Pāṣaṇḍins*."

In naming the said spurious Purāṇas and giving a short account of their extents and contents Vallālasena says:

"tārkṣyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ brāhmam āgneyam eva ca /
trayoviṃśati-sāhasraṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavam //
ṣaṭ-sahasra-mitaṃ laiṅgaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ tathā /
dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-*pāṣaṇḍa-yukti*[315] -ratna-parīkṣaṇaiḥ //
mṛṣā-vaṃśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ /
asaṃgata-kathā-**bandhaiḥ** paraspara-**virodhibhiḥ** //
tan-mīnaketanādīnāṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-liṅginām /
loka-vañcanam ālokya sarvam evāvadhīritam //"[316]

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vows and worships (including that of the goddess Durgā) to be observed on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī Tithis but do not occur in the present Bhaviṣya-p. We have already seen that the Bengal Smṛti-writers are found to ascribe to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' a good number of verses on Durgā-pūjā, some of which seem to betray Tantric influence but are not traceable in the printed text of this Purāṇa. It should be mentioned here that it is the Bhaviṣyottara, and not the present Bhaviṣya, which is found to deal with Durgā-pūjā in chap. 138, that this work, though claiming to belong to the Bhaviṣya-p. as its final part and printed as such with the latter, is an independent work of a different date, and that its chap. 138, which deals with the Mahānavamī-vrata requiring the worship of Durgā on the Aṣṭamī and more particularly on the Mahānavamī Tithi, contains no trace of Tantric influence, even the Mantras prescribed for use in Devī-worship being Purāṇic, and not Tantric. (See Bhaviṣyottara 138.41b-42a—pūjā-mantrān pravakṣyāmi purāṇoktān ahaṃ tava / yaiḥ pūjitāḥ prayacchanti kīrtim āyur yaśo balam //).

(For a more detailed discussion on the suitability of the said two readings see our article on a 'Critical Examination of Some Readings of the Dānasāgara' published in Our Heritage, Vol. VIII, 1960, Part 2.

[315] The word 'pāṣaṇḍa-yukti' means 'usages or practices of Tantriks', and not 'arguments of the Buddhists' as said by the learned editor of the Dānasāgara in his Introduction, p. xxiii. It is well known that the Purāṇas, as we have them at present, were meant for religious synthesis as well as for the popularisation of the varṇāśrama-dharma and the authority of the Vedas in society. On the other hand, the Buddhists have in all ages been openly anti-Vedic. So, the Purāṇas are found to decry Buddhism often in very strong terms, although in the comparatively late Purāṇic works the Buddha has been respected not as such but as an incarnation of Viṣṇu come down to the earth for deluding people and making them forsake the right path of the Vedic Dharma. Under these circumstances, it was not, and could not be, possible for the Buddhists to have anything to do directly with the Purāṇas or to introduce their 'arguments' into these works for helping the propagation of their religious faith. It is true that the present Purāṇas are sometimes found to refer to some of the main teachings of the Buddha, but they do so invariably for denouncing Buddhism and not for advancing its cause.

[316] See Dānasāgara, p. 7, verses 63-66.

In the sixth line (asaṃgata-kathā- etc.) the printed edition reads '-kathā-bandha-

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"[There is] another Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruḍa) Purāṇa, as well as a Brāhma and an Āgneya [Purāṇa], also a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa of twenty-three thousand [Ślokas],

"[and] likewise another Laiṅga Purāṇa consisting of six thousand [Ślokas], [which deal] with initiation, consecration [of images etc.], usages of *Pāṣaṇḍas*, and testing of gems,

"with false accounts of the families [of kings and sages], with lexicography, grammar etc., and with irrelevant statements having mutual contradiction.

"Finding people to be deceived [with these] by those [well-known] Mīnaketanas and others, who are hypocrites, *Pāṣaṇḍas* and pseudo-ascetics, all [the above-mentioned Purāṇas] have been rejected with contempt."

It is hardly necessary to say that in the above-mentioned verses of the Dānasāgara on the Bhaviṣya and the spurious Purāṇas, the word 'pāṣaṇḍa' or 'pāṣaṇḍin' has been used by Vallālasena to mean the Tantriks, and not particularly the Buddhists; and this meaning of the word becomes evident from the facts that the Buddhists had practically nothing to do directly with any of these Purāṇas or with Durgā-pūjā dealt with in them, and that the present Garuḍa- and Agni-p. (now available in printed forms), which, as Vallālasena's enumeration of the contents of the spurious Purāṇas shows, are undoubtedly the same as his second 'Tārkṣya' and 'Āgneya' Purāṇas, prominently betray the influence of the Tantras (including particularly the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās). As a matter of fact, on one occasion Vallālasena himself expressly takes the word 'pāṣaṇḍin' to mean 'those people who instruct such Dharma as is opposed to that of the Veda'[317]. We have already seen that according to Kumārila-

paraspara-virodhataḥ' and this reading is supported by all the three Mss, except in the case of '-virodhataḥ', for which the Indian Office Ms reads '-virodhitaḥ'. But as, with this reading, the said line cannot be properly construed with the rest and does not give any cogent meaning, we have preferred to read it as '-kathā-bandhaiḥ paraspara-virodhibhiḥ.'

[317] See Dānasāgara, p. 57—

viṣṇudharme—pāṣaṇḍino vikarmasthān nālapec caiva nāstikān /
pāṣaṇḍino veda-viparīta-dharm-opadeṣṭāraḥ /

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bhaṭṭa, the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas and similar other sectaries were 'opposed to the triple Veda' (trayī-viparīta). Following Kumārila, Medhātithi also names the Bhojakas[318], Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas and others as persons denying the authority of the Vedas and look upon their scriptures with equal disrespect[319]. In Kūrma-p. I.12.250-259 Devī has been made to declare Śruti and Smṛti, and no other works, as the sources of Dharma consisting of sacrifices etc., and to decry 'the delusive (mohanātmaka, mohanārtha) literatures of the Kāpālas, Bhairavas, Yāmalas, Vāmas, Ārhatas, Kāpilas, Pāñcarātras, Ḍāmaras, and others of these types' as 'opposed to Śruti and Smṛti' (śruti-smṛti-viruddhāni) and meant 'for infatuating in their subsequent births those persons who mislead others by means of bad scriptures'; similarly, in Kūrma-p. I.16.115-117 Śiva and Keśava are said to have 'compiled the delusive scriptures (moha-śāstrāṇi) [such as] Kāpila, Nākula, Vāma, Bhairava, Pūrva-paścima, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata, and also others by thousands' for deluding those who had become extra-Vedic as a result of Gautama's curse[320]; in Kūrma-p. II. 37.146-7, the scriptures of the Vāmas, Pāśupatas, Somas,

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[318] They formed a class of Sun-worshippers.—See Vol. I, pp. 95-99

[319] See Medhātithi's commentary on Manu-smṛti 2. 6.

[320] The story of Gautama, as given in Kūrma-p. I. 16. 95-122, runs as follows:

In ancient times there was once an extremely severe drought, which continued for a very long time and compelled the sages living in Dāruvana to approach Gautama for maintenance. Gautama supported them with food for twelve years, after which there was heavy rain and the earth regained its former state. As the difficulty was over, the sages met Gautama for permission to return to Dāruvana for austerities, but the latter requested them to stay with him for some time more. Being eager to leave the place, the sages created a black cow by virtue of their magic power and presented it to Gautama. But as soon as Gautama touched this magic cow, it fell down dead. Thus associating Gautama with sin, the sages left for Dāruvana. Very soon Gautama saw through the plan and cursed the sages to be extra-Vedic and guilty of heinous crimes (mahāpātakin) and to be born as such again and again. Being in a difficult situation the sages praised Śaṃkara and Viṣṇu with '*popular hymns*' (laukikaiḥ stotraiḥ) for immunity from sin; and as a result these two gods compiled for their deliverance the delusive scriptures of the Kāpālas, Nākulas, Vāmas, Bhairavas, Pūrva-paścimas, Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas, and 'thousands of others' and asked the sages to follow the prescriptions of these works and go to hell again and again, until, with the exhaustion of their sin, they would be born as human beings and attain the state of pious men by worshipping God. The sages did as desired by Śaṃkara and Viṣṇu, compiled other scriptures, taught them to their disciples, and deluded people by undergoing rebirths.

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Lāṅgalas, Bhairavas, and other extra-Vedic sects have been said to be delusive (mohana) and opposed to the Vedas (veda-vāda-viruddhāni); in Kūrma-p. II. 16.15 one following the Vedic Dharma is urged not to show respect, even by a word (of the mouth), to the Vāmācāras, Pāñcarātras and Pāśupatas who are Pāṣaṇḍins (i.e. follow an anti-Vedic course of conduct) and always do acts not meant for them; and in Kūrma-p. II. 21.32 the Buddhist saints, Nirgranthas, Pāñcarātras, Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas, and similar other sectaries have been called 'Pāṣaṇḍas'. Thus, Vallālasena's use of the word 'pāṣaṇḍa' or 'pāṣaṇḍin' and the fact that in spite of his deep hatred of the Pāṣaṇḍas he says nothing expressly about the language of the Devī-p., show that this avowedly pro-Vedic royal Smārta of great eminence cannot be taken to mean that the Devī-p. was influenced in its language by the Buddhists.

From what has been said above it is evident that the language of the Devī-p. follows a tradition which originated not later than that followed by the Buddhists in their hybrid texts and was quite distinct from the latter. As a matter of fact, this tradition comes down from a much earlier date, which finds strong support in the occurrence in this Purāṇa of a good number of such Vedic and epic forms and usages as had gone out of use long ago, and it was followed in ancient times by the adherents to the Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata and similar other religious systems as known and practised by those Hindus who had little regard for the Vedas and the varṇāśrama-dharma. As regards the compilation of the earliest *pro-Vedic* Pāñcarātra work the Mahābhārata says in its Nārāyaṇīya section[321] that the seven illustrious Citraśikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis 'unanimously proclaimed on the great mountain Meru an excellent Śāstra which was made consistent with the four Vedas'[322] and meant for the popu-

[321] Consisting of chaps. 335-351 of the Śānti-parvan. These chapters correspond to chaps. 322-339 in the Poona critical edition.

[322] Mbh XII. 335. 27b-28—

ye hi te ṛṣayaḥ khyātāḥ sapta citra-śikhaṇḍinaḥ //
tair eka-matibhir bhūtvā yat proktaṃ śāstram uttamam /
vedaiś caturbhiḥ samitaṃ kṛtaṃ merau mahāgirau //

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lace,[323] that it consisted of one lac of verses[324] and dealt with the best '*loka-dharma*' (religious duties of the people),[325] and that as it was to direct them in their activity as well as inactivity, it was furnished with (the teachings of) the Yajus-, Ṛk-, Sāma- and Atharva-veda.[326] Although no Pāñcarātra Śāstra ascribed to the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis has come down to us nor is there any definite evidence in favour of its actual existence, the very mention of making this work, which was meant for the *populace*, conform to the four Vedas, is important in that it implies the non-Vedic, and perhaps also in some respects anti-Vedic, character of the ideas and practices of the Pāñcarātra system as understood and followed by the common run of people. The Mahābhārata itself differentiates the Pāñcarātra system from the Vedic, saying:

"sāṃkhyaṃ yogaḥ pāñcarātraṃ vedāḥ pāśupataṃ tathā /
jñānāny etāni rājarṣe viddhi nānā-matāni vai //"[327]

"Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Vedas and Pāśupata—know these, O royal saint, as [branches of] knowledge holding different views."

That before the compilation of the said pro-Vedic Śāstra by the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis the Pāñcarātras had little regard for the Vedas and the varṇāśrama-dharma, is also shown by the extant Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās of early

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The first two lines are the same as Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 26, the third being given there as spurious.

[323] Mbh XII. 335. 32b—lokān saṃcintya manasā tataḥ śāstraṃ pracakrire. (This line is the same as Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 29c).

[324] *Ibid.*, XII. 335. 39—kṛtaṃ śata-sahasraṃ hi ślokānām idam uttamam / loka-tantrasya kṛtsnasya yasmād dharmaḥ pravartate // (=Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 36).

[325] *Ibid.*, XII. 335. 29a—āsyaiḥ saptabhir udgīrṇaṃ loka-dharmam anuttamam. (In the Poona critical ed. this line has been given as spurious).

See also verse 39 cited in the immediately preceding footnote.

[326] *Ibid.*, XII. 335. 40—

pravṛttau ca nivṛttau ca yasmād etad bhaviṣyati /
yajur-ṛk-sāmabhir juṣṭam atharvāṅgirasais tathā //

For this verse see Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 37. The Poona ed. reads 'yoniḥ' (for 'yasmāt').

[327] Mbh XII. 349. 64. (This verse, as occurring in Poona critical ed. XII. 337. 59, reads 'yogaṃ' for 'yogaḥ'). See also *ibid.*, XII. 349. 1—sāṃkhyaṃ yogaḥ pāñcarātraṃ vedāraṇyakam eva ca/ jñānāny etāni brahmarṣe lokeṣu pracaranti ha // (=Poona critical ed. XII. 337. 1, which reads 'yogaṃ pañca-').

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origin which continue more or less the non-Vedic, and in some cases also anti-Vedic, tradition of the ancient Pāñcarātras.[328] About the Pāśupatas also the Mahābhārata expresses a very similar view. We have already seen how it distinguishes the Pāśupata system from the Vedic.[329] At another place of this work Śiva is found to say that in ancient times he created the Pāśupata Vrata which 'was contradictory to, though in some cases agreeing with, the rules of varṇāśrama-dharma' and which was 'denounced by the unwise.'[330] In his Smṛti-candrikā (II, p. 311) Devaṇabhaṭṭa quotes from the 'Brahmāṇḍa-p.' a verse which says:

"śaivān pāśupatān spṛṣṭvā lokāyatika-nāsitkān /
vikarmasthān dvijān śūdrān savāsā jalam āviśet //"

"[After] touching the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Lokāyatikas, Nāstikas, those twice-born [people] who have taken up the duties not meant for them, and the Śūdras, [one] should get into water with [all the] garments on."

In the same work there is another verse, ascribed to the 'Ṣaṭtriṃśan-mata', in which, as we have already seen, the Pāśupatas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas and Kāpālikas have been denounced in a similar way.[331] These and other condem-

[328] For an idea of the non-Brāhmaṇical character of the ideas, rites and practices of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, see our analysis of the contents of the Jayākhya-saṃhitā given in our Purāṇic Records, pp. 218-223.

[329] See Mbh XII. 349. 64 quoted above.

[330] *Ibid.*, XII. 284. 121-124a—

.....
vedāt ṣaḍ-aṅgād uddhṛtya sāṃkhya-yogāc ca yuktitaḥ /
.....
apūrvaṃ sarvatobhadraṃ viśvatomukham avyayam /
abdair daśārdha-saṃyuktaṃ gūḍham aprājña-ninditam //
varṇāśrama-kṛtair dharmair viparītaṃ kvacit samam /
gatāṃ tair adhyavasitam atyāśramam idaṃ vratam //
mayā pāśupataṃ dakṣa śubham utpāditaṃ purā /
.....

These verses have been quoted by Aparārka in his com. on Yāj. 1.7 (pp. 17-18) with the readings 'śaktitaḥ' (for 'yuktitaḥ'), 'arthair daśārdhaiḥ saṃyuktaṃ' (for 'abdair etc.'), 'śatāntaiḥ' (for 'gatāṃ taiḥ'), 'anyāśramam' (for 'atyāśramam'), 'smṛtam' (for 'vratam'), 'pūrvaṃ' (for 'dakṣa'), and 'yogam' (for 'śubham').

In the Poona critical ed. the above verses have been taken as spurious and placed in Appendix I (No. 28, lines 401-407) with the readings 'daśāha-' (for 'daśārdha-'), 'gatāntair' (for 'gatāṃ tair'), and 'yogam' (for 'śubham'). Still, their early origin cannot be denied, and this is clearly indicated by their occurrence, with variation in readings, in the Vāyu-p. (30. 293-5), Brahma-p. (40. 108-110), Liṅga-p (II. 20. 9-11), etc.

[331] For this verse see above.

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natory statements made in the comparatively early Sanskrit works about the Pāśupatas show that among the early worshippers of Śiva-Paśupati there was a large section which was no less irreverent of the Vedas and the varṇāśrama-dharma than the early Pāñcarātras.[332] It is natural, therefore, that these Pāñcarātras and Pāśupatas and also similar other sectaries among the Hindus should have their scriptures written in an unorthodox language. Speaking of those Brahmin sages who, at the advice of Śiva and Viṣṇu, followed the teachings contained in the scriptures of the Vāmas, Pāśupatas, Somas, Lāṅgalas and others, the Kūrma-p. says that after being cursed by Gautama to be extra-Vedic and guilty of Mahāpātakas, these sages pleased the two gods 'with popular hymns' (laukikaiḥ stotraiḥ). At another place this Purāṇa says that in the Kali age people would praise their deities 'with popular songs' (laukikair gānaiḥ).[333] It is highly probable that by 'laukika stotra' and 'laukika gāna', the Kūrma-p. means such hymns and songs as were composed in a popular language like that of the Devī-p.

That the peculiar language of the Devī-p. was not confined to this work only, but was used in writing their scriptures by those other sects among the Hindus which were stamped out as 'extra-Vedic' by the staunch followers of the Vedas, is shown by the earliest extant Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās such as the Pauṣkara and the Jayākhya, more particularly the former, which was written, like the Jayākhya, in Northern India but comes from an earlier date. On the strength of doctrinal and palaeographical evidences Benoytosh Bhattacharya assigns the Jayākhya-saṃhitā to about 450 A.D.[334] So, the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā is to be dated earlier. The high age of this work is further shown by the fact that it is named in the Sātvata-saṃhitā,[335] which, again, is mentioned in the

[332] There is hardly any scope for doubt that the extra-Vedic ideas, rites and practices of these early Pāśupatas come down more or less through the early Āgamas.

[333] Kūrma-p. I. 29. 24—gāyanti laukikair gānair daivatāni narādhipa.

[334] Jayākhya-saṃhitā, Foreword, pp. 26-34.

[335] evam-ādyais tu vidhivad-bhogair nānāvidh-otthitaiḥ /
yaḥ sthitas trividhe sarge vibhavaḥ pārameśvaraḥ //
pauṣkarākhye ca vārāhe prājāpatye mahāmate /
sūkṣmatvena ca niḥśeṣaṃ pratyekasmin hi artate //
132-133.

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Ahirbudhnya.[336] In its printed edition this work consists of forty-two chapters covering as many as 272 pages. In order to show how strikingly its language agrees with that of the Devī-p. in the variety as well as frequency of grammatical and other irregularities caused mainly by Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, we cite below a few instances from the first five chapters covering a little more than 31 pages only.

I. Unlawful changes made occasionally in the stems:

(i) Substitution of the final *ṛ* (of masculine words) with *ā*, as in '*savitā*' (for 'savitṛ') in Pauṣkara-saṃhitā 3.69—savitākhyaṃ ca sāvitram .....

(ii) Loss of the final single consonants of masculine and neuter words, as in '*śaśi*' (for 'śaśin') in Ps.[337] 4.155— ...śaśiṃ rātrikaraṃ smaret; '*adhva*' (for 'adhvan') in 5.3—sad-adhvaṃ syāt tṛtīyaṃ ca ... (in which 'sad-adhvam' qualifies 'maṇḍalam' in the immediately preceding verse); '*raja*' (for 'rajas') in 1.6— ... pūrayitvā rajaiḥ śubhaiḥ, 5.53— ... vyoma bāhyaṃ rajena tu.

For a few more instances see under III (i) below.

(iii) Loss of the final syllables of words denoting cardinal numbers, as in '*viṃśa*' (for 'viṃśati') in Ps. 5.145—dvitīyenātha viṃśādīn ...; '*saptaviṃśa*' (for 'saptaviṃśati') in 5.269— ... saptaviṃśa-padotthitam.

(iv) Loss of the final vowels of words, as in '*pād*' (for 'pāda') in Ps. 5.170—tulyaṃ caturvidhākāraṃ pād-bhedena yathāsthitam; '*viṃśat*' (for 'viṃśati') in 5.154—catur-abhyadhikān viṃśad-aṃśakān ..., 5.178 —śatāni pañca-bhāgānāṃ viṃśadbhis tu navādhikaiḥ; '*ekonaviṃśat*' (for 'ekonaviṃśati') in 5.118—bhāgair ekonaviṃśadbhiḥ ...; '*pañcaviṃśat*' (for 'pañcaviṃśati')

[336] saṃkalpa-nirmitā śaktir yā tat-tat-kārya-gocarā /
sātvate śāsane sarvaṃ tat tad uktaṃ mahāmune // 5. 59.

[337] Ps. = Pauṣkara-saṃhitā.

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in 5.64—koṣṭhakaiḥ pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ ..., 5.119—kamalaṃ pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ ..., 5.140—paṅkajaṃ pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ ...

II. Lengthening of short vowels (evidently for the sake of metre), as in Ps. 5.152, 260—caturāśītibhir bhāgaiḥ ... (for 'caturaśītibhir ...'); 5.271—saptādaśa-padād bhūtaṃ ... (for 'saptadaśa- etc.).

III. Saṃdhi made against the rules of Sanskrit grammar:

(i) Double Saṃdhi (?), as in '*tatordhvam*' (for 'tataḥ +ūrdhvam') in Ps. 4.20—madhyamaṃ viddhi tanmānaṃ tatordhvaṃ tu smṛtaṃ mahat; '*śiropari*' (for 'śiraḥ+upari') in 4.83— ... tac-chiropari vinyaset; '*rajottame*' (for 'rajaḥ+uttame') in 5.201—rajasā pūrayet paścāt ... / ... vyoma-bāhye rojattame //

(ii) Irregular Saṃdhi, as in '*samekavarṇā*' (for 'samā +ekavarṇā') in Ps. 2.18—samekavarṇā sarpādyair nirmuktā ...

An instance of irregular Saṃdhi with *r* as an intevening *Saṃdhi-consonant* (or hiatus-bridger), viz., '*jāti-r-iṅkulikābhena*' (for 'jātīṅkulikābhena') in Ps. 5.76—daśakaṃ daśakaṃ vipra bhāgānām atha rañjayet / jāti-r-iṅkulikābhena vyoma-bāhyāt tu pūrayet //

IV. Hiatus created by absence of Saṃdhi in verses, as in Ps. 1.30—tathaivāyatanānāṃ *ca āśramāṇāṃ* mahāmune, 2.17— ... hy *apare āmra-kānanam*, 5.66—dvāropagasya madhyāt *tu aṣṭau* ...

V. Wrong use of Number

(i) in Dvandva compounds, as in '*udag-yāmye*' (for 'udag-yāmyayoḥ') in 5.162, '*pūrva-paścimam*' (for 'pūrva-paścimau') in 3.4 and 3.16, '*dakṣiṇottaram*' (for 'dakṣiṇottarau') in 3.38, 51, 52, '*paścimottare*' (for 'paścimottarayoḥ') in 3.68;

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(ii) in verbs (irrespective of the Number of their subjects), as in Ps. 5.35— ... *bhaved* dvārāṇy ath-āśrayaḥ, 5.47— ... ... ekaviṃśottaraṃ śatam / *utpadyante* ca bhāgānām ... //, 5.66— ... aṣṭau śobhā-dvaye *bhavet*, 5.71— kṛtvā dvidaśadhā kṣetraṃ ṣaṇṇavaty-adhikaṃ śataṃ / *utpadyante* 'ṃśakānāṃ tu ... //;

(iii) in adjectives, as in Ps. 2.20—atyuṣṇā *yā* ca hemante rasānvā (? rasālā) jaladāgame / kāṃsya-bhāṇḍa-svanā *ghaṇṭā-vīṇā-vaṃśa-ravāḥ śubhāḥ* // (in which 'yā' has been used for 'mahī' in the immediately preceding verse), 5.1—*yāgas* tu deva-deveśa *bhadrādīni* kramād vada, 5.84—rāgais tu pīṭha-koṇāni *paścimādi* tataḥ punaḥ;

(iv) in words denoting cardinal numbers in most cases, as in Ps. 3.28—*aṣṭāviṃśatibhir* yukta-dvy-aṅgulair dhanuṣi śṛṇu/aṣṭādaśāṅgulā vipra dvy-aṅgulair daśabhir vinā //, 3.29—*triṃśadbhir* dvy-aṅgulair ūnā ..., 4.8—*caturviṃśatibhir* brahman hastas tair aṅgulair bhavet, 4.10-11—ādya-dvādaśabhir mānam aṅgulaiḥ parikīrtitam / dvitīyam aṣṭādaśabhiś *caturviṃśatibhiḥ* param //, 5.64—koṣṭhakaiḥ *pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ* ..., 5.118—bhāgair *ekonaviṃśadbhiḥ* ..., 5.139—ekaviṃśatibhir bhāgaiḥ ..., 5.152—*caturāśītibhir* bhāgaiḥ ... / ... *ṣaṭtriṃśadbhis* tu koṣṭhakaiḥ //, 5.178—*trayoviṃśatibhir* bhāgaiḥ ..., and also 5.206, 208, 226, 241, 247 etc. (for similar use),

4.6—tābhir *likṣāṣṭakair* yūkāṃ viddhi ...

(v) in other cases such as '*yāgas* tu ... bhradrādīni ... vada' (for 'yāgāṃs tu etc.') in Ps. 5.1, 'saptādaśa-padād bhūtam ...' (for 'saptadaśa-padebhyaḥ etc.') in 5.271, '... catvāriṃśat-pade sthitam' (for 'catvāriṃśat-padeṣu etc.') in 5.280.

VI. Unauthorised change of Gender:

(i) Masculine words used as neuter, viz., '*ādhāra*' in Ps. 5.16—buddhy-ādhāram ataḥ proktam ..., 5.258—... buddhy-ādhāram athocyate; '*ākāra*' in 4.104— ... kartavyaṃ jyeṣṭhākāraṃ gaṇasya ca; '*aṃśa*' in 5.186—

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saptaviṃśaty-athāṃśāni ..., 5.196—saṃśodhy-aikādaśāṃśāni ..., 5.232—dve catuṣ-ṣaṭ tathāṃśāni ..., 5.266—ekonaviṃśaty-aṃśāni ...; '*bhāga*' in 3.30—śaṅkor dvādaśa-bhāgaṃ yad vijñātavyaṃ tad aṅgulam / tasya yat ṣaṣṭhamaṃ bhāgaṃ boddhavyaṃ dvy-aṅgulaṃ tu tat //, 5.38—pīṭha-dik-sthita-bhāgāni ..., 5.41—paritas tatra bhāgāni śodhayitvā ..., 5.81—ekaikādaśa-bhāgāni ..., 5.102—trīṇy-ardhaṃ pañca-bhāgāni ..., 5.265, 268, 301— ... bhāgāni ...; '*daṇḍa*' in 4.120—sarvāṇy ādheya-daṇḍāni ..., 4.204—vedi-toraṇa-daṇḍāni ...; '*deśa*' in 3.18—tathā paścima-bhāgastham deśaṃ ... (for '-bhāgastho deśaḥ ...'), 5.61—tat-koṇa-madhya-deśāni ... rañjayet; '*jaya*' in 5.10—ataḥ pañca-daśaṃ yāgaṃ jayaṃ nāma jaya-pradam, 51.3—yaṃ dṛṣṭvā bhavināṃ śaśvad bhaved bhūta-jayaṃ dvija, 5.151—idam uktaṃ jayaṃ nāma ...; '*koṇa*' in 5.28, 50, 249— ...koṇāni ..., 5.39—tad-upasthāna-koṇāni..., 5.68—pīṭha-koṇāni sarvāṇi ..., 5.70— ... tadvat koṇam iti smṛtam, 5.77— ... pīṭha-koṇāni rañjayet, 5.84—rāgais tu pīṭha-koṇāni ..., 5.94—pīṭhasya sarva-koṇāni ... pūrayet, 5.95—koṇāny athopapīṭhasya tenaiva parirañjayet; '*pralaya*' in 4.92— ... pralayāni ca yojya ca; '*saṃcaya*' in 1.5—evam-ādi yadā bhūyāt karuṇaṃ vākya-saṃcayam; '*stambha*' in 4.63—stambhāni ca suvṛttāni ...; '*sugrīva*' in 3.73—indraś cendra-padākhyaś ca sugrīvaṃ kusuma-dvija; '*vighna*' in 3.49—... madhye vighnaṃ bhavet sphuṭam; '*yāga*' in 2.3—pravartante ca yāgāni ..., 5.5, 9, 10, 14, 97, etc.—yāgam (for 'yāgaḥ'), 5.18—asyāparaṃ mahāyāgaṃ dhruvākhyaṃ ca prakīrtitam; and so on.

(ii) Neuter words used as masculine, viz., '*sthāna*' in Ps. 5.45—dvāra-kaṇṭh-opagau sthānau ...; '*dvāra*' in 5.106—dvārādīn ... susaṃsthitān, 5.203—dvārān nṛpo-palābhena śobhāṃ pītena pūrayet.

(iii) Feminine words used as neuter, viz., '*aśri*' in Ps. 5.78—nṛpopalābhen-āśrīṇi śobhāni vyoma-bāhyavat;

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'*śobhā*' in 5.78 (cited above), 5.96—pītena copaśobhāni ..., 5.106—sitena copaśobhāni ..., 5.114—śeṣāc chobhopaśobhāni bhāgair dvārāṇi kārayet.

(iv) Difference in Gender between nouns and their adjectives, as in Ps. 1.33—*bhāva* utpadyate kṣipraṃ tan-madhye *śraddhayānvitam*, 4.78— ... kuryāc chīrṣa-*gaṇaṃ mahat*, 4.85— ... stambha-*saṃtatim*/ kiṃcit *samucchritaṃ* dattvā ... //, 4.97— ... kuryāt ... / *prākāraṃ ... mahat* //, 5.1—*yāgas* tu devadeveśa *bhadrādīni* kramād vada, 5.160—evam īśāna-*dik proktam* ..., 5.202—jātyā hiṅkulikābhena ..., 5.252—*dve* catuṣ-ṣaṭ ca *bhāgāṃs* tu ...

(v) Difference in Gender between nouns and their pronouns, as in Ps. 1.8— ... *taṃ* tu viddhi caturvidham (in which 'tam' has been used for 'maṇḍalam'), 2.14— ... tath-*ānye* mṛga-jātayaḥ, 2.18-19—vāpī-kūpādikaṃ khātam īśāne *yasya* cottare / śubha-lakṣaṇa-yuktā sā sarva-siddhi-karī mahī //, 4.6—*tābhir* likṣāṣṭakair yūkāṃ viddhi ...

VII. Wrong declension, as in

'*prajāpatim*' (for 'prajāpatiḥ') in Ps. 3.74; '*śaśim*' (for 'śaśinam') in 4.155—bṛhac-chaśaka-pṛṣṭhasthaṃ śaśiṃ rātrikaraṃ smaret; '*ekādaśāni*' (for 'ekādaśa') in 5.249— ... koṇāny ekādaśāni tu; '*ekonaviṃśadbhiḥ*' (for 'ekonaviṃśatibhiḥ') in 5.118; '*viṃśadbhiḥ*' (for 'viṃśatibhiḥ') in 5.178 (cited above); '*pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ*' (for 'pañcaviṃśatibhiḥ') in 5.64, 119, 140; '*ekacatvāribhiḥ*' (for 'ekacatvāriṃśadbhiḥ') in 5.278— ... ekacatvāribhiḥ padaiḥ;

'*tule*' (for 'tulāyām') in Ps. 3.27—tule tu meṣa-sadṛśī vṛścike dvādaśāṅgulā.

VIII. Incorrect use of case-endings:

(i) The first case-ending used

(a) for the second, as in Ps. 1.51—anyaś ca viddhy anāhāro velā tasyendra vartate (for 'anyaṃ ca ...,

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anāhāraṃ ...'), 4.77—bandhaś ca sadṛśaṃ dadyāt ... (for 'bandhaṃ ca ...'), 5.1—yāgas tu devadeveśa ... vada—(for 'yāgāṃs tu etc.'), 5.39— ... paripūrayet / dvārāṇi ... cāśrayaḥ (for '... cāśrīḥ'), 5.62— ... rañjayet ... / dvārāṇi ... vāśrayaḥ (for '... vāśrīḥ');

(b) for the seventh, as in Ps. 5.161—tat tu paścima-dik kuryāt ... (for '... paścima-diśi ...').

(ii) The second case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 5.154— ... bhāgaṃ catuṣṭayam (for '... bhāgānāṃ ...'?).

(iii) The third case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 5.131—gātrakābhyāṃ samīpaṃ tu ... (for 'gātrakayoḥ ...').

(iv) The fifth case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 4.78— ... bhinnād upari ... (for '... bhinnasya upari ...').

(v) The sixth case-ending used

(a) for the fourth, as in Ps. 1.8—pūjitaṃ darśayet tasya ... (for '... tasmai ...');

(b) for the seventh, as in Ps. 1.4—dayāṃ kuru tv anāthasya ... (for '... anāthe ...').

(vi) The seventh case-ending used

(a) for the third, as in Ps. 4.206—mṛdā gomaya-miśrāyām upalipya ... (for '... -miśrayā upa- ...')

(b) for the sixth, as in Ps. 2.15—janayaty āśu cāhlādaṃ sva-kāntāsv iva darśanam (for '... sva-kāntānām iva ...'), 3.18—tasyām abhyantarasthaṃ vā ... (for 'tasyāḥ abhya- ... ...'), 3.53—dikṣu caivāntarālāni ... (for 'diśāṃ caivā- ...').

IX. Irregularities in the formation of compounds:

(i) Occasional insertion of '*m*' as a connecting link between the component parts, as in '*toraṇa-ṃ-mānam*'

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(for 'toraṇa-mānam') in Ps. 4.125—etad dvādaśamāṃśena toraṇa-ṃ-mānam abjaja, and '*paṅkti-dvaya-ṃ-jātam*' (for 'paṅkti-dvaya-jātam') in 5.101—bhāgaṃ paṅkti-dvaya-ṃ-jātaṃ saṃcārārthaṃ tu śodhayet.

(ii) Occasional insertion of the indeclinable '*atha*' between the component parts, as in '*saptaviṃśaty-ath-āṃśāni*' (for 'saptaviṃśaty-aṃśān') in Ps. 5.186—saptaviṃśaty-ath-āṃśāni koṇa-deśād viśodhayet.

(iii) Wrong use of Samāsāntas, as in '*sad-adhvam*' (for 'sad-adhva', a Bahuvrīhi compound qualifying 'maṇḍalam') in Ps. 5.3—sad-adhvaṃ syāt tṛtīyaṃ ca ..., 5.33— ... sad-adhvam adhunocyate, 5.40—sad-adhvaṃ ca mayā proktam ...

(iv) Various other irregularities, as in

'*divā-rātram*' (a Dvandva compound meaning 'a day and a night', for 'divā-rātrī') in Ps. 3.15—yasmin deśe divā-rātraṃ nityam eva samaṃ dvija, and 3.16—samaṃ yatra divā-ratram ekasmin vaiṣuve dine, '*pūrva-paścimam*' (for 'pūrva-paścimau') in 3.4— ... yatnataḥ pūrva-paścimam / vijñeyam ... //, and 3.16—tatrānena viśeṣeṇa jñātavyaṃ pūrva-paścimam, '*pūrva-paścimāt*' (for 'pūrva-paścimābhyām') in 3.35, '*dakṣiṇottaram*' (for 'dakṣiṇottarau') in 3.38, 3.51, 3.52, '*paścimottare*' (for 'paścimottarayoḥ') in 3.68— ... dakṣiṇe paścimottare / iṣṭv-aivaṃ koṇa-padmeṣu ... //,

'*corātaṅka-bhayādike*' (for '-bhayādikaiḥ' connected with '-vinirmukte') in Ps. 2.7—duṣṭa-prāṇi-vinirmukte corātaṅka-bhayādike, '*sa-sthūlaiḥ*' (for 'sa-sthaulyaiḥ') in 4.76—dṛḍha-kāṣṭha-samudbhūtaiḥ sa-sthūlair bahubhis tathā, '*viṃśādīn*' (for 'viṃśaty-ādīn') in 5.145—dvitīyenātha viṃśādīn ṣaṭkaṃ ṣaṭkaṃ tad-aśriṣu,

'*saptaviṃśa-padotthitam*' (for 'saptaviṃśati-padotthitam') in Ps. 5.269, '*pād-bhedena*' (for 'pāda-bhedena') in 5.170—tylyaṃ caturvidhākāraṃ pād-bhedena yathā-sthitam,

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'*viṃśad-aṃśakān*' (for 'viṃśaty-aṃśakān') in Ps. 5.154—catur-abhyadhikān viṃśad-aṃśakān kamalodbhava, '*eka-catvāribhiḥ*' (for 'eka-catvāriṃśadbhiḥ') in 5.278—śatāṣṭakaṃ tu bhāgānām eka-catvāribhiḥ padaiḥ.

X. Wrong formation and use of verbs:

(i) Parasmaipadīya roots used in their Ātmanepadīya forms, viz., bhvādi-gaṇīya '*sthā*' (meaning 'to remain') in Ps. 1.50—yathaikas tiṣṭhate tṛptaḥ ... (for '... tiṣṭhati ...'), 3.92—saṃyuktaṃ tiṣṭhate dehe ... (for '... tiṣṭhati ...').

(ii) Ātmanepadīya roots used in their Parasmaipadīya forms, viz., bhvādi-gaṇīya '*mud*' in Ps. 2.15—yatra modanti vai vyāghra-kuñjarāḥ saha mānavaiḥ (for '... modante ...').

(iii) Irregular conjugation of verbs (mostly with unauthorised change of Gaṇa):

(a) bhvādi-gaṇīya '*īkṣ*' (to see) in Ps. 3.43 (with 'nir')— ... tathā chāyā nirīkṣayet (for '... nirīkṣeta');

(b) adādi-gaṇīya '*mṛj*' in Ps. 5.216, 246, 252—mṛjet (for 'mṛjyāt');

(c) hvādi-gaṇīya '*hu*' in Ps. 4.206—hunet (for 'juhuyāt');

(d) divādi-gaṇīya '*as*' in Ps. 2.90, 4.60, 4.67, 4.74, etc. (with 'ni')—nyaset (for 'nyasyet'), 4.83, 4.127 (with 'vi+ni')—vinyaset (for 'vinyasyet');

(e) svādi-gaṇīya '*ci*' in Ps. 4.56 (with 'vi')—vicinvīyāt (for 'vicinuyāt'), 4.105—cinvīyāt (for 'cinuyāt').

(iv) Wrong formation of Kṛd-anta words, viz.,

(a) Gerunds (in 'ktvā' and 'lyap'), such as 'saṃjñātvā' (for 'saṃjñāya') in Ps. 1.42—kṛta-kṛtyaṃ tu saṃjñātvā ..., 'samīkṣayitvā' (for 'samīkṣya') in 4.60—samīkṣyitvā tān sarvān ..., 'unmīlayitvā' (for 'unmīlya') in 5.271,

'lāñchya' (for 'lāñchitvā') in Ps. 3.56— ... lāñchya

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pūrvokta-lāñchanaiḥ, 'lopya' (for 'lopayitvā') in 5.246, 'pūjya' (for 'pūjayitvā') in 2.27, 'pūrya' (for 'pūrayitvā') in 3.79 and 82, 'śodhya' (for 'śodhayitvā') in 5.250, 'yojya' (for 'yojayitvā') in 4.92.

(b) Other primary bases, such as 'ārurukṣakaḥ' (for 'ārurukṣuḥ') in Ps. 1.49—siddhaś ca sidhyamānaś ca tṛtīyaś cārurukṣakaḥ.

(v) Wrong use of Gerunds, as in Ps. 3.49—śaṅku-sūtraṃ dvidhā *bhaṅktvā* madhye vighnaṃ *bhavet* sphuṭam, 5.63—sarva-kāma-pradaṃ caiva *kṛtvā* 'mitraghnam *ucyate* / kṣetraṃ tridaśadhā *kṛtvā* bhāgānāṃ *jāyate* śatam //, 5.100—*bhavanti* śobhā-tulyāni *kṛtv*-aivaṃ gātrakāṇi tu, 5.107-8—*kṛtv*-āṣṭādaśadhā kṣetraṃ ... / *jāyate* vai caturviṃśaty-adhikaṃ ... //, 5.118— ... *kṛtvā* tu *jāyate*, 5.128—kṣetraṃ dvādaśadhā *kṛtvā bhavec* chata-catuṣṭayam, 5.151-2—dvir ekādaśadhā kṣetraṃ *kṛtvā saṃjāyate* dvija / caturāśītibhir bhāgair adhikaṃ tu catuḥśatam //, 5.155—evam aṃśaka-bimbaṃ ca *kṛtvā* dvāropamaṃ *bhavet*, 5.271—*saṃmārjy-onmīlayitvā* ca bim-baṃ tu prathamaṃ *bhavet*, and so on.

(vi) Unauthorised use of Āśīr-liṅ (Benedictive Mood) for Vidhi-liṅ, as in Ps. 1.5—evam-adi yadi bhūyāt karuṇaṃ vākya-saṃcayam / pravarteta tad-arthaṃ tu gurur maṇḍala-pūjane //

XI. Wrong formation of Taddhitānta words such as '*dvādaśama*' (for 'dvādaśa') in Ps. 4.125—etad dvādaśamāṃśena toraṇa-ṃ-mānam abjaja, '*ṣaṣṭhama*' (for 'ṣaṣṭha') in 3.30—tasya yat ṣaṣṭhamaṃ bhāgaṃ boddhavyaṃ dvy-aṅgulaṃ tu tat, '*traiḥ*' (for 'triḥ' formed with the Taddhita suffix 'suc', i.e. 's' added to the word 'tri') in 4.92—bhittau bhittau catus trair vā pralayāni ca yojya ca, 'vistṛtāṃ' (formed with the Taddhita suffix 'tal' i.e. 'tā' added to the wrongly formed word 'vistṛ' ?) in 4.4— ... astrāder bhūmi-vistṛtām (for '... -vistṛtim').

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XII. Use of an adjective as a noun, as in
Ps. 4.76—dṛḍha-kāṣṭha-samudbhūtaiḥ sa-sthūlair bahubhis tathā (in which the word 'sthūla' in 'sa-sthūlaiḥ' is an adjective used as a noun for 'sthaulya').

XIII. Use of a noun as an adjective in
Ps. 5.154— ... paṅktyā bhāgaṃ *catuṣṭayam*(*?*).

XIV. Use of synonymous words, as in
Ps. 1.33—tadīyena prabhāvena śraddh-*ādyādyeṣu* kiṃ punaḥ, 2.7— ... cor-*ātaṅka-bhay*-ādike, 3.73— ... *yāvad*-vāyu-pad-*āvadhi*.

It is needless to cite more instances. The above citations will be found sufficient to indicate the nature of the language of the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā and to show its striking similarity with the language of the Devī-p. It should be mentioned here that our citation of instances of grammatical and other irregularities from the first five chapters of the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā is not exhaustive. The above collection has been made simply to give a general idea of the variety as well as frequency of the irregularities found in this work.

Like the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā the Jayākhya also is looked upon as one of the earliest and most authoritative works of the Pāñcarātra Āgama. But it comes from a date later than that of the Pauṣkara and consequently lacks many of the linguistic peculiarities of the latter, evidently under the growing influence of Sanskrit. Still it retains a good number of such irregular forms and usages as amply testify to the original nature of the language of the Pāñcarātra scriptures. In order to give an idea of these irregularities, a few striking instances are noted below mostly from the first sixteen Paṭalas of the Jayākhya (which cover about half of the work consisting of thirtythree Paṭalas).

(1) The Jayākhya-saṃhitā uses the word '*tredhā*' (for classical 'tridhā') in 16.176—ekadhā vā dvidhā tredhā ..., and spells 'tṛtīya' once as '*tritīya*' in 15.184—tritīyaṃ

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mūla-khaṇḍānāṃ ..., and 'siṃha', 'nṛsiṃha' and 'narasiṃha, very often as '*sihma*', '*nṛsihma*' and '*nara-sihma*' respectively. (See, for instance, Jayākhya-saṃhitā 16.21, 37, 107 etc., 25.16, 27, 31, 38, 51, 54, 62 etc., 16.91, 25.42, 72, 86, 95 etc.; 29.5, 9 etc.; 2.12, 15, 143, 26.107, and so on).

Sometimes it shortens the final long vowels of words, as in '*devata*' (for 'devatā') in 2.57—tadā saṃbodhito brahmā devatair munibhiḥ saha, and sometimes it lengthens the short ones, as in '*śaktī*' (for 'sakti') in 14.66—tasya śabdamayī śaktī jvālāvan niḥsṛtaṃ mahat, and '*kuśā*' (for 'kuśa') in 15.115—madhya-namraṃ kuśā-kāṇḍaṃ gṛhītvā ...

Sometimes it drops the final single consonants of words, as in '*ekatriṃśa*' (for 'ekatriṃśat') in 13.194— ... ekatriṃśākṣaraṃ param / mantraṃ ... //, '*śira*' (for 'śiras') in 16.128— ... śiṣyaṃ sama-pāda-śironnatam, and '*sarpi*' (for 'sarpis') in 15.146—hiraṇya-madhu-sarpibhyāṃ snānam ...

(2) As regards Gender, the Jayākhya-saṃhitā sometimes goes against the rules of Sanskrit grammar. Thus,

it uses neuter words as masculine, as in 15.143—narasihmādayo *vaktrāḥ* sphurat-tāraka-saṃnibhāḥ, and 16.139— ... sa hi karm-*āspado* yataḥ, and

it allows nouns and their adjectives or pronouns to have different Genders, as in 14.66—tasya śabdamayī *śaktī* jvālāvan *niḥsṛtaṃ mahat* (in which the words 'niḥsṛtaṃ' and 'mahat', though qualifying 'śaktī', i.e. 'śaktiḥ', have been used in the neuter Gender, for 'niḥsṛtā' and 'mahatī'), and 16.141—sādhu parṇa-puṭe *sūtraṃ* kṛtvā *taṃ* mallake 'tha vā (for '... sūtraṃ ... tat mallake ...').

(3) It contains instances of irregular formation of feminine bases, as in 2.66—saṃpraviṣṭas tataś cāham imāṃ *padmodbhavīṃ* tanum (for '... padmodbhavāṃ ...').

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(4) Saṃdhi has sometimes been effected irregularly either with the elimination of the final single consonant of a word followed immediately by the initial vowel of another word, as in '*pāyūpastheti*' (for 'pāyūpastham+iti') in 3.6—tac ca vāk-pāṇi-pādākhyaṃ pāyūpastheti ca smṛtam, and in '*-śironnatam*' (for '-śiraḥ+unnatam') in 16.128— ... śiṣyaṃ sama-pāda-śironnatam,

or with the insertion of a *Saṃdhi-consonant* (or hiatus-bridger), such as 'r', as in '*tri-r-aṅgulā*' (for 'tri+aṅgulā') in 15.103—vistārasya tri-bhāgena grīvā sāśrā tri-r-aṅgulā.

(5) In using Vibhaktis the Jayākhya-saṃhitā sometimes violates the rules of Sanskrit grammar. Thus, it employs

(a) the fourth case-ending in place of the sixth (in the sense of 'saṃbandha'), as in 2.3—svam ātmānaṃ puraskṛtya *sad-bhaktāya* hitāya ca (for '... sad-bhaktasya hitāya ...'),

(b) the sixth case-ending in place of the fourth and the seventh, as in 2.64—dattaṃ mayābhayaṃ *teṣām* ... (for '... tebhyaḥ ...'), and 12.132—kramoditena vidhinā *tasya* tuṣyāmy ahaṃ mune (for '... tasmin tuṣyāmy ...'),

(c) the seventh case-ending (instead of the sixth) in connection with the word 'upari' (formed with an 'atas-artha pratyaya', viz, 'ril', i.e. 'ri'), as in 11.4—*kṣitāv* upari vinyāsaṃ ... / *tasmiṃś* copari vinyāsaṃ ... //, 12.128— ... *tasyām* upari bhāvayet, and 15.189—*tatr*-opari ghṛtaṃ dadyāt ...,

and so on.

(6) Its irregularity in the formation of compounds is found in the words '*ekatriṃśākṣaram*' (a Bahuvrīhi compound, for 'ekatriṃśad-akṣaram') in 13.194 (cited above), '*tri-r-aṅgulā*' (for 'try-aṅgulā') in 15.103, '*suṣuptāvasthagaḥ*' (for 'suṣupty-avasthā-gaḥ') in 16.175, '*pāyūpastha*' (for 'pāyūpastham') in 3.6 (cited above), '*kuśā-kāṇḍam*' (for 'kuśa-kāṇḍam') in 15.115, 'udak-*paścima-aiśāna*-prāṅ-

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mukham' (with hiatus, for '-paścimaiśāna-') in 16.192, and so on.

(7) On several occasions it uses Parasmaipadīya roots in their Ātmanepadīya forms, and *vice versa*. Thus, it has '*saṃsmarasva*' (for 'saṃsmara'—Loṭ, second person, singular) in 2.58, '*ācarate*' (for 'ācarati') in 12.131, '*labhet*' (for 'labheta') in 13.45, '*samārabhet*' (for 'samārabheta') in 15.161, and so on.

It has irregular conjugation of verbs in '*hanet*' (for 'hanyāt'—Vidhi-liṅ, third person, singular of the root 'han') in 10.4, '*hunet*' and '*juhet*' (for 'juhuyāt') in 15.183 (also 16.160) and 16.176 respectively, and so on.

(8) Among the irregularly formed Kṛd-anta verbs there are

(a) the Gerunds, such as '*likhya*' (for 'likhitvā') in 6.27, '*prerya*' (for 'prerayitvā') in 16.138, '*pūjya*' (for 'pūjayitvā') in 6.7, '*tāḍya*' (for 'tāḍayitvā') in 13.86, and so on, and

(b) the Present Participles, such as '*anicchamāna*' (for 'anicchat') in 16.138—anicchamānasya balāj jantoḥ ..., '*bhrāmayamāṇa*' (for 'bhrāmayat') in 13.85—smṛtvā bhrāmayamāṇas tāṃ saṃviśed yāga-mandiram, '*dhyāyamāna*' (for 'dhyāyat') in 16.95— ... dhyāyamānas tam eva hi, '*patamāna*' (for 'patat') in 12.122—smṛtvā mantraṃ tu tan-mūrdhni patamānaṃ dvijāmbarāt, and so on.

The Sātvata-saṃhitā, which, with the Pauṣkara and the Jayākhya, formed the three jewels of the Pāñcarātra scripture, is undoubtedly an early work like the other two. It has been drawn upon by Rāmānuja in his Śrībhāṣya[338], and named and referred to in the Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā[339]

[338] See Śrībhāṣya on Vedānta-sūtra, II. 2. 42 (p. 1608)—
....sātvata-saṃhitāyām uktaṃ—
brāhmaṇānāṃ hi sad-brahma vāsudevākhya-yājinām /
vivekadaṃ paraṃ śāstraṃ brahmopaniṣadaṃ mahat // iti.
This verse is the same as Sātvata-saṃhitā 2. 4a and 5a.

[339] For the relevant verse of the Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā see footnote 336 above.

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and the Bhāgavata-p.[340]. But its mention of the names of the Pauṣkara, Vārāha and Prājāpatya (i.e. Brāhma) Saṃhitā in one of its verses[341] with references to some of their topics, shows that it is to be dated later than all these three works. So, we can scarcely expect to find in it grammatical and other irregularities as much as in the Pauṣkara. Still it is not totally free from these, but there is hardly any necessity of noting them here.

Although we have got very little information about the early Śaiva Āgamas and the Śākta Tantras, the language of the mystic Vidyās, Kavacas, Mantras, etc. contained in the extant Śaiva and Śākta works shows that the early Āgamas and Tantras were written in an unpolished language very similar to that of the Devī-p. and the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā. In connection with imparting religious instructions to kings and others, the Śiva-dharmottara says:

"rāga-dveṣ-ānṛta-krodha-kāma-tṛṣṇānusāri yat /
vākyaṃ niraya-hetutvāt tad durbhāṣitaṃ ucyate //
saṃskṛten-āpi kiṃ tena mṛdunā lalitena ca /
avidyā-rāga-vākyena saṃsāra-kleśa-hetunā //
yac chrutvā jāyate puṇyaṃ rāgādīnāṃ ca saṃkṣayaḥ /
virūpam api tad vākyaṃ vijñeyam atiśobhanam //"[342]

"Whatever utterance follows from love, hatred, falsehood, anger, desire and longing, is called bad speech, because of its being the cause of [residence in] hell.

"What [can one have to do] with the words of attachment arising from nescience, which cause sufferings of rebirths, even though these [words] may be *polished*, gentle and charming ?

"That speech, though *deformed*, is to be known as highly elegant, which, being heard, creates merit and destroys attachment etc."

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[340] I. 3. 8—tṛtīyaṃ ṛṣi-sargaṃ vai devarṣitvam upetya saḥ /
tantraṃ sātvatam ācaṣṭa naiṣkarmyaṃ karmaṇāṃ yataḥ //
This verse unmistakably means our present Sātvata-saṃhitā, in which Nārada appears as the speaker.

[341] For the relevant verse of the Sātvata-saṃhitā see footnote 335 above.

[342] Chap. 2, fol. 42a.

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The Śiva-dharmottara allows to the Śaiva teachers sufficient freedom in the use of language for religious instruction, saying:

"saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ /
deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ //"[343]

"That person is regarded as a [religious] teacher who enlightens [his] disciple with refined and vulgar speeches (or, with expressions in Sanskrit and Prakrit) and by means of local dialects etc. according to [the latter's] fitness."

It is to be noted that unlike Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, who refused to accept as Śāstras those works which were composed in incorrect words (asādhu śabda) derived mostly from the Prakrit dialects such as 'Māgadha, Dākṣiṇātya and their Apabhraṃśas', the Śiva-dharmottara has a very liberal view as regards the medium of religious instruction and prefers the '*deformed*' (virūpa) speech to the *refined* one (saṃskṛta) in case it rightly serves the purpose.

The recognition of Sanskrit, Prakrit and the local dialects and also a mixture of all these as mediums of religious instruction, was likewise made by the Nandi-p., an extinct

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[343] Chap. 2 (fol. 43a).

This verse has been quoted and ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' in Raghunandana's Vyavahāra-tattva (for which see Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 205) and to the 'Viṣṇudharma' in Mitramiśra's Vīramitrodaya (Vyavahāra-prakāśa, p. 54).

Both Raghunandana and Mitramiśra take this verse as their authority for stating that even in teaching (adhyāpana) there is no restriction about the use of correct words and that for the sake of proper understanding plaints etc. may be recorded in the courts of justice by using the popular words of the contending parties. (See Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 205—..... iti bhāṣā-śarīram/ etac ca saṃskṛta-deśabhāṣ-ānyatareṇa yathābodhaṃ vaktavyaṃ lekhyaṃ vā, mūrkhāṇām api vādi-prativāditā-darśanāt / ata evādhyāpane 'pi tathoktaṃ viṣṇudharmottare—'saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ / deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ //' Vīramitrodaya, Vyavahāra-prakāśa, p. 54—bodhakais tu yeṣāṃ ye śabdāḥ prasiddhās tair eva bhāṣādi lekhanīyam / prativādi-sabhyādīnāṃ tad-anabhijñatve bhāṣā-dvayādy-abhijñais te bodhanīyā ityādy ūhyam / ata eva viṣṇudharme 'dhyāpane 'pi sādhu-śabda-niyam-ānādara uktaḥ / 'saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ / deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ //' iti /).

As this verse does not occur in the present Viṣṇudharma and Viṣṇudharmottara, its ascription to these works seems to be wrong. But it is not possible to dogmatise that this verse did not occur in the texts of these works known to Raghunandana and Mitramiśra.

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work composed not later than the seventh century A.D., and this is shown by two of the verses[344] on Vidyā-dāna quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri, Anantabhaṭṭa and others.[345]

From what has been said above it is evident that the type of un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit, found in the Devī-p., Pauṣkara-saṃhitā etc., had a very early origin, with which the Buddhists had nothing to do in any way.[345a] As a matter of fact, the popular religions current among the Hindus in early days were recorded in this type of Sanskrit, which scrupulously avoided Prakrit phonology and morphology to a very great extent but widely used Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa as its basis. As these religions concerned the common run of people who were indifferent to the Vedic views of religion, life and conduct and also perhaps to Sanskrit learning, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, which were widely used and understood by them,[346] were very naturally allowed to play a great part in the making of the Sanskrit of their religious works. But Sanskrit had to be retained, however 'deformed' (virūpa)

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[344] saṃskāraiḥ saṃskṛtāṃ vidyāṃ prākṛtaiḥ prākṛtām api /
ālāpa-mātrair vyākhyānair yaś ca śiṣyān prabodhayet //
deśābhidhāna-vinyāsair bodhayec cāpi yo guruḥ /
sa guruḥ sa pitā mātā sa ca cintāmaṇiḥ smṛtaḥ //

(For these verses of the 'Nandi-p.' see Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, p. 218, Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 400, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 552, and so on).

[345] For references to the relevant works of these Smṛti-writers see Chap. III, footnote 76 below.

[345a] In case we do not admit the early origin and distinct tradition of the language of the Devī-p., Pauṣkara-saṃhitā etc. and these works are taken to be of dates not going beyond the third century A.D., we fail to understand why these works should be composed in a synthetic language in imitation of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit in spite of the fact that the Buddhists themselves had begun to look upon their own hybrid Sanskrit with growing apathy and to Sanskritise their hybrid texts from a much earlier date going as far back as the beginning of the Christian era.

[346] This is shown by the traditional use of different kinds of Prakrit in Sanskrit dramas, as well as by the fact that the learned and extremely intelligent Vaihasika, who was the prototype of the Vidūṣaka and who was engaged by kings and harlots for the extremely difficult task of psychological study of people, spoke not in Sanskrit but in some popular dialect, in order to hide his own identity and learning. For more information about this Vaihasika and the Vidūṣaka of Sanskrit dramas see our article on "The Vidūṣaka in Sanskrit Dramas—His Origin" published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (Letters), 1953, pp. 85-103.

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it might have to be made for practical purposes, and, even in spite of the deep association of Prakrit with the daily life of the people, it could not be replaced by the latter, nor could it be allowed to change its appearance by taking the latter's phonology and morphology, because the persons for whom the said works were meant were Hindus and it was Sanskrit (be it Vedic, epic or otherwise) which had long been accepted by the Hindus as the language of their religious works.

It is true that the un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit, as now found particularly in the Devī-p. and the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā, has many peculiar features in common with the language of the two great epics of India, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. But we cannot overlook the fact that these two epics remarkably lack the variety and frequency of grammatical and other irregularities, very often made under the influence of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, which we find in the Devī-p. and the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā. This dissimilarity, which is deep as well as extensive, is very striking and shows definitely that the language of the Devī-p., Pauṣkara-saṃhitā, and similar other works was not derived from the epics. We have already seen that this peculiar language originated long before the rise of the Buddhist hybrid texts. So, the assumption of derivation of this un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit from the epics would create insurmountable difficulties in explaining away the variations referred to above. It appears that even in the pre-Pāṇinian period a kind of grammatically incorrect Sanskrit (of which a later and probably more improved form is presented by the Devī-p. etc.) had come into being among the less cultured sections of the Vedic and allied population as a result of the contact of the Vedic language (including pre-Pāṇinian Sanskrit), on the one hand, and the early Prakrits and their Apabhraṣṭa forms current in the lower strata of the society, on the other, and that this synthetic language, which was evidently evolved for practical purposes, could not be set aside totally by the cultured Aryans because of their daily necessity of maintaining religious, social, economic, political or cultural contact

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with the other sections of the population.[347] But, as we have already said, Aryan supremacy in Indian society demanded that this synthetic language should be more Sanskrit than Prakrit, whatever its basis may be, and it is for this reason that in the Devī-p. we find the Sanskritised forms of such Prakrit words as were originally non-Sanskritic or were derived from Sanskrit, but the Vibhaktis and Pratyayas are very often Sanskrit. The present Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, attempted at religious synthesis by bringing about a compromise between the popular religious views and those of the orthodox followers of the Vedas, who had great faith in the Vedic sacrificial religion as well as in the varṇāśrama-dharma. As they were meant for guiding the unorthodox members of the Hindu society in their religious, social and individual life in conformity

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[347] In pointing out, in his Mahābhāṣya (pp. 12ff.), the various purposes served by the study of grammar, Patañjali says that it ensures perfect protection of the Vedas through knowledge of elision, augmentation, and change of letters, places the Brahmin priests of sacrifice in a position to make the right use of the Vedic Mantras by effecting necessary modifications in these, by acquiring knowledge of these, and by removing doubts as regards their meanings by correct accentuation, and offers a means of earning knowledge of words within a short period. Patañjali further says that by studying this science a Brahmin (who is the custodian of the Vedas and has to perform sacrifices) learns to avoid the employment of originally wrong (*mleccha*) and mispronounced (apabhāṣita) words (like 'helaya' for 'he arayaḥ'), and also of such words as become defective due to the use of wrong accents or letters. He then adds:

"yo hi śabdāñ jānāty apaśabdān apy asau jānāti / yathaiva hi śabda-jñāne dharmaḥ, evam apaśabda-jñāne 'py adharmaḥ / atha vā bhūyān adharmaḥ prāpnoti / bhūyāṃso 'paśabdāḥ, alpīyāṃsaḥ śabdā iti / ekaikasya hi śabdasya bahavo 'pabhraṃśāḥ / tad yathā gaur ity asya śabdasya gāvī goṇī gotā gopotalik-ety-ādayo bahavo 'pabhraṃśāḥ / atha yo 'vāg-yoga-vid ajñānaṃ tasya śaraṇam / /"

"One, who knows the [correct] words, also knows the incorrect ones. Just as merit accrues with the knowledge of [correct] words, in the same way demerit also arises with the knowledge of incorrect words. Or, greater becomes the demerit, [because] the incorrect words are more numerous, [whereas] the [correct] words are comparatively small [in number]. For, each individual word has many wrong forms, just as the word 'gauḥ' (meaning 'cow') has many deteriorated forms like 'gāvī', 'goṇī', 'gotā', 'gopotalikā, etc. Now, one who does not know the formation and use of correct words, has ignorance as his resort."

From Patañjali's statement it is evident that even the orthodox Brahmin followers of the Vedas widely used in their everyday life such words as were originally wrong or became wrong due to wrong pronunciation or want of knowledge of grammar; and this, in spite of their high education, was possible because of their close contact with the masses who were very often indifferent to or ignorant of the rules of Sanskrit grammar.

See also Mahābhāṣya, pp. 87 and 89.

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with the prescriptions of the Vedas, their language, though chastened to a great extent, could not eliminate the popular elements fully but followed a middle course lying between correct Sanskrit and the highly incorrect synthetic language of the pre-Pāṇinian days, an idea of which we get mainly from the Devī-p.

For want of early records of this synthetic Sanskrit it is not possible for us to say anything definitely about its constituents. It is highly probable that during the long period of its growth, the popular dialects of different parts of India made their contributions to its making.

The association of this synthetic Sanskrit with the popular religious literatures of the Hindus was a matter of such a hoary past and was consequently so well established in the country that in spite of their having a synthetic language of their own, which we have named as hybrid Sanskrit, the Buddhists composed their Tantras (except the Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa[348]) in a kind of Sanskrit which agrees much more with the language of the Devī-p. than with their own hybrid Sanskrit. In these works Prakrit phonology and morphology are remarkably wanting, except in the Gāthās (which must have been derived from older sources), and many irregular forms of words, like those in the Devī-p., have been used. For instance, the Prajñā-pāramitā-sādhana[349] of Asaṅga[350] has '*atra*' (with the Taddhita suffix 'tral' in place of the seventh case-ending) for 'asya' in 'atrāpy upari .....', and 'vāma-*dakṣiṇe cotpale*' (for '-dakṣiṇayoś cotpalayoḥ') on p. 324; the Guhya-samāja-tantra, which is one of the earliest Buddhist Tantras written not later than the seventh century A.D.[351], shows signs of laxity about the use of gender (as in 'jātikāṃ trividham'

[348] In this work we find a number of the leading features of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit as well as of the language of the Devī-p. and the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā.

[349] Sādhana-mālā, No. 159, pp. 321-5.

[350] Asaṅga probabhy lived in the fourth century A.D.—See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 355ff.; also p. 392. Benoytosh Bhattacharya places Asaṅga about 270-350 A.D.—See Sādhana-mālā, II, Introduction, pp. xl and xciv-xcv.

[351] See Sādhana-mālā, II, Introduction, pp. xxvii ff., xxxv; Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 394ff.

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on p. 33), and has *pūja*' (for 'pūjā') in 'pūja-hetunā' on p. 33, '*cintya*' (for 'cintayitvā') on pp. 52, 53, '*gṛhya*' (for 'gṛhītvā') on p. 52, '*bhāvitvā*' (for 'bhāvayitvā') on p. 35, '*prabhāvitvā*' (for 'prabhāvya') on p. 53, '*cintet*' (for 'cintayet') on p. 40, and '*daśa*', '*pañca*', '*sapta*' etc. (for 'daśama', 'pañcama', 'saptama' etc.) on p. 152; the Trisamayarāja-sādhana[352] of unknown authorship has '*ime vajra-padāḥ* (for 'imāni vajra-padāni') on p. 2, '*kleśa-duḥkha-jālān*' (for '-jālāni') and '*sarva-sukhān*' (for '-sukhāni') on p. 4, '*mahām*' (for 'mahatīm') on p. 4, '*dentu*' (for 'dadatu') on p. 2, '*dadāhi*'[353] (for 'dehi') on pp. 4 and 7, '*vidhunāhi*' (for 'vidhunu') on p. 4, and '*nyaset*' (for 'nyasyet') on pp. 4, 5 and 6; the Trailokya-vaśaṃkara-lokeśvara-sādhanas[351] of Saraha have '*bali*' used in the neuter Gender on pp. 80 and 83 (idaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa . . ., in which 'bali', though taken as neuter, has been declined as masculine), and '*dhyāyāt*'[355] (for 'dhyāyet') on p. 80 and '*gṛhṇa*' (for 'gṛhāṇa') on pp. 80 and 83; the Vajratārā-sādhana[356] of Dharmākaramati has '*devatī*'[357] (for 'devatā') in 'daśa-devatī-parivṛtam' on p. 195 and in 'devatīnām' and 'madhya-puṭa-devatīnām' on p. 199; the Viśva-mātā-sādhana[358] uses the inflected words '*mātā*' and '*bhuvi*' as basic words (for 'mātṛ' and 'bhū') in 'viśva-mātā-sādhanam' and 'viśva-mātāyai namaḥ' on p. 240, and 'sakala-bhuvi-tale' on the same page respectively; the Kalpokta-tārodbhava-kurukullā-sādhana[359] has '*mayūkhā*' (for 'mayūkha') and '*nirmalina*' (for 'nirmala') on p. 343 (tasya citra-mayūkhābhiḥ kṛtvā nirmalinaṃ jagat), '*trātā*' (for 'trātrī') on p. 344 (kṣantavyaṃ tat tvayā devi yatas trātāsi dehinām), '*śodhya*' (for 'śodhayitvā') on p. 343, '*dadanti*' (for 'dadati') on p. 346, '*trāṇana*' (for 'trāṇa') on p. 346 (mamāpi trāṇanārthāya kha-vajr-ādyaṃ dadāhi me), and the compounds 'dhūpa-

[352] Sādhana-mālā, No. 1, pp. 1-14.
[353] For the form '*dadāhi*' see also *ibid.*, pp. 231, 346 etc.
[354] Sādhana-mālā, Nos. 35-36, pp. 79-83.
[355] For '*dhyāyāt*' see also *ibid.*, pp. 198, 327, 345, 349, 352 etc.
[356] Sādhana-mālā, No. 97, pp. 195-200.
[357] For '*devatī*' see also *ibid.*, p. 240.
[358] Sādhana-mālā, No. 113, p. 240.
[359] *Ibid.*, No. 17, pp. 343-7.

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puṣpa-*tathā*-dīpa-gandha-naivedya-saṃcayaiḥ (with the indeclinable 'tathā' as an intervening member) on p. 343, '*mahad-bhūtā*' (for 'mahābhūtā') on p. 346 and '*yathecchayā*' (for 'yatheccham') on p. 346; the Tārodbhava-kurukullā-sādhana[360] of Muktaka (*circa*. 1100 A.D.) has the word '*upaśama*' used in the neuter gender on p. 349 (... prathama-māse rogādy-upaśamaṃ bhavati) and conjugates 'labh' as '*labhet*' (for 'labheta') on the same page; the Śukla-kurukullā-sādhana[361] has '*samidhāni*' (for 'samidhaḥ') on p. 369, '*jāta-mātreṇa*' (for 'jāta-mātram') on p. 364, and 'cakrāṅkitaṃ śveta-phaṇinaṃ punar narair niḥśaṅkaṃ dhriyate' (for 'cakrāṅkitaḥ śvetaphaṇī punar narair niḥśaṅkaṃ dhriyate') on p. 371; the Ṣaḍbhuja-kurukullā-bhaṭṭārikā-sādhana[362] has '*nimantrayāmi*' (for 'nimantraye') and '*cariṣye*' (for 'cariṣyāmi') on p. 379; and so on. For instances of metrical irregularities in the Sādhana-mālā reference may be made to p. 196 (aṣṭa-bhujāṃ kanaka-varṇāṃ ..., catur-buddha-mahāmukuṭīm ..., with more syllables than eight in a Pāda), p. 265 (... dvibhujaikajaṭā-sādhanam), p. 343 (... kurukulla-parvate gatām, in which the word 'kulla' of two syllables has to be pronounced as 'kul' of one syllable), and so on. It is to be noted that the grammatical and other irregularities in the Tantric texts mentioned above, are much less varied and frequent than in the Devī-p. and the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā and that even the Gāthās, derived from older sources, have often been Sanskritised in such a way that the number of Prakritisms in them has gone down in many cases. These variations and the fact that the Buddhist Tantras cannot possibly be dated earlier than the fourth century A.D. show that it was the linguistic tradition of the Saṃhitās, Āgamas and Tantras of the Hindus which influenced the language of the Buddhist Tantras, and not *vice versa*.

From what has been said above it appears that the prototype of the synthetic Sanskrit now found in the Devī-p.

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[360] *Ibid.*, No. 172, pp. 347-356.
[361] *Ibid.*, No. 180, pp. 362-371.
[362] *Ibid.*, No. 182, pp. 379-380.

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and the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā attained the position of the medium of expression in religious and social matters in quite early days, that due to its wide popularity the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and undoubtedly also the early Purāṇas,[362a] aiming at religious synthesis as well as mass enlightenment, could not but imbibe many of the peculiarities of this language, and that in view of the influence of this synthetic Sanskrit as well as of Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa on all grades of people including even the Vedic priests, Pāṇini and others tried to set up the standard of correct Sanskrit by writing grammatical treatises. It is hardly necessary to say that it was not merely Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa with their peculiar phonology and morphology but a kind of widely circulated and deep-rooted incorrect Sanskrit based on or influenced by Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa, which stimulated and necessitated the setting up of a standard of correct Sanskrit and the compilation of grammatical works. It is highly gratifying to see that specimens, though of comparatively late dates, of this synthetic Sanskrit have been preserved for us in the Devī-p. and the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā.

As regards hybrid Sanskrit as found in the Buddhist texts mentioned above, it may be said that, being fully alive to the advantages of the synthetic Sanskrit of the Hindus, the Buddhists also adopted it in some of their works, but, finding that due to the prevalence of Sanskrit words and

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[362a] That once the un-Pāṇinian forms in the Purāṇas were more numerous and varied than those now found in the printed texts and comparatively late manuscripts of these works (in which the interfering hands of the scribes and editors cannot escape our notice) will be evident from the interesting collection of these made from printed texts as well as manuscripts by Anand Swarup Gupta and published in Purāṇam, Vol. IV, Part 2, 1962, pp. 277-297.

It may be stated here that there is no evidence to prove that the Purāṇas, or any parts or individual verses thereof, were originally composed in Prakrit and later on rendered into Sanskrit by the Purāṇic redactors (as said by F.E. Pargiter in his Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. xvii-xviii and 77-83, and Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 5-14, and by Anand Swarup Gupta in Purāṇam, IV, Part 2, p. 280). Equally baseless is Sri Gupta's surmise that the Purāṇas were originally composed in 'laukika-saṃskṛta' (by which he means classical Sanskrit or the 'Bhāṣā' of Pāṇini) but were later influenced by the 'loka-bhāṣā Prakrit' (loka-bhāṣayā prākṛtena prabhāvitam) in the course of their circulation by Vyāsa, Sūta and others. (See Purāṇam, IV, pp. 279-280.)

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forms it had receded much from actual life, they made it more practical by introducing into it Prakrit phonology and morphology in considerable measures in order to fulfil the wish of the Buddha that preachings of Buddhist doctrines should be made in popular dialects and according to a pronunciation which people can understand. If, in compliance with their Master's wish, the Buddhists made their preachings in *popular dialects* and did not adopt any kind of popular Sanskrit for the purpose, then we would find their religious texts composed in hybrid *Prakrit*[362b] and not in hybrid *Sanskrit* abounding in Sanskrit words and forms. It may be mentioned here that the intention underlying the use of hybrid Sanskrit in the compilation of some Buddhist religious texts was clearly and unquestionably the popularisation of the religious views of the Buddha, and that the Buddhists were always on the look out for possible means for occupying an advantageous position over the Hindus, who were their greatest rivals in the field of religion. So, their hybrid Sanskrit must have had, in its origin, some connection with contemporaneous popular life and could not be their own creation, because in the latter case a newly created language of this type might satisfy the personal whim or taste of its creators but would never find favour either with the literate Hindus for its Prakrit phonology and morphology or with the illiterate masses for its predominant Sanskrit elements.

Thus, from the linguistic point of view the importance of the Devī-p. is immense; and it opens up a new line of investigation, which, if made with a more thorough and critical study of the relevant sources, is expected to solve many problems relating to our language, religion and culture.

As we have already indicated, the whole of the Devī-p.

[362b] The prevalence of Prakrit phonology and morphology in the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists shows that the authors of the hybrid texts were quite familiar with some Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa which were quite different from Pali, and which, as Aśoka and Khāravela's inscriptions, Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa and others' dramas, and similar other records of early date amply indicate, were very closely associated with popular life in those days.

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is not metrical. There are many prose passages in some of its chapters, such as chaps. 9, 17, 33, 36, 77 and 116, and especially chaps. 55-56 and 109-110. The frequent occurrence of grammatical irregularities in these prose parts points to the general integrity of the work.

Tracts, claiming to be parts of the Devī-p., are very small in number. In the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat collection there are two Mss of the 'Devīpurāṇokta-durgāpūjā-paddhati' and 'Devīpurāṇe Vīrāṣṭamī-vrata-kathā'[363], and in the Dacca University collection there is a Bengali Ms of a Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa[364] claiming to be a part of the Devī-p. This Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa, which is quite different from the 'Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa' drawn upon in the Prāyaścitta-khaṇḍa (p. 82) claiming to be a part of Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, is a unique Purāṇic work dealing, in sixteen chapters, with the story of Maṅgala-caṇḍī as found in the Caṇḍī-maṅgala-kāvyas of Bengal. The Bengali script of its Ms and its story and other contents show that it was written in Bengal at a comparatively late date.

Before we finish our study of the Devī-p. we should say something about its contents as known from the references to and quotations from this work made in the Nibandhas.

In course of our attempt at tracing the verses ascribed to it by the Smṛti-writers of different parts of India we have found that hundreds of these verses do not occur in our present text of this Purāṇa. Although some of these untraceable verses are undoubtedly local additions, they deal, often in details, with various topics mostly of religious interest, as will be evident from the following list of their contents.

I. Worship of Devī (Durgā) in images of different articles such as gold, silver, earth, etc., or in a sword or a trident[365].

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[363] Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., p. 72.

[364] Ms No. 1617A (consisting of 78 folios and containing a fly leaf bearing the date 1723 Śaka).

[365] Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 7.

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Characteristic features of an image of Devī having eight, ten or twenty hands[366].

Names of leaves and flowers to be used in Devī-worship[367]. Praise of offer of Bilva-leaves to Devī[368]. Proper time and method of Devī-bodhana, Bilvābhimantraṇa, Patrikā-praveśa, Devī-pratimā-sthāpana, Devī-visarjana, etc.[369] Bathing of Devī with ghee, milk, curd, honey etc. and with the waters into which gold, gems, camphor and Aguru have been put[370]. Performance of Devī's ghṛtābhiṣeka (holy bath with ghee) in the month of Āśvina[371]. Devī-worship on the Aṣṭamī Tithi connected with Navamī[372]. Lustration of Devī (devī-nīrājana)[373].

Names of sixteen Devīs; performance of Mudrās; and offer of weapons[374].

Worship of Mātṛs[375].

Worship of virgin girls (kumārī-pūjā) with flowers etc.; feasts to be given to them on Śuklāṣṭamī, Navamī and Caturdaśī Tithis; and the virgin girls' placing of *akṣata* (thrashed and winnowed rice dried in the sun) on the head of the giver of the feast[376].

Worship of horses during Devī-worship[377].

Characteristics of persons fit for consecrating an image of Devī[378].

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[366] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 93 (12 lines).

[367] *Ibid.*, p. 23. Also Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 170, Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 640-641, Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 85.

[368] Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 155.

[369] Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 4, 7, 8, 11 etc.; Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, fols. 60a-b, 62b, 64b; Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 346; Śrāddha-kaumudī, p. 248; Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 3, 44; Kālasāra, pp. 88, 103, 105, 112 etc.; and so on.

[370] Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, pp. 142-7 (37 lines).

[371] Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 308.

[372] Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 50.

[373] Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 25; Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 37-38; Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 102.

[374] Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 71, Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 25.

[375] Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 91.

[376] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101 (20 lines), Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 376, 447.

[377] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 906.

[378] Aparārka's com. (p. 16) on Yāj. 1. 7, Nityācāra-paddhati, pp. 509-510, Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 1180.

According to the verses of the Devī-p. as quoted by Aparārka, a consecrator of an image of Devī is required to be 'vāma-dakṣiṇa-vettā', 'mātṛ-vedārtha-pāraga', 'pāñ-

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Construction of images of Hara and Gaurī according to Āgama, and detailed description of the method of celebrating their marriage[379].

Construction of an image of the Sun with his retinue[380].

Performance of *śānti* (pacificatory rite) in Āśvina-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī for the good of horses[381].

II. Performance of various Vratas, Pūjās etc., such as Kunda-caturthī-vrata[382], Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata[383], Nava-rātra-vrata[384], Puṣyārka-dvādaśī-vrata[385], Saṃkrānti-vrata[386], Manasā-pūjā[387], and detailed description of the method of Mṛtyuñjaya-pūjā[388].

Elaborate treatment of 'dvārī-bandha-vidhi'[389].

Statement of reasons for the name 'Akṣayā Tṛtīyā'[390].

Hoisting of flags on Bhādra-śuklāṣṭamī or Āśvina-śuklāṣṭamī[391].

Observances on the Caturthī Tithis of different months for the pleasure of Gaṇeśa[392].

Worship of different deities under different Nakṣatras (beginning with Aśvinī) for the fulfilment of different desires[393].

Detailed description of the method of performing Lakṣa-homa[394].

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carātrārtha-kuśala', and '*mātṛ-mantra*-viśārada'; according to those quoted in the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, he is to be 'pañcarātrārtha-kuśala' and '*mantra-tantr*-āvadhāraka'; and according to the verse quoted in the Nityācāra-pradīpa, he is to be 'pañcarātrārtha-kuśala' and '*mātṛ-cakra*-viśārada'.

379 Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 108-110 (45 lines).

380 Aparārka's com. (p. 570) on Yāj. 1. 296 (the quotation consisting of 16 lines).

381 Kālasāra, p. 80.

382 Kṛtya-kalpataru, VI, pp. 83-84; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 525-6.

383 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 823-6.

384 Tithi-nirṇaya (of Caṇḍeśvara), fol. 8a (many lines).

385 Kṛtya-kalpataru, VI, p. 351.

386 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 728-730 (34 lines).

387 Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 437.

388 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 216-7 (14 lines).

389 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 1007-1014 (149 lines).

390 Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 156.

391 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

392 Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 30-31 (20 lines).

393 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, pp. 878-9 (34 lines), 880-1 (25 lines).

394 Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, pp. 589-592 (51 lines).

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III. Gifts of artificial cows made of molasses, water and ghee in the months of Māgha, Āṣāḍha and Bhādra[395].

Gift of an image of Gaṇapati[396], of horses[397], of food, cows, milk, curd etc.[398], of shelter[399], and of dwelling houses[400].

IV. Instructions on the feeding of Brahmins, offering of *piṇḍas* to the deceased ancestors, and performance of Śrāddha in holy places[401].

Praise of the Ganges[402]. Rubbing of the body in the Ganges with Nāgakeśara, camphor etc.[403] Offer of lamp and incense to her[404]. Performance of Śiva-worship, feeding of Brahmins, taking of food at night (nakta-bhojana), and similar other acts on the Caturdaśī Tithi and Paurṇamāsī in Māgha and Vaiśākha on the bank of this river[405].

V. Performance of Śrāddha of persons meeting death in war or by throwing themselves into water or fire or from a high place[406].

Prohibition of Maghā-trayodaśī-śrāddha during Saṃkrānti and eclipses[407].

VI. Measurements of wells (with or without stairs) and tanks[408].

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[395] Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 513; Samaya-pradīpa, fols. 5a, 36a.

[396] Dāna-vākyāvalī, fol. 27b.

[397] Aparārka's com. (p. 372) on Yāj. 1. 210.

[398] *Ibid.*, p. 386.

[399] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 668 (13 lines).

[400] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 673-4 (19 lines).

[401] Pitṛ-bhakti, fol. 25b, Śrāddha-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi), p. 99, Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, pp. 129 and 245-6, Śrāddha-viveka (of Rudradhara), pp. 14-15, Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, p. 130, Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, pp. 10, 11, Śrāddha-kaumudī, pp. 268-9, Kālasāra, p. 479, Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 324-5.

[402] Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, p. 123. Also Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms, fol. 47b, where there are three metrical lines which do not occur in the printed edition.

[403] *Ibid.*, Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms, fols. 49b-50a (containing one verse not occurring in the printed edition).

[404] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[405] Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, pp. 247-250 (60 lines).

[406] Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, p. 23.

[407] Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, p. 25.

[408] Daṇḍa-viveka, p. 314.

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Elaborate description of the methods of consecrating wells and gardens[409] and of planting trees[410].

VII. A literate and highly placed Śūdra's attainment of the sin of a Mahāpātaka by speaking immodestly[411].

Results of a Brahmin or a similar person's dining in the house of a harlot or a similar woman, a Yati's intercourse with harlots etc., and a Śiva-yogin's association with wine etc.[412]

A king's enforcing of Siddhānta-śāstras and Veda-śāstras on his people[413].

Unfavourable results of giving no smoke to cow-pens for removing mosquitos and of milking a cow whose calf has died[414].

Signs of a bull (viz., its exceptionally strong back and neck) capable of carrying a heavy burden[415].

Punishment of those who hate the Śiva-śāstras or decry the Vedas; unassailable authority of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata[416].

Detailed description of the method of purifying the site for a house[417].

Elaborate account of 'bhṛgu-patana'[418].

Besides the untraceable verses with the contents mentioned above, there are numerous others which have been quoted individually or in small groups in the Smṛti-nibandhas. As they deal with miscellaneous topics of minor interest, they have been overlooked here. It is to be noted that all the verses referred to above were not known to and quoted by all the Nibandha-writers, but some of them

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409 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 1003 (6 lines), 1004 (16 lines).

410 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 1044-47 (54 lines).

411 Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 194.

412–3 Daṇḍa-viveka, pp. 270, 271; Vivāda-ratnākara, p. 631 (9 lines including the following two: tasmād rājā samācāraṃ dharmādharme vyavasthitaḥ / siddhānta-veda-śāstrāṇāṃ pālanāya niyojayet //)

414 Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, p. 462.

415 *Ibid.*, p. 197; Gṛhastha-ratnākara, p. 433.

416 Aparārka's com. (pp. 10-11) on Yāj. 1.7.

417 Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 415, 417, 419.

418 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 964-9 (101 lines).

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were current in some particular part or parts of India, while others were known in other parts. This shows that the text of the Devī-p. was not the same everywhere but differed considerably in different provinces. It is true that some of these untraceable verses simply went under the name of the Devī-p. but did not form actual parts of its text, while some others, actually belonging to other Purāṇas, must have been ascribed wrongly to the Devī-p.

We have already indicated that in spite of its Tantric elements the Devī-p. attained great prominence as an authoritative work. Its popularity became so much that some enthusiastic Śāktas gave it out to be the original 'Bhāgavata' Purāṇa on account of its dealing with the glory, exploits, and method of worship of 'Bhagavatī' (Durgā). As a matter of fact, on p. 349 of his Kṛtya-ratnākara Caṇḍeśvara takes the word 'bhāgavatān', occurring in a verse of the 'Bhaviṣya-p.', to mean 'bhagavatī-bhaktān', and on pp. 357-8 he quotes Devī-p., chap. 21, by naming the work as 'Devī-purāṇa' at the beginning and as '*Bhāgavata-p.*' at the end and by giving the number of the chapter as '*forty-eight*'[419]. It is hardly necessary to say that this claim failed to earn general support[420].

2. *The Kālikā-Purāṇa.*

The present Kālikā-p.,[421] which is also sometimes called

[419] 'bhāgavata-purāṇe devy-avatāre navamī-kriyā-sūcanam aṣṭa-catvāriṃśo 'dhyāyaḥ'.—Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 358.

[420] Cf. the verse

'bhagavatyāś ca durgāyaś caritaṃ yatra vartate /
tat tu bhāgavataṃ proktaṃ *na tu devī-purāṇakam* //'

occurring in chap. 23 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bengal Śiva-p. and quoted by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on the Devī-bhāgavata. (For further information on this verse see footnote 194 above).

[421] The Veṅkaṭ. ed., though consisting of 93 chapters, is practically the same as the Vaṅga. ed. (of 90 chapters) published with a Bengali translation in Calcutta, 1316 B.S. The corresponding chapters in the two editions are the following:—

Veṅkaṭ. ed.		Vaṅga. ed.
Chaps. 1-23	=	Chaps. 1-23 respectively.
,, 24-25	=	Chap. 24.
,, 26-42	=	Chaps. 25-41 respectively.
,, 43-44	=	Chap. 42.
,, 45-63	=	Chaps. 43-61 respectively.
Chaps. 64-65	=	Chap. 62.
,, 66-67	=	,, 63.
,, 68-79	=	,, 64-75 respectively.
Chap. 80	=	Chaps. 76-77.
Chaps. 81-93	=	,, 78-90 respectively.

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'Kālī-purāṇa'[422] and is regarded as one of the most authoritative works by the comparatively late Nibandha-writers especially as regards Śakti-worship, is begun, like the Devī-p.,

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Besides the two editions mentioned above, there is another by Hrishikesh Shastri (Calcutta, 1910). The Bombay ed. of 1891 mentioned by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1191, is the same as the first ed. of this Purāṇa published by the Veṅkaṭ. Press in Śaka 1813.

For Mss of the present Kālikā-p. see:

(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1189-92 [No. 3339.—This is a complete Ms (No. 2943) of 91 chapters, written in Bengali characters and 'presenting on the whole the most correct text'. Eggeling's description of this Ms shows that it is practically the same as the printed editions mentioned above.] and p. 1192 [Nos. 3340-3343.—All these four Mss Nos. 952, 919, 1515 and 2563 respectively are written in Devanāgarī. No. 3343 is incomplete and reaches as far as chap. 45 of No. 3339 mentioned above.]

(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 78, No. 132 (written in Devanāgarī).

(3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 748 [No. 4088.—This is an old Nāgara Ms (No. 980), dated 1668 Śaka and complete in 90 chapters.], and VIII (revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti), p. 70 [No. 5874.—This is an incomplete Nāgara Ms (No. 8753) dated Saṃvat 1929 and calling itself 'Kālī-purāṇa' and claiming to belong to the Mahākāla-saṃhitā of the Rudra-yāmala-tantra in the colophon, which runs as follows: iti rudra-yāmale tantre umā-maheśvara-saṃvāde mahākāla-saṃhitāyāṃ śrī-kālī-purāṇo 'yaṃ samāptam.]

(4) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 10-11, Nos. 13-14. [No. 13 is a very old, worn-out, worm-eaten, complete Newari Ms dated 202 Nepali era and calling itself 'Kālī-purāṇa' in the final colophon. No. 14 is an old, undated, complete Ms written in Bengali characters.]

(5) Mitra, Notices, I, p. 80, No. 149.—A complete Nāgara Ms deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society Calcutta.

All the above-mentioned Mss are generally the same as our printed editions.

For other Mss of the present Kālikā-p. see (1) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i. pp. 907-8 (its contents being generally the same as those of Eggeling, No. 3339); (2) Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., pp. 69-70 (two complete Bengali Mss of 90 chapters each) and p. 70 (No. 1241—a very old Bengali Ms); (3) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 337 (two complete Nāgara Mss); (4) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 187; (5) Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 81; (6) Roth, Tübingen Cat., p. 13; (7) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7163-64, No. 10565 (incomplete); (8) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 56 (dated 1684 Śaka and complete in 90 chapters), 583B (dated 1672 Śaka and complete in 96 chapters), 633 (dated 1767 Śaka and complete in 95 chapters), 877 (incomplete), 943 (consisting of 90 chapters but missing fols. 1-5), 2671 (incomplete), 2890 (complete in 90 chapters), 3268 (dated 1716 Śaka and complete in 90 chapters), and 4235 (incomplete); (9) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. ii, pp. 1608-1610, Nos. 2342-43 (Telugu Mss, the first of which is complete in 90 chapters); (10) Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, p. 127, No. 447 (complete and written in Bengali script); and so on.

In the Preface, p. lxxxix to his translation of the Viṣṇu-p. Wilson mentions a Ms of the Kālikā-p. of 98 chapters.

[422] See Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 14, 18 and 20, wherein there are some verses from the 'Kālī-p.' which are found in the present Kālikā-p. See also Durgotsava-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi), p. 17 and Vīramitrodaya, Rājanīti-prakāśa, p. 39. In the final colophons of two Mss of the Kālikā-p. preserved in the Calcutta Sans. College and the Asiatic

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by an unknown reporter with a salutation to Puruṣottama Hari and his illusive Māyā. This reporter informs us that once some sages, Kamaṭha and others, approached Mārkaṇḍeya who lived near the Himalayas, and requested him to speak on the following topics: How Kālī, as Satī, fascinated Śiva, the foremost of those who subdued their organs of senses; how Satī was born to Dakṣa; how Śiva was inclined to accept her as his wife; how Satī immolated herself through rage against Dakṣa and was reborn as the daughter of Himālaya; and how she occupied half of the body of Śiva, 'the enemy of Smara'.[423] Consequently, Mārkaṇḍeya mentioned how he inherited these Purāṇa topics from Brahmā successively through the sages Nārada, Bālakhilyas, Yavakrīta and Asita,[424] and began with a salutation to Cakra-pāṇi (Viṣṇu), by worshipping whom, he said, Brahmā became the creator.[425] Mārkaṇḍeya then went on narrating the above-mentioned topics with relevant digressions which are no less important and interesting than the main topics. Thus, the contents of the present Kālikā-p.[426] are as follows:

Chap. 1.—Brahmā's creation of Dakṣa and other Prajāpatis as well as of the ten sages named Marīci, Atri etc.; and the birth of a beautiful damsel (named Saṃdhyā) and of a flower-missiled male of unparalleled beauty from Brahmā's mind. Brahmā assigned to this person the duty of helping the eternal process of creation by influencing all, male and female, by means of his flowery shafts of love.

Chap. 2.—The sages gave this person the names Manmatha, Kāma, Manobhava, Madana, Darpaka and Kandarpa, and to the first-born woman the name of Saṃdhyā.

Society (Calcutta) the work is called 'Kālī-purāṇa' (see the immediately preceding footnote). In his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1192 (No. 3340) Eggeling describes a Ms (of the extant Kālikā-p.) which calls itself 'Bṛhat-kālīpurāṇa' on fol. 1a; a 'Kālī-p.' is drawn upon in the Kāśī-tattva-prakāśikā of Raghunāthendra-śivayogī (Shastri, Notices, I, pp. 59-61, No. 65).

[423] Kālikā-p. 1. 9-13.

[424] *Ibid.*, 1. 16-18.

[425] *Ibid.*, 1. 19-24.

[426] A summary of the contents of this work was published by V. Raghavan in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII, pp. 338-360.

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Brahmā's boon to Madana to be all-overpowering. Madana's standing in the ālīḍha pose and testing of the power of his arrows on Brahmā, Saṃdhyā, Dakṣa and the ten sages; and the consequent origin of 49 Bhāvas, the Hāvas such as '*vivvoka* etc.,' and the 64 Arts from the bodies of those who were influenced by Madana. Śiva's appearance at the spot, and his censure on Brahmā and others, with the result that the Agniṣvātta and Barhiṣad Pitṛs were born of the perspiration of the abashed Brahmā, a beautiful young girl was born from Dakṣa's sweat, and the Somapa, Sukālin, Ājyapa and Haviṣmanta (or Havirbhuj) Pitṛs were born from the sweat of Kratu, Vasiṣṭha, Pulastya and Aṅgiras respectively.

Chap. 3.—Brahmā's curse on Madana to be burnt to ashes by Śiva, but his assurance, on Madana's entreaty, that he would regain his body through Śiva's favour. Dakṣa's offer to Madana of the girl born from his own sweat and named by him Rati; and Madana's acceptance of that girl as his wife.

Chap. 4.—Brahmā's request to Madana to bring Śiva under the influence of love. Birth of Vasanta from the sigh of Brahmā, when the latter was thinking of a female who could captivate Śiva's mind. Brahmā's assurance that Madana would be helped in his attempt by Vasanta, Śṛṅgāra, Bhāvas, Hāvas, and the sixty-four Arts.

Chap. 5.—Dakṣa's penance, and Brahmā's eulogy[427] of Viṣṇu-māyā (also called Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā), in order to induce her to fascinate Śiva and become his wife; Viṣṇu-māyā's appearance in a beautiful and elevated form having a collyrium-dark complexion, four hands, and dishevelled hair, carrying a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands, and mounted on a lion.

Chap. 6.—Viṣṇu-māyā's consent to be born as a daughter of Dakṣa and fascinate Śiva. Brahmā informed Madana of Viṣṇu-māyā's consent and encouraged him to

[427] In this eulogy Viṣṇu-māyā is called 'vidyāvidyātmikā', 'jagad-dhātrī', 'paramātma-svarūpiṇī', 'trayīmayī', 'parāparātmikā', 'kālī', 'māyā', 'mahāmāyā', 'prakṛti' etc., and the Śakti of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and others.

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influence Śiva, but Madana hesitated and wanted to hear the glory of Viṣṇu-māyā. Brahmā felt discouraged at the words of Madana and began to sigh. Birth of Gaṇas of different forms and miens from Brahmā's sighs; and the naming of these Gaṇas as Māras, because they shouted "Kill, kill" (māraya, māraya) as soon as they were born. Brahmā's appointment of these Māras as Madana's assistants; and his description of the glory of Yoga-nidrā who is called Viṣṇu-māyā and Mahāmāyā and is described as the cause of creation, preservation and destruction.

Chap. 7.—Being requested by Brahmā to induce Śiva to accept Viṣṇu-māyā (reborn as the daughter of Ḍakṣa) as his wife, Madana narrated how he followed Śiva to the Himavat, Meru, Nāṭakeśvara and Kailāsa with Madhu (i.e. Vasanta), Rati and others in his train, and excited amorous sentiment even in the birds, animals and plants of these places but failed to influence Śiva and his bull. Madana, however, added that he would make a fresh attempt with the help of the Māras, after Viṣṇu-māyā was reborn to become the wife of Śiva.

Chap. 8.—Madana went with his retinue to Śiva's place. In the meantime Viṣṇu-māyā (also called Yoga-nidrā), being pleased with Dakṣa's penance, appeared before him as Kālikā who was mounted on a lion, had a dark complexion, heaving breasts, four hands, a beautiful face, dishevelled hair, and red eyes, and held a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands and assured boon and safety with the other two.[428] Dakṣa's eulogy of Kālikā; and the latter's consent to be born as Dakṣa's daughter and become the wife of Śiva. Kālikā's warning to Dakṣa that she would forsake her body the moment the latter would neglect her. Dakṣa then repaired to his own house and created many mindborn sons. Next, with a view to creating children by sexual intercourse Dakṣa married Vīraṇa's daughter named

[428] Kālikā-p. 8. 9-10—

siṃhasthāṃ kālikāṃ kṛṣṇāṃ pīnottuṅga-payodharām /
caturbhujāṃ cāru-vaktrāṃ nīlotpaladharāṃ śubhām //
varadābhayadāṃ khaḍga-hastāṃ sarva-guṇānvitām /
ārakta-nayanāṃ cāru-mukta-keśīṃ manoharām //

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Vīraṇī and Asaknī. Viṣṇu-māyā was born to Vīraṇī as a daughter and was named Satī. Satī's devotion to Śiva from her infancy. Nārada's blessing on Satī that she would be married to Śiva.

Chap. 9.—Satī attained youth and, with her mother's consent, worshipped Śiva with the offer of particular articles on particular days of different months (viz., on the Nandakā Tithi of Āśvina, and on the Kārttika-caturdaśī, Mārgaśīrṣa-kṛṣṇāṣṭamī, Pauṣa-kṛṣṇa-saptamī, Māgha-paurṇamāsī, Phālguna-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī, Caitra-śukla-caturdaśī, Vaiśākha-śukla-tṛtīyā, Jyaiṣṭha-pūrṇimā, Āṣāḍha-śukla-caturdaśī, Śrāvaṇa-śuklāṣṭamī, Śrāvaṇa-śukla-caturdaśī, and Bhādra-kṛṣṇa-trayodaśī). As soon as Satī began this Vrata, Brahmā and Viṣṇu went to Śiva with their wives, spoke on their unity and mutual relationship, and requested him to marry for the good of the world. Śiva agreed, and wanted to know whether there was any woman who might suit his nature. Brahmā named Satī. Madana was glad to hear this conversation and waited with Vasanta for the opportune moment.

Chap. 10.—Satī again performed the Nandā-vrata on the Āśvina-śuklāṣṭamī. Śiva appeared before Satī and, under the influence first of Madana's arrows named Harṣaṇa and Mohana and then of Māyā, granted her a boon that she would become his wife. Satī was glad, and with her collyrium-dark complexion shone before Śiva like the stain in the moon. She advised Śiva to make to her father Dakṣa a proposal of marriage, and went to her mother. Śiva also repaired to his own place in the Himālaya. Being anxious to have Satī, Śiva asked Brahmā to arrange the marriage. Brahmā met Dakṣa, had his consent, and returned to Śiva. Nārada, Marīci and other sages also arrived there.

Chap. 11.—With Brahmā, Nārada and others as well as with the Gaṇas in his train Śiva arrived at Dakṣa's house. Dakṣa gave Satī in marriage to Śiva at an auspicious moment. Viṣṇu then arrived there, praised Śiva's union with the dark-complexioned Satī, and asked Śiva to kill the 'dasyus' as well as that person who would look passionately at Satī,

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Brahmā became enamoured of Satī, so much so that his energy (tejas) fell on the ground and gave birth to the thundering clouds named Saṃvarta, Āvarta, Puṣkara and Droṇa. Śiva got enraged and was about to kill Brahmā with his trident. Dakṣa, Nārada and others tried to appease him, but Śiva persisted. Viṣṇu, however, pacified Śiva by pointing out that Brahmā, himself and Śiva were identical and not different from one another.

Chaps. 12-13.—Mārkaṇḍeya's elaborate reproduction of Viṣṇu's speech on the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, which is based on an explanation of the principles of the origin of the universe from Supreme Brahma (paraṃ brahma) which appears as Prakṛti (also called Māyā), Puruṣa and Kāla for the sake of creation. Śiva became absorbed in meditation; and Viṣṇu entered his body and made him realise Supreme Brahma, the whole process of creation, and the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Chap. 14.—Śiva sent away Viṣṇu and others, and went to the Himālaya and thence to Kailāsa with Satī and the Gaṇas. Being asked to live in a different place and to present themselves before Śiva whenever required, the Gaṇas went to Mahākoṣī-prapāta in the Himālaya.

Description of Śiva's love-sports with Satī in the caves and bowers of Kailāsa.

Śiva and Satī then went to the Mahākoṣī-prapāta. Madana also followed them there with Vasanta and Rati.

Description of the beauty of the spring created by Vasanta.

In this beautiful place Śiva lived with Satī for twenty-four divine years.

Chaps. 15-16.—At the advent of the rainy season (which is beautifully described in a few verses) Śiva went with Satī to Kailāsa and lived there for ten thousand (divine) years.

In the meantime Dakṣa made arrangements for the performance of a great sacrifice, in which all, except Śiva and Satī, were invited. Satī was enraged at this insult and

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gave up her life with the intention of being reborn as the daughter of Himālaya.

Chap. 17.—Śiva determined to destroy Dakṣa's sacrifice, and arrived at the latter's house. The sacrifice assumed the form of a deer and tried to escape. As Śiva pursued the Sacrifice even to Brahmā's region, it entered Satī's corpse, at the sight of which Śiva forgot the Sacrifice and began to weep for Satī.

Chap. 18.—When Śiva was thus weeping, Makaradhvaja struck him with his shafts. Śiva became mad with grief and lamented severely by mentioning Satī's name. Tears rolled down and threatened to burn the earth. So the gods eulogised Śanaiścara and engaged him to hold up Śiva's tears. The gods protected Śanaiścara by infatuating Śiva through Yogamāyā, but Śanaiścara was unable to hold Śiva's tears for a long time. He deposited these in the 'great mountain' Jaladhāraka which was situated in Puṣkaradvīpa on the west of the ocean of water. These tears rent the mountain also and finally reached Yama's region, where these tears assumed the form of the river Vaitaraṇī and flowed into the eastern sea.

With Satī's body on his shoulder Śiva went to the eastern provinces and roamed about like a mad man. In order to relieve Śiva of the corpse, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śanaiścara entered it, cut it into pieces, and made these pieces fall at certain places on earth.

At Devīkūṭa fell Satī's feet first of all;
at Uḍḍiyāna fell Satī's thighs;
on the Kāma-giri in Kāmarūpa (kāmarūpe kāma-girau) fell Satī's female organ;
towards the east on the plane in Kāmarūpa fell Satī's navel (tatraiva nyapatad bhūmau pūrvato nābhi-maṇḍalam);
at Jālandhara fell Satī's breasts adorned with a golden necklace; and
on the Pūrṇagiri beyond Kāmarūpa fell Satī's shoulders and neck (and head ?).

That part of the earth, which Śiva traversed with Satī's

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body on his shoulder, became known as the sacrificial country in the east (prācyeṣu yājñiko deśaḥ). The other limbs of Satī were cut by the gods into small pieces and blown by the wind into the heavenly Ganges. Śiva resorted, in the forms of *liṅgas*, to those places where Satī's feet and other limbs fell; and Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śani and other gods worshipped these limbs at these places. The great goddess Yoga-nidrā was called

Mahābhāgā at Devīkūṭa,
Kātyāyanī at Uḍḍiyāna,
Kāmākhyā at Kāmarūpa,
Pūrṇeśvarī on the Pūrṇagiri,
Caṇḍī on the Jālandhara mountain, and
Dikkaravāsinī and Lalitakāntā at the eastern border of Kāmarūpa.

Śiva sat down at the place where Satī's head fell, and began to lament. Brahmā and others came to console Śiva, but the latter turned himself into a *liṅga* out of shame and grief. The gods eulogised the *liṅga;* and Śiva came out of it. Brahmā requested Śiva to overcome grief and assured him that Satī would be born again to become his wife. Śiva and Brahmā went to Kailāsa and thence to Oṣadhiprastha, where Himavat received them with due honour. Śiva met Vijayā, and the latter began to weep for Satī.

Chaps. 19-23.—Brahmā's consolation to Śiva, and his taking of the latter to the solitude of the lake Śipra, which was situated on the west of Himavat's capital and from which the river Śiprā came out.

[Digressions:—

(1) Story of the origin of the river Śiprā from the waters with which Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahādeva sprinkled Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī on the Mānasācala at the time of their marriage and which flowed into the lake Śipra on the Himālaya. This extremely sacred river rushed out of that lake and fell into the southern ocean after going round the Mahendra mountain (parivṛtya mahendram). Praise of bath in the river Śiprā in the month of Kārttika,

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(2) Story of Vasiṣṭha's marriage with Arundhatī.—Brahmā's mind-born daughter Saṃdhyā deemed herself polluted by the influence of Kāma as well as by the amorous glances of Brahmā and his mind-born sons and determined to expiate her sin. She went to the Candrabhāga mountain, took her residence at the side of a beautiful lake named Bṛhallohita, and practised penance there for four *yugas* according to the instructions of Vasiṣṭha (who advised her to worship Viṣṇu and mutter the *mantra* 'oṃ namo vāsudevāya om'). She threw her body (which was converted into a cake) into the fire of the sacrifice instituted by Medhātithi and was reborn as the daughter of the latter. After she had received instructions from Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī, Drupadā and Bahulā on chastity, she fell in love with Vasiṣṭha and was duly married to him. From the nuptial waters of Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī arose seven rivers—Śiprā, Kauṣikī, Kāverī, Gomatī, Devikā, Sarayū and Irāvatī, which flowed into the southern ocean.

(3) Mārkaṇḍeya accounted for the name of the mountain Candrabhāga and explained the origin of the river Candrabhāgā by narrating the story of Dakṣa's curse on the Moon. According to this story, the Moon neglected all his wives except Rohiṇī and cursed them to be known as 'ugra', 'tīkṣṇa' and 'ayātrika' (inauspicious for start). Being unable to correct him by repeated warnings, Dakṣa cursed him to be attacked with the worst type of Phthisis. As a result of this curse the Moon began to wane. But Brahmā cured him of the disease by bathing him in the holy waters of the lake Bṛhallohita. Brahmā then divided the Moon into sixteen parts for the benefit of the gods and the Pitṛs. A stream named Sītā originated at the place where the gods met for saving the Moon. This stream first fell into the lake Bṛhallohita. It then came out of this lake under the name of Chandrabhāgā and flowed into the southern ocean by piercing the western side of the Himalayas.]

Chap. 24.—Finding that Śiva was trying to get composed, Brahmā and other gods eulogised Yoga-māyā and

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prayed to her to withdraw herself from Śiva's heart. Yoga-māyā abided by the prayer. Viṣṇu then entered Śiva's heart and gave him insight into the intricacies of creation, preservation and destruction as well as into all the incidents concerning Satī. Śiva got composed and remained absorbed in meditation for one thousand divine years.

[Chaps. 25-41.—Digressions:—

Description of ādi-sarga (primary creation).—Division of time into *nimeṣa*, *kāṣṭhā*, *kalā*, *kṣaṇa*, *muhūrta* etc. according to divine and human standards; duration of the different *yugas*; description of *pralaya* (called *prākṛta laya*) preceding creation; account of primary creation (including Viṣṇu's assumption of the forms of Yajña-varāha and Ananta for raising and supporting the earth respectively, origin of Rudra and Virāṭ, Brahmā's creation of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu, Dakṣa and the ten mind-born sons, and Varāha's furnishing the earth with seven oceans and seven continents).—Chaps. 25-26.

Description of secondary creation (pratisarga) by Rudra, Virāṭ, Manu, Dakṣa, and Marīci and other mind-born sons of Brahmā.—Chap. 27.

Definition of 'Manvantara'; and description of *pralaya* occurring at the end of a Manvantara. Viṣṇu's sleep on the serpent-bed. Brahmā's desire for creation, and his consequent eulogy of Yoga-nidrā to rouse Viṣṇu. Beginning of creation by Brahmā.—Chap. 28.

Worthlessness of everything except Brahmā. Praise of *nivartaka dharma*, by practising which one can attain the Permanent (nitya).—Chap. 29.

Viṣṇu's continued amorous sports with the Earth by assuming the form of a Boar; and the birth of three powerful sons named Suvṛtta, Kanaka and Ghora. Trouble created by these sons as well as by the Boar himself to the whole creation. Śiva and others' prayer to Viṣṇu to give up his Boar-form. Viṣṇu's instruction to Śiva to kill the Boar by assuming the form of a Śarabha. The Śarabha's unsuccessful fight with the Boar and his sons, and its killing

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of the Narasiṃha, after Viṣṇu had infused his own energy into it. Origin of the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa from the two parts of the body of the Narasiṃha. The Boar's request to the Śarabha to construct implements of sacrifice with his limbs, and to protect the son conceived by the Earth during the period of her menstruation and to kill him when he would become a burden to the Earth. The Śarabha's killing of the Boar and his sons, after the latter had transferred their own energy to Viṣṇu's body. Origin of innumerable *pramathas* of varied forms from the Śarabha's breaths. Classification of these *pramathas*; and description of their conduct.—Chaps. 30-31.

Origin of 1008 kinds of sacrifices (including Mahāmedha, Naramedha, Gomedha etc.)[429] as well as of the sacrificial implements from the different parts of the body of Yajña-varāha severed by Viṣṇu. Origin of Dakṣiṇāgni, Gārhapatyāgni and Āhavanīyāgni from the bodies of Suvṛtta, Kanaka and Ghora respectively.—Chap. 32.

Description of *ākālika pralaya* (untimely deluge) which followed the Vārāha Kalpa and which was invited by sage Kapila by way of cursing Manu who had refused to grant to the sage a piece of land fit for the practice of penance. Story of the Fish incarnation, which saved Manu and the seeds of creation during the deluge.—Chaps. 33-34.

Story of the Tortoise incarnation, which supported the earth and levelled its surface at the end of the *ākālika pralaya*. Svāyaṃbhuva Manu's saving of the seeds of creation. Creation by Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Descendants of Dakṣa, Marīci and others.—Chap. 35.

Śiva's discarding his Śarabha-form. Origin of Kapālibhairava from the middle part of the body of the Śarabha. Mention of the rites and practices of the Kāpālikas (kapālavrata-dhāriṇaḥ):—They offer, into the fire, meat besmeared with brain and fat and placed in the skull of a Brahmin; they worship their deity with wine and offer to him human flesh; they always drink blood; after performing sacrifices

[429] For the names of these sacrifices see chap. 32, verses 13-27.

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they break their fast with wine; and they hold skulls in their hands, wear unclean tiger-skins, and have Kapāli-bhairava as their deity.[430] Kapāli-bhairava, who is also called Śmaśāna-bhairava and Mahābhairava, is as red as the morning sun, has eighteen hands and red eyes, sports always with Kālī, Pracaṇḍā and other nāyikās, takes fresh-burnt human flesh, drinks blood, wears garlands of severed hands, and has a massive face (sthūla-vaktraḥ), dangling lips (lamboṣṭhaḥ) and short but swelled legs. He is cheerful, laughs out boisterously, and makes queer sounds with his mouth. He is seated on a human corpse and is worshipped by men on the Caitra-śukla-caturdaśī with the offer of wine, meat, fish, blood, honey, fruits etc.—Chap. 36.

Story of the demon (asura) Naraka.—The Boar begot an extremely powerful son on the Earth during the period of her impurity, but the birth of the son was very much delayed by Brahmā and others for the good of the world. The Earth, therefore, went to Viṣṇu and sought his protection. Viṣṇu requested the Earth to bear the son in her womb until the entire Satya-yuga and the first half of the Tretā-yuga expired. He assured her that she would deliver the son after Rāma killed Rāvaṇa in the middle of the Tretā-yuga. The Earth, therefore, had to wait for the time of delivery.

In the meantime Janaka, the highly qualified but sonless king of Videha, felt a strong desire for a male child. Hearing from Nārada that Daśaratha got sons through a sacrifice, he instituted one with Gautama and his son Śatānanda as priests. As a result of this sacrifice, two sons and a daughter were born to him at the sacrificial ground (yajña-bhūmau).

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[430] Kālikā-p. 36. 11-15a—

madhyaṃ tu śārabhaṃ kāyaṃ śaṃkarasya mahātmanaḥ/
kapālī bhairavo bhūtaś caṇḍa-rūpī durāsadaḥ//
mastiṣka-medasā yuktaṃ māṃsaṃ juhvati ye śucau/
brahma-kapāla-pātrasthaṃ surābhir deva-pūjanam//
balir manuṣya-māṃsena pānaṃ tu rudhiraṃ sadā/
surayā pāraṇaṃ yajñe kapālodbhaṭa-dhāraṇam//
vyāghra-carma-parīdhānaṃ samalaṃ trivalī-vṛtam/
evaṃ kurvanti satataṃ kapālavrata-dhāriṇaḥ//
kapālī bhairavas teṣāṃ devaḥ pūjyas tu nityaśaḥ/

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As the daughter remained inside the earth, Janaka had to plough the sacrificial ground according to Nārada's advice. As soon as the daughter came out of a furrow (sītā), the Earth appeared before Janaka and told him that she would give birth to a son at the sacrificial ground, after she was relieved of her burden through the destruction of Rāvaṇa and other Rākṣasas for the sake of Sītā. She requested Janaka to bring up this son until he attained youth. She then handed over Sītā to Janaka and vanished. In course of time Viṣṇu assumed a human form and killed Rāvaṇa. The Earth then went to the sacrificial ground (yajña-bhūmi) of Janaka and gave birth to a heroic son at the place where Sītā was born. Being thought of by the Earth Viṣṇu appeared before her and said that her son would prosper so long as he would possess human feelings and sentiments (mānuṣa-bhāva), but as soon as he would cease to behave like a human being, he would cease to exist, and that he would become a king at the age of sixteen and rule over a concealed (nibhṛta) kingdom comprising the city named Prāgjyotiṣa.[431] Viṣṇu disappeared; and the Earth informed Janaka of the son born at dead of night (madhya-rātre). Janaka went at once to the place of sacrifice (yajña-vāṭa) and found there an extremely brilliant child 'that possessed the splendour of the petals of a blue lotus' (nīlotpala-dala-cchavi) and was crying and throwing its hands and feet to and fro. It rolled beyond the boundary of the sacrificial ground, lay on its back by placing its head on the skull of a human being, and continued to cry.[432] Janaka picked up the child and informed Gautama of the skull found under its head. Gautama consequently named it Naraka and performed its sacraments according to the

[431] Kālikā-p. 38. 44b-45a—
etasya nibhṛtaṃ rājyaṃ yat prāgjyotiṣa-saṃjñakam/
puraṃ tatra ciraṃ śāstā rājyam eṣa sutas tava//

[432] Kālikā-p. 38. 51b-53a—
udgacchan sa rudan bālo yajña-bhūmiṃ vyatītya ca/
kiyad-dūraṃ jagāmāśūttānaśāyī mahādyutiḥ//
manuṣyasya śiras tatra mṛtasya prāpya bālakaḥ/
svaśiras tatra vinyasya rudaṃs tasthau kṣaṇaṃ tadā//

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method followed in the case of a Kṣatriya. Janaka brought up Naraka for sixteen years and trained him up as a human being. The Earth also looked after Naraka in the guise of a nurse named Kātyāyanī. When Naraka was about to complete his sixteenth year, the Earth took him to the Ganges and narrated to him the story of his birth. Being eulogised by the Earth Viṣṇu appeared before her and took Naraka as well as the Earth to the city of Prāgjyotiṣa through the waters of the Ganges. This city was 'situated in the middle of Kāmarūpa', which had Kāmākhyā as the principal deity and 'was protected by Śaṃbhu (Śiva) so that it might form his own kingdom.'[433] The inhabitants of Kāmarūpa were the Kirātas, 'who looked like golden pillars, were devoid of knowledge, had shaved heads, and were solely bent on taking wine and meat'.[434] Being ordered by Viṣṇu Naraka waged war against Ghāṭaka,[435] king of the Kirātas, and killed him. Naraka then rode Ghāṭaka's white elephant, killed some of those unruly Kirātas who did not sumbit to him, and chased the rest beyond the place of goddess Dikkaravāsinī in the east. Those Kirātas who were thus driven out, resorted to the eastern sea-coast. Viṣṇu then performed Naraka's coronation and assigned to him the city which was named Prāgjyotiṣa because Brahmā created the eastern star by residing in it.[436] This city extended from the eastern side of the river Karatoyā to the place of Lalitakāntā; in it Mahāmāyā Yoga-nidrā remained always present in the form of Kāmākhyā, and there was the Lauhitya, 'the chief of all

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[433] Kālikā-p. 39. 103-105—

nimajya kṣaṇa-mātreṇa prāgjyotiṣa-puraṃ gataḥ/
madhyagaṃ kāmarūpasya kāmākhyā yatra nāyikā//
sa ca deśaḥ svarājyārthe pūrvaṃ guptaś ca śaṃbhunā/
kirātair balibhiḥ krūrair ajñair api ca vāsitaḥ//
rukma-stambha-nibhāṃs tatra kirātān jñāna-varjitān/
anartha-muṇḍitān madya-māṃsāśanaika-tatparān//

[434] For the relevant verse of the Kālikā-p. see the immediately preceding footnote.

[435] The Vaṅga. ed. and many of the Mss of the Kālikā-p. give the name of the Kirāta chief as 'Ghaṭaka.'

[436] Kālikā-p. 39. 126b-127a—

asya madhye sthito brahmā prāṅ-nakṣatraṃ sasarja ha/
tataḥ prāgjyotiṣākhyeyaṃ purī śakra-purī-samā//

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rivers' (nada-rājaḥ) and the son of Brahmā; and it was resorted to permanently, for sport, by Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu, the ten quarter-guardians, Śrī (under the name of Bhadrā), the Sun and the Moon. With Śiva's consent, Viṣṇu settled all the Kirātas in the east on the sea-coast lying between the eastern side of the place of Lalitakāntā and the sea. Having thus purged the Kirātas out of the tract of land which extended from the west of the place of Lalitakāntā to the river Karatoyā and which was the dwelling place of Kāmākhyā, Viṣṇu settled many Veda-knowing Brahmins as well as the sages and the members of the four castes and made this tract of land fit for constant Vedic study and donations, and the result was that this part of the land (deśa) soon came to be known as Kāmarūpa. Viṣṇu then married Naraka to Māyā, daughter of the king of Vidarbha, appointed him ruler of Kāmarūpa, made all arrangements for the proper fortification of his capital, and gave him a weapon named Śakti. He enjoined on Naraka the following prohibitions:— The latter was not to use this weapon on anybody, especially on men, until and unless his life was in danger; he was not to quarrel with gods, Brahmins and sages; and he was not to worship any deity other than Kāmākhyā. Viṣṇu warned Naraka saying that he would breathe his last when he would violate any of these prohibitions. With proper attention to Viṣṇu's instructions Naraka ruled his kingdom for long with justice and worshipped Kāmākhyā on the 'great mountain' Nīlakūṭa. Hearing of Naraka's prosperity Janaka payed a visit to 'the city of Prāgjyotiṣa, which was situated in the heart of Kāmarūpa'.[437] Now, towards the end of the Dvāpara age Naraka (*alias* Vajradhvaja or Vajraketu)[438] acquired friendship with Bāṇāsura, son of Bali and lord of Śoṇitapura. Bāṇa used to worship Mahādeva and had a demoniacal nature (āsura bhāva). His influence on Naraka was so great that the latter began to disrespect not only

[437] prāgjyotiṣapuraṃ gatvā kāmarūpāntara-sthitam.—Kālikā-p. 39. 164b.

[438] For his banner marked with the symbol of the thunderbolt Naraka has been named on several occasions as 'Vajradhvaja' and once as 'Vajraketu' in chap. 40. See verses 24, 45, 68, 82 and 86, and verse 33.

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the Brahmins but also Viṣṇu and Kāmākhyā and had no attraction for sacrifices and donations. Once Vasiṣṭha came to Prāgjyotiṣa to visit Kāmākhyā residing in the fort on the Nīlakūṭa mountain, but Naraka refused to admit him. Vasiṣṭha became angry and cursed Naraka saying that his progenitor (Viṣṇu) would soon bring about his death by assuming a human form and that Kāmākhyā would disappear with her retinue and would not be found there so long as Naraka lived. When the sage left the place, Naraka went to the temple of Kāmākhyā and found it completely vacant. He thought of Viṣṇu and the Earth, but neither of them appeared before him. On the other hand, his city lost its splendour, knew no Vedic study and sacrificial rites and ceremonies, and had a very small number of pious householders left in it; and there were many calamities, numerous deaths, and extreme scarcity of water even in the great river Lauhitya.[439] So, finding no other way of escape from death, Naraka informed Bāṇa of the situation through a messenger. Bāṇa at once came to Prāgjyotiṣa, denounced Indra and his best helper Viṣṇu, and advised Naraka to worship Śiva and Brahmā for remedy. As Śiva was staying secretly in Prāgjyotiṣa, Naraka decided to worship Brahmā.[440] He went to the Brahmācala on the bank of the Lauhitya and practised severe austerities for one hundred human years. Brahmā was pleased to appear before Naraka and grant him all the boons he asked for, but he advised Naraka not to have any physical connection with Tilottamā and other heavenly damsels, reborn on earth, before Nārada went to Vajradhvajapura (i.e. Prāgjyotiṣa). Although the boons received from Brahmā did not make any real improvement in Naraka's position, the latter felt secure through infatuation and returned to his capital with complete satisfaction.

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[439] Kālikā-p. 40.28—
ītayo bahavo jātā mṛtāś ca bahavo janāḥ/
lauhitya-nada-rājo'pi hīna-toyas tadābhavat//

[440] Kālikā-p. 40.66—
naivārādhyas tathā śaṃbhur antarguptaḥ sa me pure/
tasmād brahmā samārādhyo vacanāt tava mitraka//

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Bāṇa heard from Naraka all about his austerities but did not feel encouraged in the least. He advised Naraka to attack Indra with the help of heroic Asuras and to procreate sons. Consequently, Naraka begot on his wife four sons named Bhagadatta, Mahāśīrṣa, Madavat and Sumālin. He secured the service of Hayagrīva, Muru and other powerful demons and began to oppress the gods, sages and others by assuming a demoniacal nature (āsura bhāva). He robbed Aditi of her ear-rings and perpetrated various atrocities in earth and heaven, so much so that the Earth was compelled to pray to the gods for relief. As a result of this prayer, Viṣṇu incarnated himself as Kṛṣṇa, and Tilottamā and others were born as mortals. Naraka abducted these damsels and waited for Nārada's arrival. In the meantime Kṛṣṇa went to Prāgjyotiṣa and attacked Naraka. Though alarmed at the sight of Kālikā (or Kāmākhyā) at the side of Kṛṣṇa,[441] Naraka gave a tough fight, which resulted in his death. Kṛṣṇa installed Bhagadatta on the throne and gave him the weapon named Śakti. With Aditi's ear-rings as well as with the *maṇi-parvata* and Varuṇa's umbrella Kṛṣṇa repaired to Dvārakā. —Chaps. 37-41.]

Chaps. 42-46.—Menakā, wife of Himavat, wanted to have offspring. She worshipped Mahāmāyā Yoga-nidrā for twenty-seven days from the Aṣṭamī Tithi of the month of Caitra. This worship was repeated for twenty-seven years, and at the end of this period Kālikā appeared before Menakā and granted her a boon which resulted in the birth of one hundred sons including Maināka. Kālikā, who, in her birth as Satī, had already contemplated to become Menakā's daughter, was born to the latter in the spring.[442] As this new-born daughter had a dark-blue complexion and 'resem-

[441] Kālikā-p. 41.104b-105—
sa yudhyat-kṛṣṇa-nikaṭe kālikāṃ kālikopamām//
raktāsya-nayanāṃ dīrghāṃ khaḍga-śaktidharāṃ tadā/
apaśyaj jagatāṃ dhātrīṃ kāmākhyām api mohinīm//

[442] Kālikā-p. 42. 41b-42a—
vasanta-samaye devī navamyām ṛkṣa-yogataḥ/
ardha-rātre samutpannā gaṅgeva śaśi-maṇḍalāt//

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bled the petals of a blue lotus', she was named 'Kālī' by Himavat and 'Pārvatī' by the other relatives. Kālī (i.e. Pārvatī) began to grow up in Himavat's house to the delight of all. Once Nārada came to Himavat, explained to him how Satī was reborn as Kālī, and advised him to give Kālī in marriage to Hara. He further assured Himavat that by dint of her penance Kālī would be able to occupy half of Hara's body and that she would have a golden complexion and be known as Gaurī.

At this time Śiva went with his retinue to the place of Gaṅgā's descent (gaṅgāvatāra) and intimated to Himavat his intention of practising penance there. Himavat received him with due honour and appointed Kālī to serve him during the period of his penance. In the meantime the demon Tāraka became the lord of the three worlds and began to tyrannise all. As none but the son born of Śiva's energy could kill this demon, Indra requested Madana to manage to unite Śiva with Kālī. Madana remembered Brahmā's curse and agreed, though with fear, to comply with Indra's request.

[The remaining part of this story closely follows that of Kālidāsa's Kumāra-saṃbhava.

According to the Kālikā-p. Śiva besmeared his body with Kāma's ashes, Brahmā created Vaḍavāgni out of Śiva's wrath and threw it into the sea, and Kālī practised penance for three thousand years and muttered the six-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namaḥ śivāya' according to Nārada's instruction.]

[In chaps. 47-91 Mārkaṇḍeya reproduces the interlocution between Aurva and Sagara.]

Chap. 47.—Further stories about Kālī.—

Being addressed as 'bhinnāñjana-śyāmā' (black like powdered collyrium) before Urvaśī and other Apsarases, Kālī became highly offended with Śiva and set herself to the practice of severe austerities. Śiva, therefore, furnished her with a golden complexion by bathing her in the waters of the celestial Ganges (ākāśa-gaṅgā).

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Once Kālī saw her own image reflected on Śiva's chest and took it to be that of another woman. She became angry; and Śiva had to please her by allowing her to occupy half of his body.

(For description of Ardhanārīśvara see verses 159-181).

Chaps. 48-53.—Story of the birth of Bhṛṅgī and Mahākāla, their appointment as Śiva's Gaṇas, their rebirth as monkey-faced human beings named Vetāla and Bhairava, and their worship of Śiva and Pārvatī.—

From Śiva's energy, which was meant for procreating Skanda, two small particles fell on the Himālaya. From these particles originated two sons of Śaṃkara named Bhṛṅgī and Mahākāla. They were appointed by Śiva as heads of Gaṇas and were posted at the gate when Śiva was enjoying the company of Pārvatī after Skanda's birth. (—Chap. 48).

Once Bhṛṅgī and Mahākāla chanced to see Pārvatī in slipt garment. They were consequently cursed by her to be born as monkey-faced human beings. As they insisted upon having Śiva and Pārvatī as their parents even in their birth as mortals, Śiva was born on earth as Candraśekhara, son of king Pauṣya, and Pārvatī as Tārāvatī, daughter of king Kakutstha. Candraśekhara, being born of three mothers, was also named Tryambaka. In course of time Candraśekhara attained youth, married Tārāvatī, and became king of Karavīrapura in Brahmāvarta. (—Chaps. 49-50). Once a sage named Kāpota saw Tārāvatī bathing in the waters of the Dṛṣadvatī and wanted to enjoy her person. As Kāpota could not be dissuaded, Tārāvatī saved herself by sending her unmarried sister Citrāṅgadā, who was born of Urvaśī and accompanied Tārāvatī as a maid-servant due to Aṣṭāvakra's curse. After two sons named Tumburu and Suvarcas had been born to Citrāṅgadā, Kāpota saw through the deceit and cursed Tārāvatī that two monkey-faced sons would be begotten on her by an old and ugly skull-bearing (kapālī) person. As a result of this curse Bhṛṅgī and Mahākāla were born to Tārāvatī as Vetāla and Bhairava. Tārāvatī had three more sons

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named Uparicara, Damana and Alarka by Candraśekhara. (—Chaps. 51-52). As neither Candraśekhara himself nor his three legitimate (*aurasa*) sons had much affection for Vetāla and Bhairava, the latter left their paternal home and wandered about in melancholy. Once they met Kāpota and learnt from him the story of their birth. As they were bent on worshipping Śiva, Kāpota first spoke of Vārāṇasī as a sacred Śiva-kṣetra where Śiva alone resides. He then distinguished between a 'kṣetra' and a 'pīṭha',[443] and praised the extremely secret mahāpīṭha named Kāmarūpa, where both Śaṃkara and Pārvatī are always present. He described Kāmarūpa as a triangular and hilly tract of land extending from the Karatoyā to the place of Dikkaravāsinī and measuring 100 *yojanas* in length and 30 *yojanas* in breadth,[444] and spoke of a number of sacred places, hills and rivers including the following:—

(*a*) Six sacred places (in and around Kāmarūpa) where Śiva lives with Pārvatī.

(*b*) Nīlaparvata, where Pārvatī resides with Śaṃkara.

(*c*) Nāṭaka-śaila, where Śaṃkara lives permanently with Pārvatī.

As Vetāla and Bhairava preferred to go to the Nāṭakācala to worship Śiva, Kāpota advised them to see Vasiṣṭha on the Saṃdhyācala (in Kāmarūpa) and learn from him the *mantras* and procedure of Śiva-worship. Vetāla and Bhairava went to Kāmarūpa, bathed in the rivers Karatoyā and Jaṭodbhavā as well as in the Nandikuṇḍa, payed homage to the deity named Jalpīśa, bowed down to Śiva (Vṛṣabha-dhvaja) on the Nāṭakācala, and thence went to the south to the Saṃdhyācala, which was situated on the

[443] Kālikā-p. 53. 72b-74a—
tapasā cātitīvreṇa cirād bhavati mokṣadam //
nacirāt kāmadaṃ puṇyaṃ kṣetraṃ pīṭhaṃ nigadyate /
cirāt tu kāmado devo nacirād yatra jñānadaḥ //
tat kṣetram iti lokeṣu gadyate pūrva-bandibhih /

[444] Kālikā-p. 53. 77b-79a—
karatoyā nadī pūrvaṃ yāvad dikkaravāsinīm //
triṃśad-yojana-vistīrṇaṃ yojanaika-śatāyatam /
trikoṇaṃ kṛṣṇa-varṇaṃ ca prabhūtācala-pūritam //
nadī-śata-samāyuktaṃ kāmarūpaṃ prakīrtitam /

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bank of the river Kāntā brought down by Vasiṣṭha and which was so called because Vasiṣṭha used to perform his evening prayers on this mountain. Being requested by Vetāla and Bhairava to tell them the *mantras* and procedure of Śiva-worship Vasiṣṭha declared meditation and worship as equally necessary for the pleasure of Śiva and spoke on the following topics:— Description of the 'five mantras' (pañca-mantrāḥ), viz., Saṃmada, Saṃdoha, Nāda, Gaurava and Prāsāda; dhyāna of Śiva having five faces, ten hands, fifteen eyes, and a snake as a necklace; description of Śiva's five faces, viz., Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna; performance of bhūta-śuddhi and mudrās; worship of Bālā, Jyeṣṭhā, Raudrī, Kālī, Kalavikariṇī, Balapramathinī, Damanī and Manonmathanī; and so on. In accordance with Vasiṣṭha's advice Vetāla and Bhairava went to the Nāṭaka-śaila, which had the form of an umbrella and which was so called because Śiva constantly danced on it in joy. They praised and worshipped Śiva there with devotion, and the latter was pleased to confer on them immortality and divinity. Śiva further advised them to worship Pārvatī and told them that without Pārvatī he alone was not able to fulfil their desire for the attainment of the status of Gaṇas. (Chap. 53).

Chaps. 54-58.—At the request of Vetāla and Bhairava, Śiva described to them the *mantras* and procedures of the worship of Mahāmāyā Pārvatī; and these, Aurva said, were later condified by Bhairava into a work called Śivāmṛta consisting of 18 Paṭalas and dealing with *nirṇaya-vidhi* and *kalpa*.[445]

As Sagara wanted to know what Śiva had said to Vetāla and Bhairava, Aurva agreed to describe 'in brief the contents of the 18 Paṭalas' and spoke on the eight-syllabled *mantra* of Mahāmāyā Vaiṣṇavī and the method of her worship in a *maṇḍala* with this as well as other Tantric *mantras*.

[The method of Mahāmāyā-worship, as described by

[445] Kālikā-p. 54.5—
yad aṣṭādaśabhiḥ paścāt paṭalaiś ca sa bhairavaḥ /
sanirṇaya-vidhiṃ kalpaṃ nibabandha śivāmṛte //

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Aurva in chaps. 54-58, is called Vaiṣṇavī-tantra. It consists of the following operations:— Drawing of a *maṇḍala* with the figure of a *padma* in it; performance of bhūtāpasāraṇa, *dig-bandhana* and śarīra-śuddhi; worship of Mahāmāyā's porters (dvārapāla), viz., Nandī, Bhṛṅgī, Mahākāla and Gaṇeśa, as well as of other attendant deities; offer of different articles (*upacāra*) including various kinds of incense, viz., *yakṣa-dhūpa*, *pratīvāha*, *piṇḍa-dhūpa*, *goloka*, *aguru* and *sindhuvāra*; worship of Kāmeśvarī, Gupta-durgā, Vindhya-kandara-vāsinī, Koṭeśvarī, Dīrghikā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Kāmākhyā, Dikkaravāsinī, Mātaṅgī, Lalitā and other deities as well as of eight Yoginīs named Śaila-putrī, Caṇḍa-ghaṇṭā, Skanda-mātṛ etc.; sacrifice of animals (such as birds, tortoises, crocodiles, he-goats, boars, buffaloes, *godhikās*, deer, horses, elephants, *śarabhas* etc.) as well as of men to the goddess; muttering of the *mantra* with the use of a japa-mālā; and performance of *yoni-mudrā*.

Description of the *aṅgi-mantra* and of the method of effecting self-protection with it (vaiṣṇavī-tantra-kavaca).

Chap. 54 has the following colophon:— iti śrī-kālikā-purāṇe mahāmāyā-kalpe aṣṭādaśa-paṭale catuḥpañcāśattamo 'dhyāyaḥ.

Verses 24b-36 of chap. 55 deal with Mahāmāyā-dhyāna and describe Mahāmāyā as 'śoṇa-padma-pratīkāśā', 'catur-bhujā', 'vivasanā', 'baddha-paryaṅka-saṃkalpa-niviḍāsana-rājitā' etc. and as having her body supported by a pillar of jewels (gātreṇa ratna-stambhaṃ ca samyag ālambya saṃsthitām).

Chap. 59.—On *uttara-tantra*.—Dissertation on the *aṅga-mantras*, mudrās, mediums of worship (viz., *sthaṇḍila*, *agni*, *toya*, *sūrya-marīci*, *pratimā*, *śālagrāma-śilā* and *śiva-liṅga*), and so on.

Chaps. 60-63.—On *devī-tantra*.—Procedure of the special worship of Devī. Worship of Devī on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī Tithis in any of the mediums *liṅga*, *pustaka*, *sthaṇḍila*, *pādukā*, *pratimā* etc. with the offer of one's own blood (nija-śoṇitaiḥ).

Praise of Devī-worship at Vārāṇasī, Puruṣottama,

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Dvāravatī, Vindhya etc., especially in the different rivers, places etc. in Kāmarūpa.[446]

Praise of Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala. (Chap. 60).

Origin and description of the popular form of Mahiṣāsura-mardinī of ten hands; and the method of worshipping this form in different parts of the year.

Making of different kinds of *pavitras* (viz., Ratnamālā, Nāgahāra, Vanamālā etc.); and the method of *pavitrāropaṇa* (with the offer of fish, meat etc. and the performance of music and dance at night by bands of actors and dancers as well as by prostitutes). (Chap. 61).

Description of the methods of the autumnal worship of eighteen-handed, sixteen-handed and ten-handed Mahiṣāsura-mardinī known respectively as Ugracaṇḍā, Bhadrakālī and Durgā. (In this connection mention has been made of Durgā-worship during the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa and of the following operations:—Feeding of virgin girls; *bodhana* of Devī in a Bilva tree; performance of *patrikā-pūjā*; offer of wine and meat and of one's own blood; and performance of Śāvarotsava and *bala-nīrājana*).

Description of sixteen-handed Durgā (called Bhadrakālī); and the story of her appearance in a ten-handed form at the hermitage of sage Kātyāyana in order to bring about the destruction of Mahiṣāsura who was cursed by Kātyāyana to be killed by a female.

Story of Devī's assumption of a terrible form for destroying Dakṣa's sacrifice.

Stories about Mātaṅgī, Ugratārā, Kālikā and others.

Description of Śiva-dūtī; and the names of the Yoginīs. (Chaps. 62-63).

Chaps. 64-65.—Praise of Kāmākhyā residing on the Nīlakūṭa mountain.

Story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

Names and glorification of the different mountains

[446] Viz., in the waters of the Karatoyā and the Lauhitya; in the Nandi-kuṇḍa; in the neighbourhood of Jalpiṣeśvara; at the Siddheśvarī-yoni; on the peak of the Nīlakūṭa; and at the different places at Kāmarūpa (i.e. Prājyotiṣapura), especially at the Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala.—Kālikā-p. 60. 37ff.

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(viz., Śveta, Nīla, Citra, Maṇikarṇa, Maṇiparvata, Gandhamādana, Pāṇḍunātha and Bhasmācala) in Kāmarūpa. In all these mountains Śiva lives constantly with Devī.

Chaps. 66-67.—On *tripurā-tantra*.—Description of the method of worshipping Tripurā, with whom the sixty-four Yoginīs, Kṣetrapāla, Heruka, Lauhitya[447] and others also are to be worshipped.

Description of the different forms of Tripurā.[448]

Chap. 68.—On *kāmeśvarī-tantra*.—Procedure of the worship of Kāmeśvarī. Method of drawing a *maṇḍala*, in the north-western, southern and eastern parts of which Jālandhara-pīṭha, Oḍra-pīṭha and Kāmarūpa are respectively to be painted. Description of the form of Kāmeśvarī.[449] Directions regarding Devī-worship in different pīṭhas (viz., Oḍra-pīṭha, Jālaśailaka, Pūrṇa-pīṭha and Kāmarūpa) by the inhabitants of these places as well as by strangers;[450] the position of these pīṭhas; and the names of the deities (including Jagannātha of Oḍra—jagannātham oḍreśam) to be worshipped at these places.[451]

Chap. 69.—On *śāradā-tantra*.—Dissertation on the *mantras* and the method of the autumnal worship of Śāradā who has ten hands and mounts a lion.

Chap. 70.—Description of different kinds of namaskāra

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[447] Kālikā-p. 67. 41-42—

lauhityaṃ rakta-gaurāṅgaṃ nīla-vastra-vibhūṣitam /
ratna-mālā-samāyuktaṃ caturbāhu-samanvitam //
pustakaṃ śveta-padmaṃ ca bibhrataṃ dakṣiṇe kare /
vāme śakti-dhvajaṃ caiva śiśumāra-sthitaṃ śubham //

[448] See especially chap. 67, verses 55-68.

[449] Kālikā-p. 68. 16-27.

[450] Kālikā-p. 68. 33-37—

daiśikaḥ pūjayed devīṃ pīṭhe nādaiśikaḥ kvacit /
tasyaiva hi kara-sparśād devī nodvijate śivā //
yadi deśāntarād yātaḥ pīṭhaṃ deśāntaraṃ prati /
tad-daiśikopadeśena tadā pūjāṃ samārabhet //
yady anyataḥ samāyātā kāmarūpād ṛte naraḥ /
tad-deśajopadeśena saṃpūjya phalam āpnuyāt //
yasmin deśe tu yaḥ pīṭha oḍra-pāñcālakādiṣu /
tad-deśajopadeśena pūjyaḥ pīṭhe suro naraiḥ //
ito 'nyathā pūjane na samyak phalam avāpnuyāt /
mahāvibhava-saṃpūrṇair vihitenaiva bhairava //

[451] Kālikā-p. 68. 42ff.

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(bowing down to the deity), viz., *trikoṇa, ṣaṭkoṇa, ardha-candra, pradakṣiṇa, daṇḍa, aṣṭāṅga* and *ugra*, of which the last (i.e. *ugra*) is said to please Viṣṇu (viṣṇu-tuṣṭida) and to be the best of all.

Names and description of fifty-five kinds of mudrās which are to be performed in worship. Mention of the remaining fifty-three kinds of mudrās which are to be employed in dravyānayana, saṃketa, naṭana etc. Praise of performance of mudrās.

Chap. 71 (styled 'rudhirādhyāya').—On bali-dāna (sacrifice of animals to the deity).—Animals to be sacrificed to the goddess include the following:— Tortoise, crocodile, fish, buffalo, *godhikā*, cow, boar, rhinoceros, *śarabha*, *ruru* deer, lion, and tiger. Praise of human sacrifice (*nara-bali*) and of offering one's own blood to the deity. Offer of a Kuṣmāṇḍa, a sugarcane and different kinds of wine. Method and praise of bali-dāna. A Brahmin is not to sacrifice lions, tigers and men to the goddess, nor is he to offer wine or his own blood; and a Kṣatriya must not sacrifice an antelope.[452] A Brahmin, who is to sacrifice a lion, a tiger or a man, should adopt the following process:— A figure of the animal to be sacrificed should be made with ghee, cake or barley-powder. It should then be consecrated with relevant *mantras* and severed with a sabre called *candrahāsa*.[453] Directions regarding human sacrifice to be made by kings.[454] Rules about the offer of wine[455] and one's own blood. The worshipper's good or evil as indicated by the animals sacri-

[452] Kālikā-p. 71. 48b-52a.

[453] *Ibid.*, 71. 52b-54a—

yatra siṃhasya vyāghrasya narasya vihito vadhaḥ /
brahmaṇoktā tu balyādau tatrāyaṃ vihitaḥ kramaḥ //
kṛtvā ghṛtamayaṃ vyāghraṃ naraṃ siṃhaṃ ca bhairava /
athavā pūpa-vikṛtaṃ yava-kṣodamayaṃ ca vā //
ghātayec candrahāsena tena mantreṇa saṃskṛtaṃ //

[454] Kālikā-p. 71. 73ff.

[455] *Ibid.*, 71. 112-114a—

madirāṃ pṛṣṭhato dadyād anyat pānaṃ tu vāmataḥ /
avaśyaṃ vihitaṃ yatra madyaṃ tatra dvijaḥ punaḥ //
nārikela-jalaṃ kāṃsye tāmre vā visṛjen madhu /
nāpady api dvijo madyaṃ kadācid visṛjed api //
ṛte puṣpāsavād uktād gṛñjanād vā viśeṣataḥ //

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ficed. Method of *śatru-bali* on the Mahānavamī Tithi during the autumn season.[456]

Chaps. 72-75.—Offer of 16 *upacāras* (viz., āsana, pādya, *arghya* etc.) to the deity.—

Preparation of seats (āsana) with flowers, wood, cloth, skin and silk (kośa). Selection of wood for making seats. Different kinds of cloth (viz., vālkala, kośaja, śāṇa and *romaja*) with which seats may be made. Animals (including nine kinds of deer) whose skins may be used as seats. Seats made of metals (except iron, lead and bell-metal). Description of seats meant for different deities and their worshippers.

Method of offering pādya, *arghya*, ācamanīya, *madhuparka* and snānīya. (—Chap. 72).

Offer of clothes (made of cotton, wool, bark and silk), stitched and unstitched dress of five kinds each, forty kinds of ornaments,[457] and various kinds of perfumes (*gandha*) and incense (dhūpa). Selection of flowers for the worship of the different forms of Devī. Preparation of various kinds of lamps. Different kinds of incense which please Devī in her different forms. Preparation of various kinds of collyrium for the deity. (—Chap. 73). Fruits and other materials for *naivedya*. (—Chap. 74). Methods of *pradakṣiṇa* and *namaskāra*. (—Chap. 75).

Chap. 76.—Glorification of Kāmākhyā (residing on the Nīlakūṭa mountain). Story of Kāmākhyā's causing Viṣṇu and Garuḍa to worship herself. Description of Kāmākhyā-kavaca.

Chap. 77.—Method of performance of mātṛkā-nyāsa.

Chap. 78.—Performance of mudrās, mantra-śuddhi and nyāsa. Various kinds of *yantras*, and their efficacy. Worship of the particular forms of Devī, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Bāla-gopāla, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and others according to the right-hand (dakṣiṇa) and left-hand (vāma) methods.

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[456] Kālikā-p. 71.177ff.—
mahānavamyāṃ śaradi rātrau skanda-viśākhayoḥ /
yava-cūrṇamayaṃ kṛtvā ripuṃ mṛṇmayam eva vā //
śiraś chittvā baliṃ dadyāt kṛtvā tasya tu mantrataḥ / etc.

[457] For the names of these ornaments see Kālikā-p. 73. 16-22.

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Chap. 79.—Method of mantra-puraścaraṇa. Description of Tripurā-kavaca.

Chap. 80.—Dissertation on the four kinds of *mantras*, viz., *siddha*, *susiddha*, *sādhya* and *śātrava*.

Being duly instructed by Śiva on the method of the worship of Mahāmāyā, Vetāla and Bhairava left Nāṭakācala and saw Vasiṣṭha on the Saṃdhyācala. In accordance with Vasiṣṭha's instructions they went to the 'great mountain Nīla' and worshipped Kāmākhyā, Tripurā and other forms of Mahāmāyā in the *liṅga* called Bhairava. Mahāmāyā appeared before Vetāla and Bhairava and conferred on them immortality and leadership of Gaṇas by making them drink the milk of her breasts. Śiva also appeared and showed Vetāla and Bhairava all the holy places and rivers in Kāmarūpa, viz., Kāmākhyā-guhā, Kāma-guhā (of Śiva), Chāyācchatra (?), Śiva's own residence, the place where Śiva's five forms are situated (svakīyaṃ pañca-mūrtīnāṃ saṃsthānaṃ), the river Karatoyā (which is called 'satya-gaṅgā' —the real Ganges), Jalpīśa-liṅga (situated in the north-west of Kāmarūpa), Nandi-kuṇḍa, Siddheśvarī Yoni (which is adjacent to the Jalpīśa-liṅga), and the rivers Suvarṇamānasa, Jaṭodbhavā, Trisrotā, Sitaprabhā, Navatoyā, Agada and Yogada (all of which flow from the Himālaya and lie in the north-western part of Kāmarūpa).

Regarding the Jalpīśa-liṅga it is said that in ancient times the Kṣatriyas, being afraid of Jāmadagnya, disguised themselves as Mlecchas and sought the shelter of Jalpīśa. They gave up the Aryan tongue, always spoke in the language of the Mlecchas, and kept Jalpīśa concealed. As they worshipped Jalpīśa with devotion, they were made Śiva's Gaṇas.[458]

Chap. 81.—The names, position and praise of the holy

[458] Kālikā-p. 80. 155-157—
jāmadagnya-bhayād bhītāḥ kṣatriyāḥ pūrvam eva ye /
mleccha-cchadmāny upādāya jalpīśaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ //
te mleccha-vācaḥ satatam ārya-vācaś ca sarvadā /
jalpīśaṃ sevamānās te gopāyanti ca taṃ haram //
ta eva tu guṇās (? gaṇās) tasya mahārāja manoharāḥ /
toṣayitvā tathā sarvān jalpīśaṃ pūjayen naraḥ //

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rivers, mountains etc. of Kāmarūpa which Śiva showed to Vetāla and Bhairava.—

(1) Those lying in its south-western part.—(*a*) Rivers flowing towards the north:—Bahurokā (rising from the mountain Surasa), Candrikā (rising from the mountain Kṛttivāsa), Phenilā, Sitā, and Sumadanā (rising from the mountain Sutīkṣṇa). (*b*) Rivers rising from the Himālaya and flowing towards the south:—Bhadrā, Subhadrā, Mānasā, Bhairavī and Varṇāsā. (*c*) Rivers rising from other mountains and flowing towards the south:— Kusumamālinī, Kṣīrodā, Līlā and Caṇḍikā. (*d*) The mountains named Surasa (in the proximity of which there is a Śiva-liṅga called Mahāvṛṣa), Kṛttivāsa (on which Śiva lived with Satī in ancient times), Sutīkṣṇa, Vibhrāṭa (where Śiva always remains present in the form of Bhairava), and Dhavala (on which there are two Śiva-liṅgas called Goloka and Śṛṅga). (*e*) The Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa (where Vasiṣṭha cursed Naraka for not allowing him to go to the Nīlakūṭa mountain). (*f*) Ravi-kṣetra (the region of the Sun), which lies on the east of the river Sumadanā and the west of Brahma-kṣetra and has the river Trisrotā flowing on the east and where there are a mountain called Tattva, two sacred pools called Kāpota-kuṇḍa and Karaṇa-kuṇḍa, and a Sun-temple.

(2) Mountains etc. lying in the north-east of Kāmarūpa: (*a*) Mountains named Gandhamādana (on which there are a Śiva-liṅga called Bhṛṅga and a kuṇḍa called Antarā-laka), Maṇikūṭa (on which Viṣṇu killed the demon of fever —Jvarāsura—by assuming the form of Hayagrīva), Bhadra-kāma (on which there are a Śiva-liṅga named Kālahaya, a kuṇḍa called Apunarbhava, a lake known as Apunarbhū, and a piece of stone called Haravīthī), and Madana. (*b*) The sea (sāgara) called Lauhitya (lying on the south of the river Varṇāśā). (*c*) The city called Bhogavatī.

Verses 75ff. deal with the praise of the worship of Hayagrīva on the Maṇikūṭa mountain.

Chap. 82.—Names, position and praise of a few more mountains, rivers, pools (kuṇḍa) etc. of Kāmarūpa, viz., (1) mountains named Darpaṇa, Agnimāla, Kaṃsakara,

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Vāyukūṭa, Candrakūṭa, Nandana, Bhasmakūṭa, Sukānta, Rakṣaḥkūṭa, Pāṇḍunātha, Brahmagiri (on the east of which Ugratārā[159] is to be worshipped), Karpaṭa, Kajjalācala, Durjaya, Kṣobhaka and Bhagavat; (2) rivers named Darpaṇa (flowing from the Himālaya), Sumaṅgalā, Śāśvatī, Kapila-gaṅgā, Damanikā, Vṛddhā, Bhairava-gaṅgā, Kāntā, Saṃdhyā and Lalitā; (3) Vāruṇa-kuṇḍa, Soma-kuṇḍa, Vāsava-kuṇḍa and Urvaśī-kuṇḍa; (4) lakes Kāma-saraḥ, Brahmakūṭa-saraḥ, and Bhairava-saraḥ; and (5) 'the city named Varāsana on the east of (the mountain) named Durjaya' (durjayākhyasya pūrvasyāṃ puraṃ nāma varāsa-nam—verse 159b).

This chapter contains description of Gaṇeśa, Agnivetāla, and the nine Planets.

Chap. 83.—Names, position and praise of a few other sacred rivers, mountains etc. of Kāmarūpa, viz., (1) rivers Śāśvatī, Dīpavatī, Vṛddhavedikā, Bhaṭṭārikā, Dikkarikā, Suvarṇasrāviṇī, Kāmā, Somāśanā, Vṛṣodakā, and Sitagaṅgā (flowing by the side of the place of Dikkaravāsinī), and (2) the mountain Śṛṅgāṭa (on which there is a Śiva-liṅga).

Description of the deities Lalitakāntā (also called Maṅgalacaṇḍikā), Tīkṣṇakāntā (also called Ugratārā), Brahmā, and Viṣṇu; and the methods of their worship.

Offer of wine and sacrifice of human beings are said to please Tīkṣṇakāntā.

After showing the entire Kāmarūpa-pīṭha to Vetāla and Bhairava, Śiva went to Kailāsa, and all became free from the curses.

Chap. 84.—Praise of Kāmarūpa which is said to be protected by the Gaṇas of Śiva and to confer immortality and divinity on its inhabitants.

Story of the spread of Vāmācāra Tantricism in Kāmarūpa as a result of Vasiṣṭha's curse.—Once Vasiṣṭha requested Śiva to bring Kāmarūpa under the influence of Yama who had lost his control over the inhabitants of that place. Consequently Śiva asked Ugratārā and his own Gaṇas to

[159] For description of Ugratārā see verses 78-81.

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remove immediately from Kāmarūpa all beings including the members of the four castes. When, in course of their operations, Ugratārā and the Gaṇas laid hands on Vasiṣṭha on the Saṃdhyācala mountain with the intention of driving him out of Kāmarūpa, the latter cursed the former saying that being perverse (vāma) in nature Ugratārā and other female deities as well as Śiva himself would be worshipped in Kāmarūpa according to the left-hand method (vāma-bhāvena), that by faring like Mlecchas the foolish Gaṇas of Śiva would turn Mlecchas in Kāmarūpa, that as Śiva behaved like a Mleccha in expelling from there an austere sage and a self-controlled master of the Vedas like himself, he would be fond of Mlecchas and hold bones and ashes on his person, that after Vasiṣṭha's departure Kāmarūpa would be guarded (guptam) by Mlecchas until Viṣṇu himself came again (punaḥ) to this place, that the (Vaiṣṇava) Āgamas (of Kāmarūpa) would become rare (viralāḥ), and that the person who would study these rare (virala) Āgamas of Kāmarūpa would get in due time the complete result (of studying the entire Āgama literature of Kāmarūpa praising Viṣṇu). After pronouncing this curse Vasiṣṭha disappeared; and the Gaṇas became Mlecchas in 'Kāmarūpa, the abode of gods', Ugratārā became 'vāmā' (a deity worshipped according to the left-hand method), Śaṃbhu gave himself up to the Mlecchas (mleccha-rataḥ), the Āgamas praising Viṣṇu became rare and being bereft of (the pronunciation of) Vedic Mantras and the existence of the four castes, Kāmarūpa became in a moment such as could be ruled by Yama. In order that gods and men might not feel encouraged to live in that effective holy place (pīṭha) even after it had become free from Vasiṣṭha's curse with Hari's re-appearance there, Brahmā thought out a plan by which he could hide out (guptaye) all the pools (including Apunarbhava-kuṇḍa, Soma-kuṇḍa, Brahma-kuṇḍa and Urvaśī-kuṇḍa)[460] and all

[460] See Kālikā-p. 84. 28b-31—
āgate'pi harau mukte śāpāt pīṭhe phala-prade //
yathā na samyak sthāsyanti tat-pīṭhe deva-mānuṣāḥ /
guptaye sarva-kuṇḍānāṃ brahmopāyaṃ tathākarot //

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the rivers of Kāmarūpa (including those which have not been mentioned in the Kālikā-p.) and create a situation in which these pools and rivers could not be distinguished from one another but would be considered to yield the same effect. In Śāntanu's wife Amoghā he procreated a son having the form of water (jala-rūpaṃ tanayam) and made Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) bring him down through Kāmarūpa which was quite at ease. That steady (dhīra) son of Brahmā flooded Kāmarūpa, covering all its pools and holy places and hiding them out. After this, those people who could distinguish the Lauhitya and take their bath in it, certainly attained the results of such bath, but it was impossible for them to find out the pools and the holy places, 'which had begun to be hidden out as a result of Vasiṣṭha's curse.'[461] After thus completely flooding all the rivers and holy places throughout Kāmarūpa the Lauhitya, son of Brahmā, flowed into the southern sea.

Chaps. 85-86.—Story of the birth of Lauhitya (i.e. the river Brahmaputra) from Amoghā, wife of the sage Śāntanu, who lived by the side of a lake named Lohita on the mountain Gandhamādana lying at the outskirt of Kailāsa and who transferred Brahmā's energy into his wife after drinking it himself. Amoghā conceived, and at due time delivered through her nose a mass of water containing a son, who has been described as follows:

"..... nīla-vāsāḥ kirīṭa-dhṛk /
ratna-mālā-samāyukto rakta-gauraś ca brahmavat //
catur-bhujaḥ padma-vidyā-dhvaja-śakti-dharas tathā /
śiśumāra-śirasthaś ca tulya-kāyo jalotkaraiḥ //"[462]

".....wearing blue clothes, a crown, and a garland of gems, being red-and-white like Brahmā, having four hands carrying a lotus, a book, a banner and [the missile]

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apunarbhava-kuṇḍasya soma-kuṇḍasya cobhayoḥ /
brahm-orvaśī-kuṇḍayos tu nadīnām api bhūriśaḥ //
nadīnāṃ pūrvam uktānām anuktānāṃ ca guptaye /
sarvasy-aika-phala-jñāne brahmopāyaṃ tathākarot //

[461] Kālikā-p. 84. 36a—
vasiṣṭha-śāpād etat tu pravṛttaṃ tīrtha-gopanam.

[462] Kālikā-p. 85. 33-34.

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Śakti, taking his stand on the head of a porpoise, and having a body resembling a mass of water rushing up." After birth, Śāntanu placed the son in that very condition in the middle of four mountains, viz., Kailāsa on the north, Gandhamādana on the south, Jārudhi on the west, and Saṃvartaka etc. on the east. Here, the son of Brahmā created a kuṇḍa for himself and began to grow in volume until, after a long period, he covered five *yojanas* with his waters and looked like 'a second sea'.

In course of time Rāma Jāmadagnya, who had killed his mother at his father's order, came to that Kuṇḍa, named after Brahmā, for a holy bath and brought the son of Brahmā down to the earth by digging a channel with his axe.

Being requested by Sagara as to why Rāma Jāmadagnya killed his mother, who his mother was, and how, being the son of a sage, he could become so cruel and warlike, Aurva narrated the story of his birth as follows.

Bhṛgu's son Ṛcīka married Satyavatī, daughter of the sonless king Gādhi of Kānyakubja, by presenting to him, as nuptial fee, one thousand moon-white horses of a particular description,[462a] which he had procured by pleasing Varuṇa for the purpose. Sometime after the marriage, Bhṛgu came to see his daughter-in-law and expressed his desire to grant a boon to the latter. Satyavatī wanted for herself a highly austere master of the Vedas as a son and for her mother a male issue of unparalleled heroism. Hearing Satyavatī's prayer Bhṛgu gave out a sigh, from which came out two kinds of Caru, one of which was white and the other red. Bhṛgu handed these over to Satyavatī with the instruction that after taking bath at the expiry of a period of menstruation her mother was to embrace an Aśvattha tree and then take the red Caru, while she herself was to take the white Caru

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[462a] ekatra kṛṣṇa-varṇānām aśvānāṃ candra-varcasām /
sahasram ekaṃ yo dadyāt tasmai putrī pradīyate //
Kālikā-p. 85.54 (=Vaṅga. ed. 82.53).
This verse is based on Mbh III. 115.23—
ekataḥ śyāma-karṇānāṃ pāṇḍarāṇāṃ tarasvinām /
sahasraṃ vājināṃ śulkam iti viddhi dvijottama //
(=Poona critical ed. III. 115.12, which reads 'pāṇḍurāṇām' in the first half).

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after embracing an Udumbara tree. But unfortunately Satyavatī and her mother did the opposite through mistake. Coming to know of this reversal, Bhṛgu saw Satyavatī again and told her about the unfortunate mistake, as a result of which, he said, she would deliver a son who would be a Brahmin by birth but a Kṣatriya by activities, and her mother would have one who would be a Kṣatriya by birth but a Brahmin by activities. As Satyavatī wanted her grandson to be of that nature, Bhṛgu assured her of the fulfilment of her wish and went away. Now, in course of time, Satyavatī and her mother gave birth to Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra respectively, both of whom became the masters of the Vedas and the science of archery from their very birth. (—Chap. 85).

Jamadagni grew up and married Reṇukā, a Vidarbha princess, by whom he had four sons Ruṣaṇvat,[462b] Suṣeṇa, Vasu and Viśvāvasu, and also a fifth named Rāma, who was the same as almighty Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) born with an axe for killing Kārtavīrya. As a result of his grandmother's mistake in taking the Caru Rāma, though a Brahmin by birth, had the nature of a Kṣatriya and became the performer of cruel acts. Once his mother Reṇukā went to the river Ganges for a bath and chanced to see king Citraratha, who had come there with his wives for water-sports. Reṇukā felt a strong desire for the king and came back with an agitated mind. Jamadagni understood her mental condition and ordered his sons, one by one, to cut off her head. Ruṣaṇvat and the three others felt extremely confused and stood motionless like stone without carrying out the cruel order of their father, who, consequently, cursed them to turn dullards. When the turn of Rāma came, he took up his axe and cut off his mother's head. Jamadagni was pleased, and wanted to grant boons to Rāma for his obedience. The latter prayed for his mother's return to life, her forgetfulness of the incident of death, his brothers' release from the curse, the removal of his sin arising from matricide,

[462b] This name (Ruṣaṇvat) occurs in the Vaṅga. ed. (83.3 and 13) of the Kālikā-p., whereas the Veṅkaṭ. ed. (86.3 and 13) gives it as 'Marutvat'. In the Mahābhārata (Vaṅga. ed. and Poona critical ed., III. 116.10) it has been given as 'Rumaṇvat'.

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and his victory in every war. Jamadagni granted all the boons and advised Rāma to go to the Brahma-kuṇḍa and take his bath in it after washing his axe with its waters. Rāma did so and got rid of his sin. Being convinced of the efficacy of the Tīrtha Rāma dug out a channel with his axe and brought down the Brahmaputra. Thus issuing from the Brahma-kuṇḍa the Brahma-putra first fell into the lake Lohita on the Kailāsa mountain. It then rushed towards the east, broke through a peak of the Himālaya, and flowed through the heart of Kāmarūpa. It flooded the entire pīṭha of Kāmarūpa and fell into the southern ocean. Brahmā named it Lohita-gaṅgā, and as it came out of the lake Lohita, it was named Lauhitya also. This river became separated from the 'divine Yamunā' and then met it at a distance of twelve *yojanas*[463] (?).

[The above story (beginning from Ṛcīka's marriage with Satyavatī and extending up to Jamadagni's granting of boons to Rāma Jāmadagnya) has been taken, with some changes here and there, from chaps. 115-116 of the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, which makes no mention of the colour of the Caru and ascribes the reversal in taking it to Satyavatī's mother's cunning.]

Chap. 87.—Śiva's naming of the demons Andhaka and Bāṇa as Bhṛṅgī and Mahākāla respectively.

Aurva's discourse on rāja-nīti.—*Indriya-jaya* most essential for kings; qualities which a king should possess; application of the four expedients *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda* and *daṇḍa;* winning of the six enemies *kāma*, *krodha*, etc.; avoiding of the seven vices *mṛgayā*, *dyūta* etc.; proper time and occasion for the *ṣaḍguṇas;* engagement of spies; qualifications of spies; protection of the harem; application of *upadhās;* method of deliberation in a well-formed council; construction of various kinds of forts—*jala-durga*, *bhūmi-durga*, *vṛkṣa-durga*, *araṇya-durga*, *maru-durga*, *śaila-durga*, and *parikhā-durga;* the king's duty towards his harem.

[463] Kālikā-p. 86. 34b-35a—
prāg eva divya-yamunāṃ sa tyaktvā brahmaṇaḥ sutaḥ /
punaḥ patati lauhitye gatvā dvādaśa-yojanam //

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Chap. 88.—Aurva's discourse on sadācāra to be observed by the king:—Definition of sadācāra. The duties which a king should perform as a householder. Establishment of varṇāśrama-dharma. Observance of the following religious rites:—Worship of Durgā on Śāradīyā Mahāṣṭamī, and *bala-nīrājana* on the Daśamī Tithi; Puṣyābhiṣeka on Pauṣa-tṛtīyā; worship of Śrī on Śrī-pañcamī; Viṣṇu-worship during Daśaharā in Jyaiṣṭha; and Śakra-pūjā on Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī.

For detailed description of the ceremony of *bala-nīrājana* see verses 15-77. Towards the end of this ceremony *śatru-bali* was performed.[464]

Chap. 89.—Detailed description of the method of Puṣya-snāna which is meant for warding off various kinds of evil.

Chap. 90.—Method of performance, on Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī, of Śakra-dhvaj-otsava, said to have been introduced first of all by king Vasu Uparicara.

Chap. 91.—Procedures of Viṣṇu-worship during Daśaharā in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, and of Lakṣmī-pūjā on Śrī-pañcamī with Kunda flowers and with presents made to Vāsava (Indra) mounted on his elephant.

Twelve kinds of sons (*aurasa*, *kṣetraja* etc.), and their legal position. Of these, the last one, viz., dāsa, born of a 'dāsī' purchased with money, does not deserve the throne.

Position of Śūdras, who are not entitled to study or teach Purāṇa, Dharma-śāstras and Saṃhitās, nor are they to be appointed for looking into legal disputes.

Acts which a king should do, and those he should not. Among the prohibitions there is one against his riding a camel, and the directions include one for his drinking water kept in a vessel made of copper, iron, gold or lead.

Chaps. 92-93.—Necessity of sons. Bhairava and Vetāla's desire for having sons, and their consequent union with Urvaśī and Kāmadhenu respectively. Descendants of

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[464] Kālikā-p. 88. 61—
mṛṇmayaṃ śātravaṃ kṛtvā cābhicārika-mantrakaiḥ /
hṛdi śūlena viddhvā taṃ śiraḥ khaḍgena chedayet //

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Bhairava and Vetāla. Story of burning the Khāṇḍava forest which was created by king Vijaya, a descendant of Bhairava.

Praise of the Kālikā-p.

An examination of the contents of the present Kālikā-p. shows that this Purāṇa deals with the exploits and worship of Kālī or Kālikā who is primarily the *yoga-nidrā* and *māyā* of Viṣṇu[465] but who later became the wife of Śiva as the dark-complexioned Dākṣāyaṇī (Satī) and Kālī (or Kālikā, daughter of Menakā)[466] for the good of the world. This Yoga-nidrā or Māyā (or rather primordial Kālikā) is described as follows:—She is graceful and has four hands, a dark complexion, and dishevelled hair; and she mounts a lion, carries a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands, and assures boon and safety with the other two.[467] She is the Śakti (Energy) and Prakṛti (Original Source) of the universe and has many forms, viz., Mahāmāyā or Kāmākhyā,[468] Durgā,[469] Bhadrakālī,[470] Ugracaṇḍā,[471] Umā[472] etc. The glory and worship of all these forms, especially of Kāmākhyā, have been described elaborately in the Kālikā-p.; and in connection with these topics there have been introduced in this work many myths and legends which are of great importance especially from the point of view of the history of Śāktism. This work also contains valuable materials for the study of many other sects such as those of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā and others,[473] topics relating to the glory and worship

[465] Kālikā-p. 5. 3-4, 14, 47-48, 51-52, 59-61; 6. 8-9, 61-63; and so on.

[466] According to the Kālikā-p. (42. 45-48) Satī, reborn as Menakā's daughter, had a dark complexion. So, she was named Kālī or Kālikā by her father, but her other relatives called her Pārvatī. She was also named Umā (because she could not be dissuaded from the practice of penance which was meant for the attainment of Śiva's favour —Kālikā-p. 45. 22-23) and Aparṇā (as she did not take even leaves during her austerities —Kālikā-p. 45. 37). After her marriage she got rid of her dark complexion by worshipping Śiva and was called Gaurī (Kālikā-p. 47. 30ff.).

[467] Kālikā-p. 5. 51-53; 8. 8-11.

[468] Mahāmāyā, who is said to be identical with Kāmākhyā, is called the mūla-mūrti (original form) of Yoga-nidrā, and from her the other forms are derived.—Kālikā-p. 60. 48-52; 39. 123. For description of the form of Mahāmāyā see Kālikā-p. 55. 24-36.

[469] Kālikā-p. 61. 10-22; 62. 9ff.

[470–472] *Ibid.*, 62.55ff.; 62.118ff.; and 63. 41ff. respectively.

[473] *Ibid.*, chaps. 81-83; 78. 204ff., and so on.

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of these deities being introduced in connection with those of one or other of the various forms of Kālikā.

In spite of the fact that the Kālikā-p. speaks of many Śākta deities as well as holy places, mountains and rivers of different parts of India, especially of the region of the Candrabhāgā in the Punjab, its partiality for the east[474] and more definitely for 'Kāmarūpa',[475] is specially remarkable. It speaks of Devī's *bodhana* by Brahmā and worship by the gods during the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, and mentions the following rites in connection with Devī-worship in the month of Āśvina:— (*i*) The untying of Devī's hair on the Śukla-caturthī Tithi, (*ii*) *bodhana* of Devī in a Bilva tree on the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi, (*iii*) *patrikā-praveśa* and *nava-patrikā-pūjā*, (*iv*) Śāvarotsava, and (*v*) lustration of the army

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[474] According to Kālikā-p. 18. 28-34 the river Vaitaraṇī originated from Śiva's tears, came ultimately to the east, and flowed into the 'pūrva-sāgara'; in Kālikā-p. 18.37 Śiva is said to have gone to the eastern countries with Satī's dead body on his shoulder; in Kālikā-p. 18. 40f. different holy places are said to have originated in the east from parts of Satī's body which was cut to pieces by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śanaiścara; Kālikā-p. 18. 44-45 say that those regions in the east which were traversed by Śiva with Satī's body on his shoulder, were known as 'yājñika deśa'; and so on.

[475] The name 'Kāmarūpa' for Prāgjyotiṣa is of comparatively late origin. Going to account for the origin of this name (Kāmarūpa) the Kālikā-p. (53. 79b-80a) says: "As, after being thoroughly burnt by the fire (issuing) from Śambhu's eye, Kāma regained a form there through Śambhu's favour, it became (known as) Kāmarūpa". The Kālikā-p. (18.42; 60.54f.; and 39.4f.) further states that after Satī's body had been cut to pieces by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śanaiścara, her female organ fell at Kāmākhyā (in Kāmarūpa), that Devī resided in Kāmarūpa for satisfying her 'kāma' (desire for sexual enjoyment), and that Kāmarūpa was inhabited by Kirātas before Naraka's arrival there. The Mahābhārata also testifies to the fact that Kāmarūpa was originally inhabited by Kirātas and other 'Mleccha' tribes (see Mbh I. 67. 9; II. 26.7; II. 30.26-27; II. 34. 9b-10a; II. 51. 14-15; V. 130. 45; and so on). From the Daśa-kumāra-carita and the present Kālikā-p. we understand that Kāmarūpa became famous as a seat of Tantricism from early times; and Devī-p. 39. 142 (..... pulinda-śavarādiṣu / lokāntareṇa mārgeṇa vāmācāreṇa siddhidā //) tells us that Vāmācāra Tantricism was prevalent among the aboriginal tribes. (See also the verse 'surā-māṃsādy-upahārair japa-yajñair vinā tu sā / vinā mantrais tāmasī sā kirātānāṃ tu saṃmatā //' ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya' and the 'Skanda-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 3, Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 68 and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 30, Gadādhara's Kālasāra, p. 111, and so on). So, it seems that Prāgjyotiṣa was, from very early times, a seat of Vāmācāra Tantricism and was consequently given the Sanskrit name 'Kāmarūpa' on the basis of the popular one, viz., 'Kāmru-t' (or 'Kāmru-d' mentioned by Alberūnī and others) derived from the Austric word 'Kamru' or 'Kambru' which is the name of a lesser divinity worshipped by the Santals. (For further information on this point see B.K. Kakati, Assamese, Its Formation and Development, pp. 53-54).

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by the king (bala-nīrājana).[476] It deals elaborately with the different deities as well as the holy places, rivers and mountains of Kāmarūpa exhaustively and with special fervour, so much so that Kāmākhyā, the most prominent Śākta deity in Kāmarūpa, has been given the highest place as the chief form (mūla-mūrti) of Mahāmāyā, and the holy places there have been glorified even over Vārāṇasī, Puruṣottama-kṣetra, Dvāravatī, Brahmāvarta, Prayāga etc., Kāmākhyā being called the most sacred place of all.[477] Moreover, in Kālikā-p. 93.30-32 it is said that Vasiṣṭha, who had read and heard the 'Kālikā-p.' from Mārkaṇḍeya, concealed it in Kāmarūpa, 'the abode of gods', until it was revealed to the sages by Mārkaṇḍeya. In his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, pp. 30-31 Vidyāpati ascribes to the 'Kālikā-p.' a few verses containing the names of fruits to be offered to Devī. These verses, which are all found in the present Kālikā-p., chap. 74, include the name of a fruit called 'Karuṇa', which, Vidyāpati says, 'was famous in Gauḍa' (karuṇaṃ gauḍe prasiddham). On the other hand, this work was utilised first of all by Śūlapāṇi of Bengal and then by Vidyāpati of Mithilā in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī. Other non-Bengal Smṛti-writers referred to or drew upon this Purāṇa from about the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Hence there can be little doubt regarding the fact that *the present Kālikā-p. was composed either in Kāmarūpa (in Assam) or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it.*

An examination of the story of Naraka (of Prāgjyotiṣa) as occurring in the Mahābhārata (V. 48 and 130), Harivaṃśa (II. 63-64), Viṣṇu-p. (V. 29), Bhāgavata-p. (X. 59) etc., as well as a study of the present Kālikā-p., shows that it was the Purāṇic Vaiṣṇavas who first tried, towards the very close of the epic period,[478] to bring the non-Aryan inhabitants

[476] See Kālikā-p. 62. 1-53, and 63. 18-23.

[477] *Ibid.*, 60. 34-48.

[478] In the Mahābhārata Naraka is called 'Bhauma' but not Varāha's son. It is in the Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇu-p., Bhāgavata-p. and other comparatively late works that Naraka is said to have been born of Bhūmi (Earth) by Viṣṇu.

In the Mahābhārata, the word 'Bhauma' might have been used in the sense of 'native', 'aboriginal', or 'local'.

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of Prāgjyotiṣa into their fold by giving it out to be originally a place of Viṣṇu-worship and Vaiṣṇava Āgamas and also by fabricating a story that Naraka was born of the Earth by Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation. But in spite of this attempt of the Purāṇic Vaiṣṇavas the Śaiva (Kāpālika ?) cult (which was most probably already popular in Kāmarūpa) had a firm footing there, so much so that it influenced very greatly the more popular cult of Śakti (i.e. Devī).[479] Hence those Śākta-vaiṣṇavas of Kāmarūpa who looked upon Viṣṇu as Brahma or Puruṣa and Devī as his Śakti (or Māyā or Prakṛti) wrote the present Kālikā-p. with a view to convincing the people that Kāmākhyā is none but Viṣṇu's Yoga-māyā embodied, that Viṣṇu is superior to Śiva, and that every one must be a Vaiṣṇava before he sets himself to Devī-worship. Such Vaiṣṇava influence on Śāktism is also found in the Bṛhaddharma-p. which says that one should not follow the course of a Śākta unless one has devotion to Viṣṇu and performs the duties of the Vaiṣṇavas. (See Bṛhaddh. II. 6. 144-6).

The inclusion of the title 'Kālikā' or 'Kālī-p.' in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas which we have been able to collect from different sources,[480] and the numerous quotations made from a 'Kālikā-p.' by many of the early Nibandha-writers, would certainly appear to show that the present Kālikā-p. is a work of considerable antiquity;[481] but an

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[479] We shall see hereafter that there was an earlier Kālikā-p. which, unlike the present one, allowed a prominent place to Śiva. Even the present Kālikā-p. states that the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Śāktism was due to Satī's female organ which fell at Kāmākhyā, that 'Śaṃkara, with Pārvatī, remains always present at Kāmākhyā, the great and most secret holy place', and that there was already a number of Śaiva temples and shrines at different places in Kāmarūpa (see Kālikā-p. 18. 42; 53. 74b-75a and 82f.).

[480] For these lists see Vol. I, Chap. I.

[481] As a matter of fact, P. K. Gode finds fault with the date (14th century) assigned to the present Kālikā-p. by Mr. Payne in his work (The Śāktas), and places it before 1000 A.D. without trying to ascertain whether the 'Kālikā-p.' drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Lakṣmīdhara and other early commentators and Nibandha-writers is the same as the present one. See Gode in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. X, 1936, pp. 289-294. Also Gode, Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol. I, pp. 203-8.

For a similar view held by Dines Chandra Sircar see JASB, XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 12 footnote 5.

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attempt to trace the quoted verses in the present Kālikā-p. creates grave doubts regarding the early origin of this Purāṇa by bringing to our notice the facts that not a single of the numerous quotations made in Nānyadeva's Bharata-bhāṣya,[482] Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's Samaya-pradīpa and Ācārādarśa (*alias* Kṛtyācāra), Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara and Gṛhastha-ratnākara, Madanapāla's Madana-pārijāta, Mādhavācārya's Kāla-nirṇaya and commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti, Vidyāpati's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, Vācaspati-miśra's Dvaita-nirṇaya, Kṛtya-cintā-maṇi and Śuddhi-cintāmaṇi, Madanasiṃha-deva's Madana-ratna-pradīpa, Rudradhara's Śuddhi-viveka, Allāḍanātha's Nirṇayāmṛta, and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa[483] is found in the present Kālikā-p., that none of the interlocutors, viz. (*i*) Tṛṇabindu and

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[482] Nānyadeva's quotation from a 'Kālikākhya-purāṇa' in his Bharata-bhāṣya was pointed out by V. Raghavan in his article on 'The Kālikā (Upa) purāṇa' in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 331-360.

[483] Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, who is one of the most noted Smṛti-writers of Orissa, mentions 'Vidyākara Vājapeyin' as well as 'Vidyākara-paddhati' in his Nityācāra-pradīpa. So, the Nityācāra-pradīpa must be later than the Nityācāra-paddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin.

Now, as Raghunandana mentions Vidyākara Vājapeyin as an authority several times in his Smṛti-tattva (I, pp. 355, 744, etc.; II. pp. 68, 75, 312, 505, etc.), the latter cannot be later than 1500 A.D.; and as Vidyākara himself mentions the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, which is apparently the older work of that name by Caṇḍeśvara and not the later one by Vācaspati-miśra whose literary activity lay between 1450 and 1480 A.D., he cannot be earlier than 1350 A.D. The Krama-dīpikā informs us that Vidyākara's father declined a grant of land from Nṛsiṃha, king of Orissa, left the country with family and settled at Benares. (For the extract of the Krama-dīpikā see Nityācāra-paddhati, Preface, p. 2, footnote 2). Now, the only Nṛsiṃha, whose reign falls within this period, is the fourth king of that name, one of whose land-grants was made in 1395 A.D. in the 22nd *aṅka* or 18th year of his reign (see JASB, 1895, pp. 132f. and R.D. Banerji, History of Orissa, I, pp. 283-4). So, this Nṛsiṃha must have ascended the throne in 1377 A.D. Hence it is sure that Vidyākara's father migrated to Benares after 1377 A.D. Again, Vidyākara says in one of the introductory verses of his Nityācāra-paddhati that he lived at Benares for 30 years and then wrote the Nityācāra-paddhati (cf. triṃśadvarṣaṃ sa kāśyāṃ kṛta-vasatir abhūd dharma-śāstrasya kartā paddhatyākhyasya....). So, the Nityācāra-paddhati must have been composed in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D.

Hence the Nityācāra-pradīpa of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin cannot be earlier than 1425 A.D. (According to Kane, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin was 'later than 1400 A.D.' See P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra I, pp. 572 and 706).

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Anilāda,[484] (*ii*) Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvyakūṭa[485] (?), and (*iii*) Sūrya and his devotee,[486] mentioned in connection with some of the verses quoted from a 'Kālikā-p.' in the above-mentioned works, is found in the extant Kālikā-p., and that the present Kālikā-p., which is drawn upon by Śūlapāṇi, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya (in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī), Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, Gadādhara,[487] Mitra-miśra, Anantabhaṭṭa, Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa,[488] Nanda-paṇḍita and others, first began to be used by the Bengal Smṛti-writers and by Vidyāpati of Mithilā from the fourteenth century A.D.[489] but by other non-Bengal authors, from about

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[484] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 439-444, 829-831, 831-832; II. ii, pp. 179-180, 376, 377-381, 992-4. Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 452-5. Madana-ratna-pradīpa, fols. 66b-68a. (Tṛṇabindu and Anilāda appear to have been the principal interlocutors in the Kālikā-p. drawn upon by Nānyadeva and others).

[485] Mentioned in Kṛtya-kalpataru, Śānti-kāṇḍa.—See Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

[486] See Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 684-5.

Though the interlocution between Sūrya and his devotee is mentioned in the Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 36) also, it need not be taken to have occurred in the present Kālikā-p., because those Nibandhakāras who have drawn upon the extant Kālikā-p. are sometimes found to cite verses which belonged to the earlier Kālikā-p. and which they derived, as in the cases of many other Purāṇas, either direct from the earlier Kālikā or from the authoritative commentaries and Nibandhas which drew upon this earlier Purāṇa. See footnotes 494, 496 and 497 below.

[487] In his Kālasāra Gadādhara mentions not only the following works and authors, viz., Mādhavācārya, Kāla-mādhavīya, Kālādarśa, Kṛtya-kaumudī, Kṛtya-mahārṇava, Gauḍa-saṃvatsara-pradīpa, Madana-pārijāta, Śūlapāṇi, Śrāddha-viveka etc., but also 'Tithitattvakāra' (sometimes distinguished with the adjective 'Gauḍa',—see Kālasāra, pp. 421, 463, etc.—gauḍais tithitattvakāraiḥ ....) and Hari-bhakti-vilāsa in several places. That by the word 'Tithitattvakāra' Gadādhara means none but Raghunandana is shown by the fact that the references made by Gadādhara to the opinions of the 'Tithi-tattvakāra' are all found in the Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana. (For instance, Kālasāra, pp. 105, 106-7 and 117-8 refer to Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 67-68, 67 and 60 respectively). The references to the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa also are all found in the present Hari-bhakti-vilāsa ascribed to Gopālabhaṭṭa. (For instance, Kālasāra, p. 118 refers to Hari-bh., p. 905; Kālasāra, p. 140 to Hari-bh., p. 794; Kālasāra, p. 165 to Hari-bh., pp. 895 and 897-8; and so on.) Hence the Kālasāra must be dated not earlier than 1600 A.D. Haraprasad Shastri also includes Gadādhara among those Smṛti-writers who flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, Preface, p. xxxvii.)

The date (1450-1500 A.D.), assigned to Gadādhara by P. V. Kane in his History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, pp. 530 and 692, requires modification.

[488] Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa seems to have derived the verses of the present Kālikā-p. not direct from their source but from the Nibandhas of Bengal. Cf. Nirṇaya-sindhu, pp. 20, 63, 129 and so on.

[489] The Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4632) does not draw upon any Kālikā-p. even in its section on Durgā-pūjā.

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the beginning of the seventeenth century. These facts create the impression that the present Kālikā-p., which certainly came to Bengal from Kāmarūpa either in the thirteenth or in the fourteenth century A.D., is a work quite different from the earlier Kālikā-p. mentioned in the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas and drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīdhara and others. This impression is finally established as true by an extract of ten verses which is quoted in Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva (pp. 8-9) with the words "duṣprāpa-kālikā-purāṇ-āntare'pi" but is not found in the present Kālikā-p. and in which Devī (or Kālikā) speaks to one, addressed as 'putra', on her own annual worship in the month of Āśvina. The expression "duṣprāpa-kālikā-purāṇ-āntare'pi" shows definitely that Raghunandana knew another Kālikā-p. which was different from the present one profusely drawn upon by him in his Tattvas, and that Mss of this older Kālikā-p. already became extremely rare in his time.

Before we try to determine the date of composition of the present Kālikā-p. we should like to say a few words on the contents, character and date of the earlier Kālikā-p. (which also was often called 'Kālī-purāṇa' and sometimes 'Kāla-kaṇṭha')[490] on the basis of the quotations made from it in the commentaries and Nibandhas. These quotations and references show that the earlier Kālikā-p. contained, among others, the following interlocutors, viz., (*i*) Tṛṇabindu and Anilāda, (*ii*) Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvyakūṭa (?), and (*iii*) Sūrya and his devotee, and was a rich store of Smṛti materials. The multifarious Smṛti topics, dealt with in this Purāṇa, included the following: (*a*) donations (of gold, well furnished houses, a thousand cows, canopy, kṛṣṇājina, ghṛta-kambala, Narasiṃha, etc.),[491]

[490] See the lists of Upapurāṇas in Vol. I, Chap. I.

[491] Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, pp. 366-7, and V, pp. 113-6, 185-6, 195-6, 311-2; Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 337-8; Dānasāgara, pp. 313, 417-8, 441-2, 527-8; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 493-4; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 34, 156, 258-261, 568, 575-6, 589, etc; Vidhāna-pārijāta, III, 359-360, 389, 394; and so on.

According to Vallālasena, this Kālikā-p. dealt prominently with donations (uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca/ ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālikāhvayam eva ca // etc.—Dānasāgara, p. 3, verses 13ff.

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(*b*) duties of castes and āśramas,[492] (*c*) worship of Kālikā[493] and Śiva,[494] (*d*) Vratas (viz., Aviyoga-vrata, Bhāskara-vrata, Soma-vrata, Śaṃkarārka-vrata, Īśāna-vrata, Kāla-rātri-vrata, Mahāvrata, etc.),[495] (*e*) Saura-dharmas,[496] (*f*) iṣṭā-pūrta,[497] (*g*) vyavahāra,[498] (*h*) śrāddha,[499] (*i*) tīrtha (such as bhṛgu-prapatana),[500] (*j*) settling of Brahmins,[501] (*k*) praise of bath and other pious acts done in the Ganges,[502] (*l*) demerits of not worshipping the five deities Śiva, Sūrya, Agni, Keśava and Kauśikī,[503] and (*m*) purification.[504] Besides these, the earlier Kālikā-p. also might have contained, among other topics, a song (gīta) called Rovindaka.[505]

A careful examination of these quotations further shows

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[492] Kṛtya-kalpataru, II, pp. 257-8, 270, 296; Madana-pārijāta, p. 288; Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 178; Gṛhastha-ratnākara, pp. 479, 501.

[493] Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 15; Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 8-9. (One of the ten verses quoted in Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 8-9 is found in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 17).

[494] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 237-9; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 175-8, 434-7; Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 694; Vīramitrodaya, Pūjā-prakāśa, pp. 226-232. (These verses, dealing with mahāsnāna, ghṛtābhiṣeka, ghṛta-dhārā and Śiva-jāgara in Śiva-worship, are the same as those given in the Pūjā-kāṇḍa of Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru. See also Kṛtya-kalpataru, Śānti-kāṇḍa for 'rudra-japa-vidhi').

[495] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 439-444, 788, 829-831, 831-2, and II. ii, pp. 149-151,179-180, 326-332, 376, 377-381; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 452-5; Madana-ratna-pradīpa, fols. 66b-68a.

[496] Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 684-5. (This extract is also found in Vīramitrodaya, Pūjā-prakāśa, pp. 308-9. See also Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 36 for two of its lines).

[497] Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 8; Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 10; Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 44.

[498] Kṛtya-kalpataru, XII, pp. 79, 205, 210-211, 221, 231, 238 (on different kinds of ordeals); Dīpa-kalikā, p. 5 (on ordeal).

[499] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Vol III, Parts i-ii (containing numerous verses on śrāddha and allied topics).

[500] Kṛtya-kalpataru, VIII, pp. 263-4.

[501] *Ibid.*, V, pp. 254-6; Vidhāna-pārijāta, III, pp. 221-2.

[502] Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, pp. 202, 202-3, 204-5, 310; Śuddhi-cintāmaṇi, p. 81; Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, fols. 4b-5a.

[503] Ācārādarśa, p. 32a; Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, fol. 47b.

[504] Kṛtya-kalpataru, X, p. 130; Ācārādarśa, p. 11a; Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, p. 219; Śuddhi-viveka (of Rudradhara), p. 28a.

[505] By ascribing the song 'śaṇḍaṃ śaṇḍaṃ jagapati etc.' to both the 'Bhagavatī-p.' and the 'Kālikākhya-p.' Nānyadeva makes a confusion between these two Purāṇic works, which, as we shall see afterwards, are quite different, and not identical, as Nānyadeva took them to be. This confusion may be due to the fact that, like the Bhagavatī-p., the Kālikā-p. also dealt with the exploits of 'Bhagavatī' (cf. . . . bhagavatyā idaṃ bhāgavatam iti kālikāpurāṇaṃ bhāgavata-padenoktam iti ye vadanti te nirastāḥ—Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18), or that due to its treatment of the exploits of Bhagavatī the Kālikā-p. was wrongly designated as 'Bhagavatī-p.' by Nānyadeva.

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that the earlier Kālikā-p., unlike the present one, had scarcely any Tantric element in its rituals. The long quotations given in the Kṛtya-kalpataru, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Kṛtya-ratnākara, Madana-ratna-pradīpa and other works[506] on the details of the different devotional vows and worships are totally free from Tantric influence. The procedure is purely Purāṇic and the *mantras* to be used are very often Purāṇic and sometimes Vedic. A quotation made by Aparārka (com., p. 15) on the method of painting magic collyrium on the eyes for vaśīkaraṇa, however, shows that though the earlier Kālikā-p. rendered its rituals free from Tantric elements, it could not overcome the temptation for describing the method of attaining magic power, of which the Śāktas are so fond. That the earlier Kālikā-p. had little or no Tantric element can be further proved by another piece of evidence adduced by Vallālasena who was not at all favourably disposed towards the Tantriks and their scriptures and practices. By way of explaining why he rejected some of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas partly or wholly in his Dānasāgara Vallālasena says that the Devī-p. which was excluded from the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its treatment of sinful acts, was rejected by him because of its Tantric character,[507] and that the Bhaviṣya-p. was utilised by him up to the chapters dealing with the Saptamī (-kalpa), while those on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence;[508] but he expresses no such opinion regarding the 'Kālikā-p.' known to him. On the other hand, he quotes 40 verses on gifts

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[506] See Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, pp. 336-7, and V, pp. 113-6; Caturvaga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 738-9, 928-930, II. i, pp. 237-9, 439-444, etc., II. ii, pp. 149-151, 179-180, 326-332, etc.; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 175-8, 434-7, 452-5 and 493-4; Madana-ratna-pradīpa, fols. 66b-68a; and so on.

[507] Dānasāgara, p.7 (verse 67)—

tattat-purāṇ-opapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ kaśmala-karma-yogāt /
pāṣaṇḍa-śāstr-ānumataṃ nirūpya devī-purāṇaṃ na nibaddham atra //

[508] Dānasāgara, p.7 (verse 59)—

saptamy-*avadhi* purāṇaṃ bhaviṣyam api saṃgṛhītam atiyatnāt /
tyaktv-āṣṭamī-*navamyoḥ* kalpau pāṣaṇḍibhir grastau //

For the reasons for our accepting the readings *in italics* in the above verse see footnote 314 above.

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from the 'Kālikā-p.' So, it is sure that the 'Kālikā-p.' known to Vallālasena must have been free from Tantric elements. Although Vallālasena names a set of spurious Purāṇas, viz., Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruda), Brāhma, Āgneya, Vaiṣṇava of 23000 ślokas, and Laiṅga of 6000 ślokas, which were influenced by Tantricism,[509] his silence regarding the existence of any second Kālikā-p.[510] in his time, is remarkable and shows that the present Kālikā-p., which is full of Tantric elements, was unknown in his days.

The quoted verses further show that, unlike the present Kālikā-p. wherein Viṣṇu has been given a superior position by an identification of the primordial Kālikā with his Yoga-nidrā and Māyā, the earlier Kālikā-p. allowed Śiva a prominent place. It is for this reason that in one of the quoted verses Śiva is called the highest deity,[511] and the worship of Śiva or his *liṅga* is ordained in many of the vows and worships.[512]

The earlier Kālikā-p. was written most probably in Bengal. Among the ten verses (on Durgā-pūjā) ascribed to the 'duṣprāpa-kālikāpurāṇ-āntara' in Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 8-9 there are three lines which run as follows:

aṣṭamī-navamī-saṃdhau tṛtīyā khalu kathyate/
tatra pūjyā tv ahaṃ putra yoginī-gaṇa-saṃyutā/
manoharaiś ca balibhir upahāraiḥ pṛthag-vidhaiḥ//;

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[509] Dānasāgara, p.7 (verses 63-66)—

tārkṣyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ brāhmam āgneyam eva ca /
trayoviṃśati-sāhasraṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavam //
ṣaṭ-sahasra-mitaṃ laiṅgaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ tathā /
dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍa-yukti-ratna-parīkṣaṇaiḥ //
mṛṣā-vaṃśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ /
asaṃgata-kathā-*bandhaiḥ* paraspara-*virodhibhiḥ* //
tan-mīna-ketanādīnāṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-liṅginām /
loka-vañcanam ālokya sarvam evāvadhīritam //

For the reasons for our emendations in the sixth line see footnote 316 above.

[510] It is to be noted that nowhere in his Dānasāgara does Vallālasena give the slightest indication of his knowledge of a Kālikā-p. different from that drawn upon by him.

[511] śaṃkarāt paramaṃ nānyat...—Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, p. 311 and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 665.

[512] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 568, 575-6, etc.; Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, pp. 366-7, V, pp. 113-6, 195-6, 254-6, 311-2, VIII, pp. 263-4; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 175-8, 434-7, 452-5, 493-4; Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 694, and so on.

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and on the basis of these lines Raghunandana prescribes that at the *aṣṭamī-navamī-saṃdhi* Devī (i.e. Durgā) should be worshipped, along with the Yoginīs, with the offer of different articles and the sacrifice of animals.[513] Now, Govindānanda informs us that it was a local custom (deśācāra) with the Gauḍīyas to worship Devī as well as the Yoginīs at the aṣṭamī-navamī-saṃdhi and to offer different articles and animals to Devī on this occasion.[514] So, by recording this local custom in the above-mentioned lines the earlier Kālikā-p. seems to point to Bengal as the place of its origin.

Let us now discuss the date of the earlier Kālikā-p. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi Hemādri quotes from the 'Kālikā-p.' five lines which give a list of eighteen Purāṇas including the 'Kālikā' which is called the 'original Bhāgavata'.[515] So, the earlier Kālikā-p., which thus laid claim to the position of the Bhāgavata-p., must have been written at a time when the position of the latter had already become enviable. As the Bhāgavata-p. is to be assigned to the sixth century A.D. and most probably to the former half of that century,[516] the earlier Kālikā-p. could not have been written earlier than 600 A.D. Again, the numerous quotations made from the 'Kālikā-p.' by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri and others, who flourished in different parts of India, show that the earlier Kālikā-p. must have been written not later than 900 A.D. In his

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[513] See Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 86 (wherein the first two lines only have been quoted) and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 36 (which quotes all the three lines).

[514] Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 373—gauḍīyās tu aṣṭamī-navamī-saṃdhau cāmuṇḍā-rūpaṃ dhyātvā upacārair abhyarcya bali-dānaṃ kurvantīti deśācāraḥ.

Also Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 447—gauḍīyās tu aṣṭamī-navamī-saṃdhi-kāle bhūta-śuddhy-ādikaṃ kṛtvā cāmuṇḍā-rūpaṃ cintayitvā ṣoḍaśopacāraiḥ saṃpūjya ṣaṣṭi-yoginīś ca pūjayitvā baliṃ dadati.

[515] śaivaṃ yad vāyunā proktaṃ vairiñciṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ tathā /
yad idaṃ kālikākhyaṃ ca mūlaṃ bhāgavataṃ smṛtam //
sauraṃ ca nārādīyaṃ ca mārkaṇḍīyaṃ ca vahnijam /
vāmanaṃ kaurmaṃ mātsyaṃ ca saptadaśaṃ ca gāruḍam /
brahmāṇḍam aṣṭādaśaṃ jñeyaṃ purāṇaṃ ca na saṃśayaḥ //
Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 531.

The first two lines are also found quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 22 (with v. l. 'sauram eva ca' for 'vaiṣṇavaṃ tathā' and 'yat' for 'ca').

[516] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 55.

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Durgotsava-viveka Śūlapāṇi quotes two verses, viz., 'upavāsaṃ mahāṣṭamyāṃ' and 'upavāsaṃ tu tasyāṃ vai', and points out that the second verse was known to Śrīkara.[517] Of these two verses the first is the same as verse 16b-17a of chap. 63 of the present Kālikā-p., but the second, which is not found in the present Kālikā, is one of the ten verses quoted by Raghunandana in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva (pp. 8-9) from a 'duṣprāpa-kālikāpurāṇ-āntara'. Hence Śrīkara,[518] who knew the second verse, must have been acquainted with the earlier Kālikā-p., which, therefore, must be dated not later than 800 A.D. We have already said that the *group* of eighteen Upapurāṇas was formed approximately between 650 and 800 A.D.,[519] and as all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas contain the name of a 'Kālikā', or 'Kālī-p.,' *the earlier Kālikā-p. should be dated not later than* 700 *A.D.*, because the Purāṇic works generally take a fairly long time to attain a state of authority. *It is highly probable that this work was composed sometime during the seventh century A.D.*

This fairly early origin and the non-Tantric character of the earlier Kālikā-p. show that it was certainly composed by the Smārta Brahmin sectaries, and most probably by the Smārta Śāktas, with its rituals rendered free from Tantric elements.[520] But in course of time serious changes came

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[517] Durgotsava-viveka, p. 17—

yasmin dine mahāṣṭamī-pūjā tasmin dina evopavāso na tu saṃdhi-pūjā-dine, aṣṭamītven-opavāsa-vidhānāt / jyeṣtha-putravato gṛhasthasya tanniṣedham āha kālikā-purāṇam—

upavāsaṃ mahāṣṭamyāṃ putravān na samācaret /
yathā tathaiva pūtātmā vratī devīṃ prapūjayet //

putravān jyeṣṭha-putravān / tatraiva—

upavāsaṃ tu tasyāṃ vai mahāpātaka-nāśanam/
gṛhiṇā na tu kartavyaṃ jyeṣṭha-putravatā sadā //

....atra kālī-purāṇīya-vacanottarārdhe putravata upavāsetara-haviṣyānnādinā pūjā-vidhānāt tasya pūjāṅga-mahāṣṭamī-nimittak-opavāsasya niṣedho na tu pratimāsa-kartavy-āṣṭamī-nimittak-opavāsa-niṣedha iti śrīkaraḥ (v. l. 'śrīdattaḥ' for 'śrīkaraḥ'; Dacca Univ. Mss have 'ṣrīkaraḥ').

[518] According to P. V. Kane, 'Śrīkara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A.D. and probably flourished in the ninth century'. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, I, p. 268.

[519] See Vol. I, Chap. I (p. 15).

[520] For a discussion on the Purāṇas in the second stage of their development, see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 215-222.

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over the Hindu society with the spread of Tantricism. Consequently, in spite of its great authority in the eyes of the comparatively early authors who had no regard for Tantricism, it could not hold ground very long among the people as it failed to satisfy their fresh needs, especially ritualistic, created by the spread of Tantricism. Consequently, it was replaced by the present Kālikā-p. which abounds in Tantric elements; and Bengal, which is adjacent to Assam, being a hot bed of Tantricism from fairly early days, the present Kālikā-p. had been accepted here first of all[521] before it came to be regarded as authoritative by the Smṛti-writers of other provinces where the hold of the Brahmanical religion, at least upon the Smṛti-writers, did not become loose as early as in Bengal.

Though, as we have seen above, the earlier Kālikā-p. laid claim to the position of a 'Purāṇa', and more, to the status of the 'original Bhāgavata',[522] and this claim was also supported by a section of people,[523] it has not only been included in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas but has been classed among the secondary Purāṇas or expressly called an 'Upapurāṇa' by such noted Smṛti-writers as Lakṣmīdhara (author of the Kṛtya-kalpataru),[524] Vallāla-

[521] It is to be noted that of the Maithila Smṛti-writers down to the end of the fifteenth century A.D., if not later, it is only Vidyāpati who is found to have known the present Kālikā-p. and to have used it only in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī and not in any other work. We have already stated that in writing this Nibandha Vidyāpati was influenced by the Smṛti-writers of Bengal.

[522] See footnote 515 above.

[523] Cf. the verse

'bhagavatyāś ca durgāyāś caritaṃ yatra vartate /
tat tu bhāgavataṃ proktaṃ na tu devī-purāṇakam //'

occurring in the Uttara-khaṇḍa (chap. 23) which claims to belong to the Bengal 'Śiva-p'. (For further information on this verse see footnotes 194 and 420 above.)

That the above verse points to the Kālikā-p. is shown by the line '... ... bhagavatyā idaṃ bhāgavatam iti kālikā-purāṇaṃ bhāgavata-padenoktam iti ye vadanti...' occurring in Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18.

[524] See Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30—

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dṛśyate /
vijānīdhvaṃ muni-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam / /
vinirgatam udbhūtam / yathā kālikāpurāṇādi /

This passage has been quoted, under the name of 'Lakṣmīdhara', in Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18.

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sena,[525] Caṇḍeśvara[526] and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin.[527] Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha also calls it an 'Upapurāṇa'.[528]

From what has been said above it is clear that the present Kālikā-p. is a work quite different from the earlier Kālikā-p.,[529] that it was unknown in Bengal in Vallālasena's time, and that in the western and southern parts of India it became known only from the end of the sixteenth century A.D.

We shall now try to determine the date of the present Kālikā-p.

The extant Kālikā not only knows the rāśis[530] and week-days[531] and the 'ten forms'[532] of Viṣṇu, of which the 'Matsya', 'Kūrma' and 'Varāha' have been dealt with elaborately in chaps. 25-35, but is remarkably indebted, for many of its ideas and expressions, to Kālidāsa's Kumāra-saṃbhava and Māgha's Śiśupāla-vadha[533] and most probably to the Devī-p. also.[534] Hence the date of the present Kālikā-p.

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[525] Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 13ff.)—

uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca /
ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālikāhvayam eva ca //
etc. etc.

[526] Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 31-2—

matsya-purāṇe—

... ...

aṣṭādśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dṛśyate /
vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam //

vinirgatam udbhūtaṃ yathā kālikā-purāṇādi /

[527] Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18.

[528] See Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha's com. on the Devī-bhāgavata, p. 3a— ... devīpurāṇa-kālikāpurāṇayor upapurāṇatvasya niścitatvāt ... ... /

[529] As none of the verses quoted by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena and others from the earlier Kālikā-p. is found in our present Kālikā, it is extremely hazardous to say that the present Kālikā has retained chapters or verses from the earlier one, or that the present Kālikā is the result of a revision to which the earlier one was subjected.

[530] Kālikā-p. 20. 130; 61. 25; 62. 6; 63.2 and 7; and so on.

[531] *Ibid.*, 90. 47 and 49.

[532] *Ibid.*, 34. 30 (yasya te daśadhā mūrtiḥ ...).

[533] See V. Raghavan's article entitled 'The Kālikā-purāṇa, Kālidāsa and Māgha' in Woolner Commemoration Volume (edited by Mohammad Shafi and published by Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, Lahore, 1940), pp. 191-5. See also Raghavan in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 332 and 337.

[534] For instance,

Devī-p.	Kālikā-p.
22. 7-8a	= 62. 5b-6.

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which, as we have already seen, was composed either in Kāmarūpa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it, cannot be placed before 750 A.D.

Again, by his mention that the 'Kālikā-p.' contained the story of Kālikā's manifestation in Kātyāyana's hermitage as a result of the latter's curse on Mahiṣa who fascinated a disciple of Kātyāyana by taking the form of a female,[535] Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the Devī-bhāgavata, points definitely to Kālikā-p. 62. 95f.; Anantabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chap. 91 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta (Vol. I), Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa from chaps. 57, 60, 62, 63, 69, 71, 73, 86 and 91 in his Nirṇaya-sindhu, Mitra-miśra from chaps. 57, 59, 80, 91 and 92 in his Vīramitrodaya, Gadādhara from chap. 69 in his Kālasāra, Raghunandana from chaps. 54, 57, 59-63, 66, 67, 69, 71-74, 83, 86, 90 and 91 in his Smṛti-tattva and from chaps. 54, 57, 60-63, 69, 71-74 and 91 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa from chaps. 57 and 71 in his Tantra-sāra, Govindānanda from chaps. 57 and 73 in his Dāna-kaumudī, from chaps. 57, 60, 62 and 73 in his Śuddhi-kaumudī, from chaps. 57, 71 and 73 in his Śrāddha-kaumudī, and from chaps. 55-57, 59-63, 66, 67, 69-75, 77, 83, 84, 86 and 89 in his Varṣa-kaumudī, Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi from chaps. 57, 60, 63 and 71 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava and from chaps. 60 and 63 in his Durgotsava-viveka, Vidyāpati from chaps. 57, 59-63, 69, 71, 73 and 74 in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, and Śūlapāṇi from chaps. 61-63, 69, 71 and 73 in his Durgotsava-viveka and from chap. 91 in his Rāsa-yātrā-viveka; and the Bṛhaddharma-p., by

Devī-p.	Kālikā-p.
65. 65f.	= 89. 48f.
66. 13f.	= 89. 60f.
Chap. 67	= 89. 73f.
93. 104b-105	= 60. 31-32a.

And so on.

[535] See Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha's com. on Devī-bhāgavata V. 8. 34-37—ayaṃ cāvatāraḥ purāṇāntara-prasiddhe kātyāyanāśrame kātyāyana-śiṣyaṃ strī-rūpeṇa mohayantaṃ dṛṣṭvā kātyāyanaḥ strī tvāṃ haniṣyatīti śaptavān iti tad-āśrame eva rūpa-dhāraṇam iti kālikā-purāṇe spaṣṭam.

For information about this Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha, who was quite different from Nīlakaṇṭha, the Brahmin scholar of Mahārāṣṭra, who wrote his com. on the Mahābhārata at Benares in the last quarter of the 17th century, see footnote 779 below.

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its mention of the 'Kālī-p.' as dealing elaborately with the greatest holy place created on the bank of the Brahma-nada by the fall of the female organ of Satī,[536] refers definitely to the present Kālikā-p. Hence the present Kālikā-p. must be dated earlier than 1200 A.D.[537] If a period of at least one hundred years be allowed for its attaining the position of a genuine and authoritative Purāṇa so that it could be recognised as such by Vidyāpati, Śūlapāṇi and the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. even without a shade of doubt, then the present Kālikā-p. must be dated not later than 1100 A.D. The large proportion of Tantric elements in its rituals, as compared with those contained in the other Purāṇas, tends to show that *the present Kālikā-p. is a work of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.D.*[538]

K. L. Barua felt inclined to 'tentatively assign this work to the eleventh century' 'when the capital was in the neighbourhood of the old city of Prāgjyotiṣapura and the shrine of Kāmākshyā and when Tantrikism was the prevailing tenet.'[539] In the name 'Dharmapāla' given to the sword in the *mantra*

"asir viśasanaḥ khaḍgas tīkṣṇa-dhāro durāsadaḥ/
śrīgarvo (? śrīgarbho) vijayaś caiva *dharmapāla* namo' stu te/"

in Kālikā-p. 57.17, he discovered a possible 'reference to king Dharmapāla of the Brahmapāla dynasty' and found reason

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[536] Bṛhaddharma-p. II.10.37-38 (=Bibl. Ind. ed., Madhya-kh., chap. 40, verses 37-38)—

tīrtha-cūḍāmaṇis tatra yatra yoniḥ papāta ha /
tīre brahma-nadākhyasya mahāyoga-sthalaṃ hi tat //
kālī-purāṇe vijñeyaṃ mune vivaraṇaṃ tataḥ /
māhātmyaṃ tasya deśasya viṣṇur jānāti nāparaḥ //

According to Jogesh Chandra Roy the Bṛhaddharma-p. was composed sometime after the 13th century A.D. [See J. C. Roy in Bhāratavarṣa (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677]. But it is highly probable that this Purāṇic work was composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. (See Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, VI, 1955, pp. 245-263; also the section on 'Bṛhaddharma-p.' in Chap. II below).

[537] Farquhar's view that the present Kālikā-p. 'probably comes from a date near the beginning of the period' 1350-1800 A.D., is obviously wrong. See J. N. Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 354.

[538] Jogesh Chandra Roy also assigns this Kālikā-p. to the tenth century A.D. See Bhāratavarṣa (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677.

[539] K. L. Barua, Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 163.

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'to suppose that the Kālikā-purāṇa was compiled during his reign and perhaps under his auspices'.[540] This view of Barua was followed by Tirthanath Sarma who tried to strengthen it with 'certain internal evidences of the Purāṇa itself' and was definitely of opinion that this work was compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla.[541] As it has not been possible for us to agree with Barua and Sarma as regards the period of composition of this work, we examine critically in the following pages the evidences adduced by these two scholars in support of their views.

According to Barua, the position of the capital of Kāmarūpa in the neighbourhood of the old city of Prāgjyotiṣapura and the shrine of Kāmākhyā and the prevalence of Tantricism there, as known from the Kālikā-p., point to the 'eleventh century' as the period of composition of this work. But these arguments are indecisive, because Barua himself says, on the authority of inscriptional evidence, that 'about the end of the tenth century' 'the capital was transferred to Śrīdurjayā by Brahmapāla' who reigned approximately between 985 and 1000 A.D. and because the mention of king Indrapāla's erudition in the various branches of learning including 'Tantra'[542] does not prove that Tantricism was unknown in Kāmarūpa before Indrapāla's time, which falls between *circa* 1030 and 1055 A.D. On the other hand, the mention of 'Tantra' in both the inscriptions of Indrapāla shows that Tantricism attained popularity in Kāmarūpa to such an extent that even the king himself came to be influenced by it. So, the spread of Tantricism in Kāmarūpa must have begun much earlier than Indrapāla's time.

The verse 'asir viśasanaḥ khaḍgaḥ etc.', in which both Barua and Sarma found a covert allusion to king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa, has an earlier history which goes very

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[540] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

[541] IHQ, XXIII, 1947, pp. 322-6.

[542] See verse 16 of the Gauhati and Guakuchi copper-plate inscriptions of Indrapāla-varma-deva. This verse runs as follows:

suvistṛtānāṃ pada-vākya-tarkka-tantra-pravāh-ātitarasvinīnām /
yaḥ sarvva-vidyā-saritām agādham antar-nnimagnaś ca gataś ca pāram //

Padmanātha Bhaṭṭacārya, Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī, pp. 121 and 136.

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seriously against the views of these two scholars. Going to speak on *daṇḍa* which forms the basis of royal power, Bhīṣma mentions, in Mahābhārata XII. 121, its different forms and names (including '*asi*' and '*dharmapāla*') in a number of verses including the following:

"*asir* viśasano dharmas tīkṣṇa-varmā durādharaḥ /
śrīgarbho vijayaḥ śāstā vyavahāraḥ sanātanaḥ //
śāstraṃ brāhmaṇa-mantrāś ca śāstā prāgvadatāṃ varaḥ/
dharmapālo 'kṣaro devaḥ satyago nityago 'grajaḥ //
asaṅgo rudra-tanayo manur jyeṣṭhaḥ śivaṃkaraḥ /
nāmāny etāni daṇḍasya kīrtitāni yudhiṣṭhira //"[543]

In his Kṛtya-ratnākara Caṇḍeśvara quotes from an 'Āgamāntara' a large number of verses including the following four on the worship of a sword (khaḍga-pūjā) in human sacrifice:

"asir viśasanaḥ khaḍgas tīkṣṇa-dhāro durāsadaḥ /
śrīgarbho vijayaś caiva dharmādhāras (v.l. '*dharmapālas*' in one Ms[544]) tathaiva ca //
ity aṣṭau tava nāmāni svayam uktāni vedhasā /
nakṣatraṃ kṛttikā tubhyaṃ gurur devo maheśvaraḥ //
hiraṇyaṃ ca śarīraṃ te daivataṃ tu janārdanaḥ /
pitā pitāmaho devas tvaṃ māṃ pālaya sarvadā //
iyaṃ yena dhṛtā kṣauṇī hataś ca mahiṣāsuraḥ /
tīkṣṇa-dhārāya śuddhāya tasmai khaḍgāya te namaḥ //"[545]

Of these four verses, the first three are also found to occur in Viṣṇudharmottara II. 160. 26-28 and Bhaviṣyottara[546] 138. 65-67 with the readings 'dharmācāra-' and 'dharmadhāra-' for 'dharmādhāra-' (or 'dharmapāla-') in the second line. The present Agni-p., which is a spurious work compiled sometime during the ninth century A.D.,[547] has

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[543] Mbh XII. 121. 20-22 (=Poona critical ed., verses 19-21 with v.l. 'tīkṣṇa-vartmā' for 'tīkṣṇa-varmā', 'prajāgaraḥ' for 'sanātanaḥ', '-mantraś ca śāstā prāg-vacanaṃ gataḥ' for '-mantrāś ca etc.', 'nityago grahaḥ' for 'nityago 'grajaḥ', and 'manu-jyeṣṭhaḥ' for 'manur jyeṣṭhaḥ').

[544] See Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 353, footnote 2.

[545] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[546] This work has been printed as the Uttara-parvan of the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Bhaviṣya-p.

[547] Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 134-140, and S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, I, pp. 102-4. See also De in JRAS, 1923, pp. 537-549; and P. V. Kane, History of Dharmasāstra, I, p. 172, and History of Sanskirt Poetics, pp. II-V.

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derived from the Viṣṇudharmottara a large number of chapters including the three verses mentioned above but reads '*dharmapāla-*'[548] for 'dharmācāra-'. In his Kṛtya-tattva[549] Raghunandana anonymously quotes five verses including the above-mentioned four quoted by Caṇḍeśvara from an 'Āgamāntara' but reads '*dharmapāla* namo 'stu te' for 'dharmādhāras tathaiva ca' (or 'dharmapālas tathaiva ca'). That neither Caṇḍeśvara nor Raghunandana derived the said verses from the Kālikā-p. is shown by the facts that neither Caṇḍeśvara nor Raghunandana names the Kālikā-p. as the source of these verses and that only the first of these verses is found to occur in this Purāṇa. So, it is sure that Caṇḍeśvara and Raghunandana derived these verses from some famous 'Āgama', which must have been utilised in the Kālikā-p. also. Now, the occurrence of the reading 'dharmapāla-' in the Mahābhārata, Agni-p. and other works shows that the verse 'asir viśasanaḥ khaḍgaḥ etc.', now found in the Kālikā-p., came to have this reading much earlier than the eleventh century A.D. It is highly probable that the Viṣṇudharmottara also had this reading in some of its manuscripts and that both the Agni-p. and the Kālikā-p. derived it from the Viṣṇudharmottara, which, as we have already said, was sufficiently known to these two works. So, this reading can by no means be said to contain a reference to king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa. It should be mentioned here that the part of the Śānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata in which the said verses containing the reading 'dharmapālaḥ' occur, can by no means be dated later than the fourth century A.D., and that the Viṣṇudharmottara, which preceded the Agni-p. by a fairly long time, was composed in Kāshmir between 400 and 500 A.D.[550] So, the mention of the name of this work in the Kālikā-p. cannot be utilised to place the date of the latter work after the ninth century A.D.

It is true that in the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa there is no mention of the goddess Kāmākhyā or her shrine on

[548] See Agni-p. 269. 30b-31. Also Ānandāśrama Press ed. 269. 30b-31 and Bibl. Ind. ed. 268. 30b-31.

[549] See Smṛti-tattva (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta), II, pp. 467-8.

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the Nīlakūṭa hill; but this silence cannot be taken to indicate that the Kālikā-p., which deals mainly with this goddess and her shrine on the said hill, was compiled at a date posterior to those of the inscriptions. The Devī-p., which, as we have already seen, cannot be dated later than the seventh century A.D., once says that 'the son of Bhauma worshipped Devī in the cave of the Kāmākhya [hill];'[551] at another place this Purāṇa speaks of the prevalence of the eight Vidyās at different places including Varendra, Rāḍhā, Bhoṭṭa-deśa, and the Kāmākhya hill[552]; and on a third occasion it names the different places, including 'Kāmarūpa', in which Devī always remains in different forms.[553] These statements about the worship of Devī on the 'Kāmākhya' hill in 'Kāmarūpa' are perhaps sufficient to show that the worship of Kāmākhyā became prevalent in Kāmarūpa much earlier than the seventh century A.D. So, the absence of mention of this deity in the two copper-plate grants which Dharmpāla had inscribed in *circa* 1092 and 1110 A.D., cannot be made the basis of the statement that the Kālika-p. was compiled, after these inscriptions, during the reign of Dharmapāla, who ruled approximately between 1090 and 1115 A.D.

According to both the inscriptions of Indrapāla (who ruled approximately between 1030 and 1055 A.D.), the river Lauhitya was so named because its waters were coloured red by the thick blood washed off from (Jāmadagnya) Rāma's battle-axe which severed the heads of kings[554]; and

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[550] See Vol. I, pp. 205-216.

[551] See Devī-p. 39. 6b—yajed bhaumātmajo devīṃ kāmākhye giri-kandare.

[552] *Ibid.*, 39. 144—
mahodare varendre ca rāḍhāyāṃ kośale pure /
bhoṭṭa-deśe sa-kāmākhye kiṣkindhye ca nagottame / /

[553] *Ibid.*, 42. 8b-9a—
kāmarūpe tathā kāñcyāṃ campāyām atha vaidiśe /
varendre coḍḍiyāne ca manākṣe śikhare tathā //

[554] yad vāri rāma-paraśor nṛpa-kaṇṭha-kāṇḍa-
lāvasya dhauta-ghana-lohita-paṅkam āsīt /
lauhitya ity adhipatiḥ saritāṃ sa eṣa
brahmāṅga-bhūr nnudatu vaḥ kali-kalmaṣāṇi //
Padmanātha Bhaṭṭācārya, Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī, pp. 117 and 133.
For the story of Rāma Jāmadagnya's washing of his blood-stained battle-axe in a

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this explanation differs remarkably from that given in the Kālikā-p. which derives the name of the river from the lake 'Lohita' through which it is said to have passed on its way from the Brahma-kuṇḍa.[555] But this difference between the inscriptions and the Kālikā-p. cannot be used to place the date of the latter after the time of Indrapāla, because the entire portion of the Kālikā-p. from 84.28b to 86.39a, which begins with the description of a devastating flood in Kāmarūpa caused by the river Lauhitya, is undoubtedly spurious.[556] Moreover, the Kālikā-p. itself says that it was kept concealed in Kāmarūpa until it was known to the sages.[557] As a matter of fact, not a single Purāṇa has been found to attain a state of authority immediately after its compilation. So, if the Kālikā-p. preceded the inscriptions by fifty years or so, it was very natural for the composers of these inscriptions to be ignorant of the Purāṇa or to overlook its story.

In Kālikā-p., chap. 82 there is 'a passing notice of a city near a hill called Durjaya with a shrine of Bhairava' on it. In the same chapter there is also the mention that this shrine had an image of 'Bhairava sprung from the middle

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holy pool (kuṇḍa) lying 'inside a cave in the east' and the rushing out of the water of this pool after 'gathering momentum' in course of time and its flowing into the salt-ocean as the river Lauhitya through a channel created by itself, see Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 52. 17b-56. In the earlier part of this story it is stated that Lauhitya was born of Śāntanu's wife Amoghā as a result of Śāntanu's drinking of Brahmā's energy discharged on a seat in Śāntanu's cottage at the sight of Amoghā and that Lauhitya was delivered by his mother in Yugaṃdhara (mountain) as a shining mass of pure water having inside it an effulgent male wearing blue clothes, a crown, and a string of gems. There can be little doubt about the fact that this story is made up of that given in the Kalikā-p. and another referred to in Indrapāla's inscription mentioned above.

It should be mentioned here that the part of the Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, from chap. 43, verse 100 to chap. 82, verse 45 (with which the Sṛṣti-khaṇḍa ends) is constituted of the Dharma-p., an independent Purāṇic work composed in Kāmarūpa sometime between 1250 and 1325 A.D. (This Purāṇa will be examined in details in another Volume of the present work).

[555] Kālikā-p. 86. 29b-33a.

[556] For the reasons for our taking this part of the Kālikā-p. as spurious see below.

[557] Kālikā-p. 93. 30b-32a—

adhītaṃ ca śrutaṃ matto vasiṣṭhena mahātmanā /
idaṃ purāṇam amṛtaṃ kālikāhvayam uttamam //
tena guptam idaṃ sarvaṃ kāmarūpe surālaye /
tad idānīṃ samākhyātaṃ vyaktīkṛtya maharṣayaḥ //

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part of the body of Śarabha, a form assumed by Śiva', and that the image was to be worshipped with the rites enjoined for the worship of Kāmeśvara[558]. Another image of Mahābhairava has been mentioned in chap. 64 as situated in the temple of Bhuvaneśvarī (also called Mahāgaurī) on the top of the Kāmākhyā hill and sprung from the middle part of the body of Mahādeva in his Śarabha form[559]. Tirthanath Sarma takes the former image of Bhairava to be the same as, or at least a prototype of, the latter and says: "It may be that when Durjayā was abandoned for some reason or other by Dharmāpāla, Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara were brought to the top of the Kāmākhyā hill and installed there, or the pīṭha and the Bhairava installed there had their prototype at Durjayā. In any case Durjayā and her presiding deity lost their former glory during the time when the Kālikāpurāṇa was compiled."[560] Against this conclusion of Sarma it may be said that the city to the east of the Durjaya hill has been expressly named in the Kālikā-p. as 'Varāsana' (and not as Durjayā).[561] If the Kālikā-p. was written after the capital of Kāmarūpa had been transferred from the city of Durjayā, there is no reason why this city should not be called by its popular name 'Durjayā' which is found to occur as late as in the Gauhati inscription of Indrapāla, the great-grandson of Brahmapāla. These is also no evidence to show that with the shifting of the capital from the city of Durjayā its name also was changed. It is, therefore, more probable that the Kālikā-p. had been written before the city of Durjayā was established by Brahmapāla or at least before Brahmapāla's new capital was named as such by his son Ratnapāla. It may be that when Brahmapāla transferred his capital to the new city near the Durjaya hill, he named it as 'Varāsana', which literally means 'the best seat (of the government).' It is also not impossible that near the Durjaya hill

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[558] *Ibid.*, 82. 155-158a.

[559] *Ibid.*, 64. 115-120.

[560] IHQ, XXIII, 1947, p. 324.

[561] See Kālikā-p. 82. 159b—
durjayākhyasya pūrvasyāṃ puraṃ nāma varāsanam.

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there was already a city named Varāsana, to which Brahmapāla transferred his capital for its advantageous position.

Sarma refers to a tradition, current among the Basattarīya Brahmin families of lower Assam, 'that their ancestors were settled by Dharmapāla with land grants' for conducting the worship of Kāmākhyā.[562] But this tradition, which merely testifies to the establishment of a few Brahmin families for a definite purpose, does not prove that it was Dharmapāla who *first* introduced the worship of the goddess Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa and established her temple and image on the Kāmākhyā hill. The statements of the Devī-p. that 'the son of Bhauma worshipped Devī in the cave of the Kāmākhya [hill]', that the eight Vidyās prevailed at different places including this hill, and that Devī always remains at Kāmarūpa and several other places in particular forms, show that the worship of Devī on the Kāmākhya hill had begun much earlier than the time of Dharmapāla.

Chap. 29 of the Kālikā-p. is devoted to the praise of 'Dharma' (sacred law), and in this chapter Tirthanath Sarma not only detects 'frequent śleṣa on the word Dharma' but finds out a number of passages which, in his opinion, 'bear a close comparison with a few in the inscriptions of Dharmapāla'.[563] As to the praise of 'Dharma' in chap. 29 it may be said that it is nothing new with the Kālikā-p. The inscriptions and the comparatively early works of Kāmarūpa show that preservation of 'Dharma' (i.e., varṇāśrama-dharma) there became a matter of great concern with the kings at least from the time of Bhāskara-varman. In the Nidhanpur inscription of this king there are mention and praise of 'Dharma' on several occasions, and there is no doubt that the word '*dharma*' has been used in this inscription to mean 'varṇāśrama-dharma', which also has been mentioned expressly on one occasion; in the Tejpur inscription of Vanamāla-varma-deva, Harjara-varman has been said to be 'Yudhiṣṭhira' (and not the 'Buddha') in discourses on Dharma (dharmma-pravādeṣu yudhiṣṭhiro

[562] IHQ, XXIII, 1947, p. 324.
[563] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 1947, p. 325.

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yaḥ)[564]; according to his Gauhati inscription Indrapāla-varma-deva rendered the Earth 'samyag-vibhakta-caturāśrama-varṇṇa-dharmmā' (such as had the duties of the four castes and stages of life properly divided);[565] in the Guakuchi inscription of Indrapāla-varma-deva a village of Brahmins in Sāvathi has been compared to a fort in which Dharma, being afraid of Adharma, took shelter in the Kali age[566]; in the same inscription Indrapāla has been given thirty-two names including the two, namely, 'Kalikāla-jaladhi-nimajjad-vasundhar-ādivarāha' and 'Dharmma-virodhi-vartma-bhīru'[567]; in his Śubhaṅkara-pāṭaka inscription Dharmapāla has been called 'dharmma-para'[568]; and in his Puṣpabhadra inscription this king has been said to be 'dharmmaika-datta-hṛdaya' (one who has given his heart solely to *dharma*) and an appeal has been made by him to future kings not to be led astray by the freak of royal fortune and forsake 'Dharma' which yields permanent pleasure (tyājyaḥ kadācid api nitya-sukho na dharmmaḥ).[569] In the latter half of the thirteenth or the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. a minor Purāṇa, called Dharma-p., was composed in Kāmarūpa to popularise the varṇāśrama-dharma which suffered a serious set back under the rule of the Mleccha dynasty, and this work inspired the composition of the Bṛhad-dharma-p. in Bengal for the same purpose. So, by praising 'Dharma' in chap. 29 the Kālikā-p. did nothing new nor did it eulogise king Dharmapāla in a covert way, but it simply followed the old tradition which began perhaps much earlier than Bhāskara-varman. As a matter of fact, the local population of Kāmarūpa and its surroundings consisted much of non-Aryan tribesmen following Kāpālika Śaivism and other faiths which discouraged the practice of varṇāśrama-dharma. So, the preservation of Dharma could not but be a hard task for the kings of Kāmarūpa.

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[564] Padmanātha Bhaṭṭācārya, Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī, p. 60, verse 12.
[565] *Ibid.*, p. 121, verse 18.
[566] *Ibid.*, p. 137, verse 20.
[567] *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140 (lines 64-65 and 69).
[568] *Ibid.*, p. 153, verse 12.
[569] *Ibid.*, p. 173, verses 6-7.

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As regards the passages which Sarma found parallel between the Kālikā-p. and the inscriptions of Dharmapāla it may be said that the parallelism is very often negligible and points almost unmistakably to the independent character of the Kālikā-p.

From our examination of the evidences adduced by Barua and Sarma in support of their views we see that there is practically no reason for taking the Kālikā-p. to be a work compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla. On the other hand, as we have already seen, there are evidences which indicate that it was composed earlier, during the tenth, or at least not later than the first half of the eleventh century A.D. According to Jogesh Chandra Roy it is a work of the tenth century.[570]

On the basis of the claim made in the colophon of a Ms of a 'Kālī-purāṇa'[571] that it belongs to the Mahākāla-saṃhitā of the Rudra-yāmala-tantra, D. C. Sircar says: "The Kālikā Purāṇa, quoted by Nānyadea (*c.* 1097-1133 A. D.) in his Bharatabhāṣya and by Aparārka (*c.* 1115-40 A. D.) and Ballālasena (*c.* 1159-85 A. D.), seems to have been originally incorporated in the Rudrayāmala Tantra;..... Some sections may, however, have been later added to the original Purāṇa."[572] Thus, Sircar feels inclined to believe that the Kālikā-p. known to and utilised by Nānyadeva, Aparārka and Vallālasena originally belonged to the Rudra-yāmala-tantra, and that the present Kālikā-p. (to which he refers for the names of the Śākta Pīṭhas) is the same as the earlier one with some additional sections of later dates. As 'the Rudrayāmala is mentioned in the Brahmayāmala, a manuscript of which was copied in 1052 A.D.',[573] Sircar agrees with P. K. Gode in placing the date of the present Kālikā-p. earlier than 1000 A. D.[574] It is hardly necessary to say that these views of Sircar do not stand scrutiny. There are a

[570] See Bhāratavarṣa (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677.

[571] For this Ms see Shastri, ASB Cat., VIII (revised edition), p. 70, No. 5874 (Ms No. 8753). See also footnote 421 above.

[572] See JASB, XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 12, footnote 5.

[573] *Ibid.*, XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 17, footnote 4.

[574] *Ibid.*, XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 12, footnote 5.

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number of facts which go very seriously against them. These facts are as follows:

(*i*) Many Mss of the present Kālikā-p. have been discovered in different parts of India up to the present time, but we know of no second Ms which contains a colophon in which this Purāṇa has been attached to the Rudra-yāmala or any other Tantric or non-tantric work; nor is there any Ms of the Rudra-yāmala which comprises the text of the present Kālikā-p. partly or wholly. There is also no indication anywhere in the text of the present Kālikā-p. (as found in the printed editions and the Mss hitherto discovered) that this Purāṇa belonged to the Rudra-yāmala-tantra or any other work. So, the above-mentioned claim, made only in the final colophon (and not in the chapter-colophons or the body of the text) of the said single Ms is perfectly unreliable and had clearly its origin at a later date from some individual's personal view.

(*ii*) All the available Mss of the Rudra-yāmala show that this work is divided into Paṭalas and not into Saṃhitās. It does not say anywhere that it consisted of Saṃhitās at any time. So, the Mahākāla-saṃhitā, to which the 'Kālī-p.' is attached, must have been an independent work of comparatively late origin deriving authority from the Rudra-yāmala.

(*iii*) By claiming to belong to the Rudra-yāmala-tantra the said 'Kālī-p.' gives itself out to be a Tantric work, and this character of this Purāṇa is quite evident from the fact that its incomplete text is practically the same as that of the present Kālikā-p. extending from a part of verse 10 of chap. 4 to verse 79 of chap. 62, which is full of Tantricism. On the other hand, as we have already seen, the earlier Kālikā-p., known to and drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Vallālasena and many others, had little or no Tantric element.

(*iv*) The earlier Kālikā-p., as we have already seen, had several groups of interlocutors including Tṛṇabindu and Anilāda, Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvyakūṭa (?), and Sūrya and his devotee, of whom the first two appear to have been the most important. But the present Kālikā-p. makes no mention of any of these persons. Moreover, none of

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the numerous references to or quotations from the 'Kālikā-p.' in the works of Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri, and several others (mentioned above) is traceable in the present Kālikā-p.

(*v*) From an examination of the verses ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' by Nānyadeva and others we have seen that in the earlier Kālikā-p. Kālikā was associated with Śiva who was given a prominent place and called the highest deity; but in the present Kālikā-p. this goodess has been connected with Viṣṇu by identifying her with the latter's *yoga-nidrā* or *māyā*.

From what has been said above it is evident that the Kālikā-p. known to and utilised by Nānyadeva, Aparārka and others was perfectly different from the present Kālikā and had nothing common with the latter, that neither the earlier Kālikā-p. (which had little or nothing to do with Tantricism) nor the present one ever formed a part of the Rudra-yāmala-tantra, and that Nānyadeva and others' quotations from the 'Kālikā-p.' and the association of the present Kālikā with the Rudra-yāmala-tantra in only the final colophon of a single Ms, cannot be used to push up the date of the present Kālikā-p.

In spite of the numerous digressions which often create serious interruptions in the main topics, the present Kālikā-p. is generally a unified work. The general integrity of its contents is established not only by their close interrelation but also by the absence of any irrelevance or incongruity in the stories, by the frequent cross-references to different topics[575] dealt with in this Purāṇa, and by the use of the word '*nacira*' (for '*acira*') throughout the whole work.[576] Hence the above date of the Purāṇa can be taken to be that of the entire work, especially except *the verses from* 84.28b *to* 86.39a, *which must be taken as spurious* for the following reasons:

[575] For instance, Kālikā-p. 19.58 refers to chap. 2; 25. 2-3 refer to chaps. 25 (verses 4ff.)-28; 30.1 refers to 27.28ff.; 32.1-4 refer to chaps. 32 (verses 5ff.)-36; 35.44 refers to 26.54-55; and so on.

[576] See Kālikā-p. 33. 30; 39. 134; 53. 61, 73, 75, etc.; 57. 104.

The word '*nacira*', which is used in the form '*nacireṇa*' or '*nacirāt*', seems to have been a very favourite one to the author of the present Kālikā-p.

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(*i*) Nowhere in the Kālikā-p., except in the part referred to above, there is any mention of any flood in Kāmarūpa or of any difficulty in finding out the sacred pools and rivers of that place.

(*ii*) Kālikā-p. 86.39b-41a, which mention the stories already narrated, totally ignore the highly interesting stories of the river Lauhitya and Rāma Jāmadagnya, although these two verses come immediately after these stories.

Besides the verses mentioned above, there may be some others here and there which were interpolated later, but these are not many and important.

Though the present Kālikā-p. is a late work, attempts have been made in it for giving it a garb of antiquity. It is said that the topics dealt with in this Purāṇa were handed down from Brahmā through Nārada, Bālakhilyas, Yavakrīta and Asita successively until these reached Mārkaṇḍeya, the narrator of this Purāṇa,[577] and that Vasiṣṭha, who had read and heard this 'Kālikā-p.' from Mārkaṇḍeya, concealed it in Kāmarūpa, 'the land of gods', until it was revealed by Mārkaṇḍeya to the sages.[578]

In spite of the fact that the present Kālikā-p. very often calls itself 'Purāṇa'[579] but never 'Upapurāṇa', it contains very little of 'vaṃśānucarita'[580] and nothing of 'vaṃśa' and 'manvantara'. On the other hand, it not only contains various interesting myths and legends,[581] important materials for the study of Śākta iconography, the names and position of mountains, rivers and holy places chiefly of Kāmarūpa, and the like, but gives us valuable information regarding the literature known to it. It has already been said that the Kālikā-p. has utilised Kālidāsa's Kumāra-saṃbhava, Māgha's Śiśupāla-vadha, and most probably the Devī-p. It has derived verses from other earlier works also. For

[577] Kālikā-p. 1. 16-18.

[578] Kālikā-p. 93. 30-32.

[579] See Kālikā-p. 1. 3; 91. 72; 93. 28, 31, 34 and 35; and so on. See also the chapter-colophons.

[580] It gives only the account of Naraka and his descendants.

[581] Such as those of the birth and exploits of Kāma and the Māras, of the birth of Arundhatī and her marriage with Vasiṣṭha, of the birth and exploits of Naraka, and so on.

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instance, in chap. 61 this work has a large number of verses which occur in Matsya-p., chap. 260; the verses 'antya-pādo divā-bhāge', 'bhaga-liṅg-ābhidhānaiś ca', 'parair nākṣipyate yas tu', and 'antya-pādo niśā-bhāge', which are ascribed to Satya in Kālaviveka, pp. 514-5, are the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 18b-19a, 21b-23a, and 24b-25a; the verses 'saptamyāṃ patrikā-pūjā' and 'saṃpreṣaṇaṃ daśamyāṃ ca', which have been ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Kālaviveka, p. 512 and Śrīnātha's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 and Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, fol. 60a, are the same as Kālikā-p. 62.19-20; the verse 'kanyāyāṃ kṛṣṇa-pakṣe tu', which is ascribed to the Bhagavatī-p. in Kālaviveka, p. 511, to the Devī-p. in Śrīnātha's Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 43-44, and to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 5 and Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 74 and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 4, is the same as Kālikā-p. 62.17; the verse 'śukla-pakṣe caturthyāṃ tu', which is ascribed to the Bhagavatī-p. in Kālaviveka, p. 511 and to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śrīnātha's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 and Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, fol. 60a, is the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 18; and so on. The present Kālikā-p. recognises the Āgamas, Purāṇas and Saṃhitās as sources of sadācāra[582] and mentions a Nīti-śāstra ascribed to Brahmā,[583] Dharma-śāstras ascribed to Dakṣa[584] and Svayaṃbhū,[585] Rājanīti-śāstras of Uśanas and Bṛhaspati,[586] the Nārada-pañcarātra[587] (?), the Viṣṇudharmottara spoken out by Mārkaṇḍeya,[588] and a work called Śivāmṛta, of 18 Paṭalas, which Bhairava compiled on the basis of the instructions he had received from Śiva and which dealt with the procedure of the worship

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[582] Kālikā-p. 88. 3.

[583] *Ibid.*, 20. 42-43.

[584] *Ibid.*, 20. 51.

[585] *Ibid.*, 1. 8.

[586] *Ibid.*, 87. 99 and 130.

[587] *Ibid.*, 83. 141—

pañcarātrodite bhāge nāradena yathoditāḥ /
mantrāś cakra-gadādīnāṃ grāhyāḥ sarvatra pūjane //

[588] *Ibid.*, 91.70, and 92.1-2. Cf. also Kālikā-p. 1.4-9.

The 'Viṣṇudharmottara', mentioned in the Kālikā-p., is undoubtedly the same as the extant Viṣṇudharmottara which also deals with rāja-nīti, sadācāra etc. and is declared by Mārkaṇḍeya.

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of Mahāmāyā.[589] In the chapters on Devī-worship there is mention of *kāmeśvarī-tantra*, *tripurā-tantra*, *umā-tantra*, *kāmākhyā-tantra*, *vaiṣṇavī-tantra*, *devī-tantra*, *durgā-tantra*, *ugracaṇḍā-tantra*, *bhairavī-tantra*, and *uttara-tantra*;[590] but all these, including '*uttara-tantra*',[591] mean the procedures of the worship of the respective deities named in these expressions, the deities Kāmeśvarī, Tripurā, Umā and others being the different forms of Mahāmāyā.[592] According to Govindānanda the word 'durgā-tantra', occurring in Kālikā-p. 62. 9b, means the ten-syllabled *mantra* of Jayadurgā which begins with the Praṇava and ends with the word 'svāhā';[593] and in order to support this meaning Govindānanda cites a verse[594] from the 'Kālikā-p.' But this verse is not found in the printed text of the present Kālikā-p.

It has already been said that besides the extinct and extant Kālikā-purāṇas mentioned above, a Ms has been found of another Kālikā-p. which is also called Kālī-purāṇa and Satī-purāṇa,[595] and that this work and the Caṇḍī-p.[596] and Bhagavatī-p.[597] which are quite different from the extinct and extant Kālikā-purāṇas, will be examined thoroughly in another Volume of the present work.

3. *The Mahābhāgavata-purāṇa.*

This work[598] must be distinguished from the famous

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[589] Kālikā-p. 54.5 and 7-9.

[590] See Kālikā-p., chaps. 58-68 and 78.

[591] '*Uttara-tantra*' is also the name of a work. An Uttara-tantra is drawn upon in Tryambaka Māṭe's Ācārendu, p. 129.

[592] Kālikā-p. 60.48-54.

[593] Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 366—kālikā-purāṇe—'... ... ... dhyāyed daśa-bhujāṃ devīṃ durgā-tantreṇa pūjayet / ... ... //' durgātantra-saṃjñakena praṇa-vādi-svāhāntena daśākṣara-jayadurgā-mantreṇ-etyarthaḥ //

See also Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 376 (durgā-tantraṃ daśākṣara-jayadurgā-mantraḥ) and p. 390 (mūla-mantras tu durgātantra-saṃjñako daśākṣara-durgā-mantraḥ).

[594] tāro durge dvayaṃ rephaḥ prānto ḍhāntaḥ salocanaḥ /
svāhāntā jayadurgeyaṃ durgā-tantram iti smṛtam //
Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 390.

[595–597] For information about the Mss of these works see footnote 2 above.

[598] The only printed editions of the Mahābhāgavata are those published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1913, and the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1321 B.S.

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Vaiṣṇava Mahāpurāṇa called Bhāgavata, which also is sometimes called 'Mahābhāgavata' (i.e. 'the great Bhāgavata').[599] It is an interesting Upapurāṇa dealing with the praise of Devī and her worship. Although it is a com-

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The latter edition appeared under the name of Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna as its editor.

Our analysis of the Mahābhāgavata-p. is chiefly based on the former edition (published from Bombay).

Although both these editions have the same number of chapters, the latter (published from Calcutta) has occasionally some additional verses which are wanting in the former. For instance, verses 10b-11a, 50-51, 67-68 and 93-94 of chap. 7, verses 28b-37 and 71b-81 of chap. 8, verses 24-35a of chap. 14, and verses 23-31a of chap. 28 of the Vaṅga. ed. do not occur in that published from Bombay. As regards readings the Vaṅga. ed. very often differs from that of Bombay.

For Mss of the Mahābhāgavata see

(*i*) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1280-82, No. 3547, Ms. No. 457 (written in Bengali script and consisting of 80 chapters).

(*ii*) Shastri, ASB Cat., V., pp. 772-4, Nos. 4112-16, Mss Nos. 732, 680, 8119, 4490 and 4400 respectively. (All these Mss are written in Bengali characters. Only the first two are dated Śaka 1697 and 1731 respectively).

(*iii*) Roth, Tübingen Cat., p. 15.

(*iv*) Mitra, Notices, I, p. 203, No. 359 (incomplete; ending with a few verses of chap. 49; and written in Bengali script).

(*v*) Shastri, Notices, III, pp. 142-3, No. 220 (written in Bengali characters, and dated Śaka 1734).

(*vi*) Bhandarkar, Report, p. 12 (No. 166—complete).

(*vii*) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 936 (complete; consisting of 80 chapters; dated Śaka 1733), 1470 (complete; dated 1729 Śaka), 3278 (complete), 3280 (incomplete), 3818 (complete; dated 1774 Śaka), 4200 (complete; dated 1732 Śaka), 4432 (incomplete), 4645 (incomplete), 4646 (complete; consisting of 80 chapters; dated Śaka 1740), 4714A (complete; dated Śaka 1708), 4791 (complete), D.R. 113 (complete).

All these Dacca Univ. Mss are written in Bengali script. Of these, three were discovered in Sylhet and the rest in Eastern Bengal.

In their colophons many of these Mss claim to contain only the first part (prathama khaṇḍa) of the Mahābhāgavata, and this claim seems to be supported by the printed editions also (cf. chap. 81, verse 43=Vaṅga. ed. 81.52—etāvad uktaṃ devena ... ... / *khaṇḍe'smin* jaimine ... ... //). But as a matter of fact, the Mahābhāgavata consists of the first part only and does not contain any other part.

For Mss of the Bhagavatī-gītā belonging to the Mahābhāgavata, see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 774-5, Nos. 4117-8 (Mss Nos. 117 and 135 respectively); Mitra, Notices, I, p. 249, No. 440; and Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 160C, 169T, 331E, 326B, 1500, 1611, 1836 and 2076A.

[599] See, for instance, Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, fol. 41a-b—skānde—'... ... ... mahābhagavatākhyasya sa cāṇḍāla-samo mataḥ //' mahābhāgavatākhyasya mahābhāgavata-purāṇasya / ata etad-doṣa-parihārāya bhāgavata-purāṇasya katicit ślokāni likhyante / tad yathā—'yaṃ brahma vedāntavido vadanti paraṃ pradhānaṃ puruṣaṃ tathānye / viśvodgateḥ kāraṇam īśvaraṃ vā tasmai namo vighna-vināyakāya //'

Kāvya-saṃgraha (of Rājajīvana De Dāsa), fol. 10b—atha śrīmad-bhāgavata (?°te) katicit ślokāni—'janmādyasya yato'nvayād itarataś cārtheṣv abhijñaḥ svarāṭ / etc. etc. (=Bhāg. I. 1. 1, 3 etc.; X. 14. 28 etc.; X. 4. 39f.; and so on).

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paratively late work and is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas except the Bṛhaddharma-p.,[600] it deserves to be studied for information about the contemporary state of Hindu religion and society in Bengal, especially in its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa.

The printed edition of the Mahābhāgavata opens with four maṅgala ślokas, of which the third contains a salutation to Devī and the fourth a benediction. According to these two verses Devī is the 'Ādyā Prakṛti' and is 'parā' and 'svarg-āpavarga-pradā'; she created the universe of her own accord, subjected herself to births, and had Śambhu as her husband; and Śambhu, in his turn, had Devī as his wife through severe austerities and held her foot on his bosom.

Regarding the origin of the Mahābhāgavata and its introduction on earth it is said in chap. 1 that at the request of Śaunaka and others in the Naimiṣa forest to describe some 'Purāṇa' on the glory of Devī, Sūta spoke of the 'most secret Purāṇa named Mahābhāgavata' which was first declared by Maheśa to Nārada and then by Vyāsa to Jaimini. Sūta said that being unable to attain mental satisfaction even after writing 'the eighteen Purāṇas' Vyāsa wanted to become the author of a 'Mahāpurāṇa' that would deal elaborately with the praise of Bhagavatī. Consequently, he went to the Himālaya for realising the true nature of Devī by means of austerities. But being directed by Devī's voice from the air, Vyāsa went over to Brahma-loka where he was told by the four Vedas that it was Bhagavatī Durgā herself who was 'Parama Brahma'. Being eulogised by these Vedas Devī appeared in person before Vyāsa. In order to convince Vyāsa of her own identity with Supreme Brahma, Devī assumed various forms such as those of a thousand-handed female deity mounted on a lion and furnished with divine

[600] Bṛhaddh. (ASB ed.) I. 25. 20.

The reading 'nṛsiṃhaṃ ca tataḥ param' of the Vaṅga. ed. of the Bṛhaddharma-p. (for 'mahābhāgavataṃ tathā' of the ASB ed.) is erroneous, because the 'Nārasiṃha' has been included in the list of Upapuraṇas given in verses 23-27 and the reading 'mahābhāgavataṃ tathā' of the ASB ed. has been found in all the Mss we have been able to examine.

The Bṛhaddharma-p. includes the Mahābhāgavata among the 'Mahat Purāṇas'.

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weapons, a dark-complexioned and four-handed goodess standing on a corpse (śava-vāhanā), female deities having two, four, ten, eighteen, one hundred or innumerable hands, Viṣṇu-and-Kamalā, Kṛṣṇa-and-Rādhā, Brahmā-and-Vāṇī, Śiva-and-Gaurī, and so on. She then revealed to Vyāsa the Purāṇa named Mahābhāgavata, which Vyāsa found recorded on the thousand petals of the lotus lying under her feet. Thus, Sūta said, the Mahābhāgavata was revealed to Vyāsa.

In the remaining chapters Sūta is found to reproduce the dialogue between Mahādeva and Nārada on the glory of Durgā in the same way as it was reported by Vyāsa to Jaimini. The contents of these chapters are briefly as follows:

Chap. 2.—Being requested by Jaimini to speak on the glory of Durgā, Vyāsa praises topics on Durgā as well as the name of this goddess called 'tāraka brahma' and then begins to reproduce what Mahādeva, being insisted upon to divulge the name of the deity worshipped by himself and by Brahmā and Viṣṇu, said to Nārada on the Mandara mountain about the glory of Durgā.

Chap. 3.—Description of the origin of the universe as well as of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī from Parā Prakṛti, who, though formless, assumed at her own wish the form of a naked (digambarā) female having a collyrium-dark complexion, a beautiful face, four hands, red eyes, dishevelled hair, heaving breasts, and a lion as her mount.[601] Prakṛti's assumption of a dreadful form for testing the force of penance of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; her failure to disturb Śiva's mind, and her consequent consent to become his wife in her fullness. Brahmā's creation of his ten mind-born sons, of Dakṣa and other Prajāpatis, and of Saṃdhyā and Kāma. Birth of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu and Śatarūpā from Brahmā's body. Descendants of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu and Dakṣa.

Chap. 4.—Story of Devī's birth as Satī (having eight

[601] See verses 15-17.

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hands and a fair complexion)[602] as a result of Dakṣa's penance, Satī's choice of Śiva as her husband by placing the garland (meant for selection of husband) on the ground after pronouncing the words 'śivāya namaḥ', and her marriage with Śiva.

Chap. 5.—Dakṣa's lament for Satī, and his censure on both Satī and Śiva. Dadhīci's praise of Śiva and Satī as Parama Puruṣa and Ādyā Prakṛti respectively, and his advice to Dakṣa not to decry Śiva and Satī.

Chap. 6.—Śiva's residence with Satī on the Himālaya. Daily worship of Satī by Menā, wife of Himālaya, for having Satī as her own daughter. Citation of a hymn of praise to Śiva by Nandin, an attendant of Dakṣa and a disciple of Dadhīci, and his consequent appointment as the head of Pramathas.

Chap. 7.—Śiva's amorous sports with Satī for ten thousand years. Menā's worship of Satī by observing a vow which began on the Mahāṣṭamī Tithi and ended on the same day of the following year; and Satī's consequent promise to be born as Menā's daughter.

Dakṣa's denouncement of Śiva; his arrangements for the performance of a sacrifice in order to get rid of the disturbance that Śiva would, according to Nārada's information, create in Dakṣa's city; and his insult to Dadhīci for his advice to invite Śiva, to whom, as the Vaṅgavāsī press edition says,[603] no invitation was accorded by Dakṣa for being a Kāpālika (skull-bearer). Nārada's persuasion of Śiva and Satī to attend this sacrifice and chastise Dakṣa.

Chap. 8.—Satī's fruitless attempt to persuade Śiva to accompany her to Dakṣa's house or to permit her to go there. Śiva's reproach for Satī's importunity. Satī's consequent rage and assumption first of an extremely dreadful female

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[602] Verses 24-25—

... ... gaurāṅgīṃ .. ..
aṣṭābhir bāhu-vallībhir bhrājamānāṃ ... ... /

[603] na mayā sa samāhūto yajñe 'smin muni-sattama /
kāpālikatayā lokānarhatvena maheśituḥ //—7.58.

For the second line the Bombay ed. has 'puṇya-karmaṇi labdho na sa ityeṣa maheśvaraḥ' (7.56a).

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form[604] and then of those of the ten Mahāvidyās, viz., Kālī, Tārā, Chinnamastā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bagalā, Dhūmāvatī, Tripurasundarī, Mātaṅgī, Ṣoḍaśī and Bhairavī.[605] Satī's statement that by assuming these forms she enabled her votaries to perform māraṇa, uccāṭaṇa, kṣobhaṇa etc. and that Śiva was to speak out works which would deal with *mantras*, *yantras*, *stotras*, *kavacas* etc. of these deities and would consequently be known as Āgamaśāstra. Śiva's praise[606] of Satī out of fear, and his permission to the latter to do as she liked. Satī's start for Dakṣa's house by assuming the form of Kālī.

Chap. 9.—Satī's meeting with her mother Prasūti at Dakṣa's house; and Prasūti's narration of a dream in which she saw that Satī destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice by assuming the form of Kāli[607] and caused Dakṣa's head to be replaced by that of a he-goat. Satī's meeting with Dakṣa; the latter's lament for Satī's dark complexion, dishevelled hair and naked body, and his denouncement of Śiva; Satī's creation

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[604] Verses 50-52—

tyaktvā hema-paṭim āsīd vṛddhāvasthā-sama-prabhā /
digambarā lasat-keśā lalaj-jihvā caturbhujā //
kālānala-lasad-dehā svedāktena tanūruhā /
mahābhīmā ghora-rāvā muṇḍa-mālā-vibhūṣaṇā //
udyat-pracaṇḍa-koṭyābhā candrārdha-kṛta-śekharā /
udyad-āditya-saṃkāśā kirīṭojjvala-mastakā //

(For these verses see Vaṅga. ed. 8.60-62, which read 'tyaktvā haimīṃ ruciṃ prāsīd dhvastāñjana-sama-prabhā' (in the first line), 'galat-keśā' (for 'lalat-keśā' in the second line), 'kāmālasa-lasad-dehā svedākta-tanur ulvaṇā' (for the third line), and '-saṃkāśa-kirīṭojjvala-' (in the sixth line).

[605] For the names and description of these Mahāvidyās see verses 57-71.

For the lines

'kālī tārā ca lokeśī kamalā bhuvaneśvarī //
chinnamastā ṣoḍaśī ca sundarī vagalāmukhī /
dhūmāvatī ca mātaṅgī nāmāny āsām imāni vai //'

(8.62b-63) of the Bombay ed. the Vaṅga. ed. (8.72-3) reads:

'kālī tārā mahāvidyā ṣoḍaśī bhuvaneśvarī /
bhairavī cchinnamastā ca ... ... // etc.'

[606] Verses 89-90—

jāne tvāṃ parameśānīṃ pūrṇāṃ prakṛtim uttamām /
... ... //
tvam ādyā paramā vidyā sarva-bhūteṣv avasthitā /
svatantrā paramā śaktiḥ kas te vidhi-niṣedhakaḥ //

[607] A description of this form is given in verses 12b-13a as follows:

mahāmegha-prabhā-śyāmā mukta-keśī digambarā /
caturbhujā aṭṭahāsā jvalannetra-trayojjvalā //

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of a shadow (chāyā) resembling herself and disappearance in the sky; and Chāyā-Kālī's rage against Dakṣa and entrance into the sacrificial fire in accordance with Satī's instructions.

Chap. 10.—Śiva's lament for Satī, who was taken to be dead. Origin of Vīrabhadra and the Pramathas from Śiva's rage. Vīrabhadra's fight with Viṣṇu who was conscious of his own identity with Śiva;[608] his realisation, effected by a voice from the air, that Śiva and Viṣṇu are the same;[609] his destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice; and his replacing of Dakṣa's head with that of a he-goat. Dakṣa's praise of Śiva; and his completion of the sacrifice by giving to Śiva a share of the sacrificial offerings.

Chap. 11.—Brahmā and Viṣṇu's consolation to Śiva by explaining how, out of regard for her father, Satī created Chāyā-Satī and kept herself invisible. Their eulogy of Satī, who consequently appeared in the sky as Kālī and assured Śiva that she would be born again as the daughter of Himālaya and become his wife. Satī's advice to Śiva to roam about on earth by taking Chāyā-Satī on his head, to cause mahāpīṭhas to be created by the fall of her limbs, and to practise austerities at that best pīṭha which would contain her female organ. Śiva's doing the same, and his assumption of the form of a mountain at Kāmarūpa in order to support Devī's female organ. Śiva's presence, in the form of *liṅgas*, in all the mahāpīṭhas, viz., Kāmarūpa etc., which were created by the fall of Chāyā-Satī's limbs cut by Viṣṇu. Śiva's curse on Viṣṇu to be born as a human being in the Tretā Yuga and suffer from mental agony due to the abduction of the shadow (chāyā) of his wife by a Rākṣasa.

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[608] Verses 40-47—

... ... /
viṣṇur nārāyaṇo maunī cintayāmāsa cetasā //
... ... /
śiva-vidveṣaṇenaiva vidviṣṭo 'smi na saṃśayaḥ /
ahaṃ śivaḥ śivo viṣṇur bhedo nāsty āvayor yataḥ //
anena viṣṇu-rūpeṇa prārthito 'smi viśeṣataḥ /
nindito 'smi mahādeva-svarūpeṇāham eva hi //
... ... //

[609] Verse 64—

yo viṣṇuḥ sa mahādevaḥ śivo nārāyaṇaḥ svayam /
nānayor vidyate bhedaḥ kadācid api kutracit //

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Chap. 12.—Meeting of Brahmā and Viṣṇu with Śiva at Kāmarūpa. Śiva's penance at Kāmarūpa for Devī's favour; and Devī's consent to be born of Menā as Gaṅgā and Durgā (Pārvatī).

Praise of Kāmarūpa, which is situated on the bank of the Lauhitya (also called 'Brahmaputra') and is said to be the best of the *fifty-one pīṭhas* created by the fall of the limbs of Chāyā-Satī, and in which Devī resides as Kāmākhyā.

Results of worshipping Kāmākhyā according to the Tantric method (tantrokta-vidhi).

Chap. 13.—Devī's birth as Gaṅgā (having a white complexion, three eyes, and four hands)[610] on Vaiśākha-śukla-tṛtīyā. Nārada's advice to Himālaya to hand over Gaṅgā to the gods. Gaṅgā's divulging of her own identity and mission to Himālaya in a dream, and her advice to the latter. Brahmā and others' approach to Himālaya, and their taking of Gaṅgā to heaven.

Chap. 14.—Menā's curse on Gaṅgā that she would be compelled to come down to the earth in a liquefied form as she left for heaven without taking Menā's permission. Gaṅgā's marriage with Śiva, whom Nārada brought to heaven from Kāmarūpa.

Chap. 15.—Devī's birth to Menā as Pārvatī (Durgā) having three eyes, eight hands, and a crescent moon on her head.[611] Pārvatī's divulging of her own original nature to Himālaya; and her furnishing the latter with divine eyes (divyaṃ cakṣuḥ) in order to enable him to realise herself. Description of Devī's different forms[612] which were shown to

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[610] Verses 7b–8a—

gaṅgā samabhavac chuklā sucāru-mukha-paṅkajā /
trinetrā asitāpāṅgī caturbāhu-viśobhitā //

See also verse 58b—

śuklā tri-nayanā kācid devī makara-vāhanā //

[611] Verse 9—

taruṇāditya-koṭyābhāṃ trinetrāṃ divyarūpiṇīm /
aṣṭahastāṃ viśālākṣīṃ candrārdha-kṛta-śekharām //

See also verse 40.

[612] Verses 23-25—

śaśi-koṭi-prabhaṃ cāru-candrārdha-kṛta-śekharam /
triśūla-vara-hastaṃ ca jaṭā-maṇḍita-mastakam //

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Himālaya by Devī herself. Himālaya's eulogy of Devī; and the latter's discourse on Brahma-vijñāna (which is said to be attainable through Devī-worship performed in accordance with the rules of varṇāśrama-dharma).

Chaps. 16-19.—Discourse on Brahma-vijñāna continued. —Description of the nature of Ātmā and of the *vidyā* which gives one final emancipation; way of getting rid of rāga, dveṣa etc.; origin of body (*deha*) from the five elements; cause and process of rebirths; enumeration of Devī's sthūla forms (called Mahāvidyās, viz., Mahākālī, Tārā, Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Bagalā, Chinnā, Mahātripurasundarī, Dhūmāvatī and Mātaṅgī)[613] which one must worship for being able to realise her sūkṣma form; praise of the study of the Bhagavatī-gītā.

[Chaps. 15-19 deal with the essence of *yoga* and are called Bhagavatīgītopaniṣad.]

Chap. 20.—Nārada's advice to Himālaya to give Pārvatī in marriage to Śiva, and his assurance that Pārvatī herself would be able to captivate Śiva's mind.

Chap. 21.—Śiva's arrival in Himavatprastha for the practice of austerities. Pārvatī's determination to captivate Śiva's mind through the practice of austerities and thus to give effect to Brahmā's curse on Śiva (who had censured Brahmā for his passionate love for his own daughter

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bhayānakaṃ ghora-rūpaṃ kālānala-sahasrabham /
pañca-vaktraṃ trinetraṃ ca nāga-yajñopavītinam //
dvīpi-carmāmbara-dharaṃ nāgendra-kṛta-bhūṣaṇam /
evaṃ vilokya tadrūpaṃ* * * * * //

(See also verse 41).

Verses 27-29—

rūpam anyan muni-śreṣṭha viśvarūpā sanātanī /
śarac-candra-nibhaṃ cāru-mukuṭ-ojjvala-mastakam //
śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-hastaṃ netra-trayojjvalam /
divya-mālyāmbara-dharaṃ divya-gandhānulepanam //
yogīndra-vṛnda-saṃvandyaṃ sucāru-caraṇāmbujam /
sarvataḥ-pāṇi-pādaṃ ca sarvato'kṣi-śiro-mukham //

(See also verse 42).

Verse. 34—

nīlotpala-dala-śyāmaṃ vanamālā-vibhūṣitam /
śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padmam abhivyaktaṃ caturbhujam //

(See also verse 43) .

[613] Chap. 18, verses 26-28.

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Saṃdhyā). Pārvatī's having a second name Umā due to Menā's protest.

Chap. 22.—Pārvatī's approach to Śiva who was absorbed in meditation. Gods' engagement of Kāma to win Śiva's heart for Pārvatī, so that to Pārvatī might be born a son who would kill the demon Tāraka. Śiva's burning of Kāma to ashes.

Chap. 23.—Pārvatī explained herself as Ādyā Prakṛti and convinced Śiva of her own identity with Satī by assuming the form of Kālī.[614] Śiva was delighted. He lay under Kālī's feet like a corpse and remained absorbed in meditation. In a different capacity he stood before Kālī and eulogised her by mentioning her thousand names (including Unmatta-bhairavī, Urvaśī, Ugratārā, "*utphulla-kamalāṛuḍhā kamalā kāminī kalā*", Kuleśvarī, Padmā, Sarasvatī, Rādhikā, Candra-śekhara-śailasthā, Bhūtamātā, Raktadantā and Akṣobhya-patnī). Kālī then became Pārvatī again.

Chap. 24.—With Pārvatī's consent Śiva sent some sages to Himālaya to propose his marriage with Pārvatī.

Chaps. 25-28.—Himālaya's approval; and Śiva's assumption of a beautiful and ornamented body, and marriage with Pārvatī. Śiva's reviving of Kāma.

Chaps. 29-30.—Śiva's union with Pārvatī; and the birth of Kārttikeya (who had six faces, twelve eyes and twelve hands).

Chaps. 31-34.—Description of Kārttikeya's fight with and killing of Tāraka. Kārttikeya's meeting with Śiva and Pārvatī.

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[614] For description of Kālī, see verses 17-22—

... ... kālī snigdhāñjana-caya-prabhā //
digambarī kṣarad-raktā bhīmāyata-vilocanā /
pīnonnata-kuca-dvandva-cāru-śobhita-vakṣasā //
galad-āpāda-saṃlambi-keśa-puñja-bhayānakā /
lalajjihvā-jvaladdanta-nakharair upaśobhitā /
... ...
ājānu-lambi-muṇḍāli-mālayātiviśālayā //
... ...
bhujaiś caturbhir bhūyoccaiḥ śobhamānā mahāprabhā /
... ...

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Chap. 35—Nārāyaṇa's birth as Gaṇeśvara, whose body had been made with powdered turmeric collected from her own person by Pārvatī during Śiva's absence. Pārvatī's appointment of Gaṇeśvara as a gate-keeper. Śiva's beheading of Gaṇeśvara; and his replacing of the latter's head with that of a wild elephant.

[Chaps. 36-48.—Story of the introduction of the custom of untimely worshipping Durgā annually during the autumn season.]

Chap. 36—Being oppressed by Rāvaṇa the gods and the Earth approached Brahmā for remedy. Brahmā went to Vaikuṇṭha and requested Viṣṇu to kill Rāvaṇa. Viṣṇu agreed to be born on earth as the son of Daśaratha on conditions that the gods also were born as bears and monkeys for helping him and that Devī was persuaded to leave Laṅkā and cease from protecting Rāvaṇa. Brahmā and Viṣṇu, then, went to Kailāsa and saw Pārvatī, who assumed a beautiful figure having eighteen hands, three eyes, a charming face, and a crescent moon on her head and was seated on a throne of gems.[615] Pārvatī agreed to deprive Rāvaṇa of her protection and leave Laṅkā as soon as Rāvaṇa would abduct Sītā, a part of herself. She gave instructions to Viṣṇu and advised him to worship her in an earthen image during the autumn season according to the Vedic procedure (vedoktena vidhānena) before killing Rāvaṇa.

Chap. 37—Viṣṇu's birth as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna; birth of Śiva, Brahmā, Dharma and Lakṣmī as Hanumān, Jāmbavān, Vibhīṣaṇa and Sītā respectively; and the birth of other gods as bears and monkeys.

Chaps. 38-48—Vasiṣṭha's imparting of Devī-mantra to Rāma and his three brothers.

A summary of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa from Rāma's killing of Tāḍakā to his fateful war against Rāvaṇa.

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[615] Verses 44-46.

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[This summary contains innovations, which are as follows:—

(a) Rāma started on his exile on the Śukla-daśamī Tithi of Āśvina and remembered Devī at the time of starting.—Chap. 38, verses 20-21.

(b) Devī left Laṅkā as soon as Hanumān (who was none but Śiva himself) went there in search of Sītā and saw Devī in her temple.—Chap. 39, verses 18-29.

(c) The construction of the bridge to Laṅkā was begun on Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsī.—Chap. 40, verse 6.

(d) Before starting war against Rāvaṇa Rāma pleased Devī by performing pārvaṇa-śrāddha.—Chap. 40, verses 12-21.

(e) Finding that Rāma was terrified by the news of Kumbhakarṇa's approach to the battle-field, Brahmā advised him to worship Durgā and spoke on her glory. He narrated how in ancient times Śiva tore away one of his five heads and how, being approached for redress, Devī furnished him with the fifth head and told him that it was she who thus punished him for having a strong desire for sexual union with his own daughter Saṃdhyā. Brahmā assured Rāma that Devī forsook Rāvaṇa because that demon abducted, with an evil purpose, Sītā who was his own *kṣetraja* daughter born of Mandodarī.[616] He wanted to invoke Devī, though untimely, for the sake of Rāma and spoke of Devī's Vaidikī, Paurāṇikī and Tāntrikī mūrtis as well as of the different regions, viz., Śiva-loka, Viṣṇu-loka (placed above Śiva-loka), Gaurī-loka (which is situated on the left side of Śiva-loka and in which there is Devī's 'daśa-bhujā vaidikī mūrti'), Goloka (in which Kṛṣṇa sports with Rādhā), and the region of Mahādurgā (which occupies the highest position and lies beyond the *brahmāṇḍa* and in which there is Devī's Tāntrikī mūrti). Brahmā gave a long description of this last-mentioned region and said that Rādhā was an infinitesimally small part

[616] Mahābhāg. 43. 64—
sītā mandodarī-garbhe saṃbhūtā cāru-rūpiṇī /
kṣetrajā tanayāpy asya rāvaṇasya raghūttama //

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of Mahādurgā.[617] Brahmā described Mahādurgā's Tāntrikī mūrti as follows:—She has four hands, wears red clothes, and mounts a big lion; on her left side stand Jayā and Vāṇī, and on her right there are Vijayā and Lakṣmī; she does not recognise any distinction of caste or position but favours those who are devoted to her.[618] Intending to invoke Devī in a Bilva tree on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi and to worship her by constructing an earthen image of her Paurāṇikī mūrti which is furnished with ten hands and mounted on a lion, Brahmā took Rāma to a Bilva tree on the sea-shore.—Chaps. 41-43.

(f) Rāma approached the Bilva tree and eulogised Devī, and the latter assured him with a voice from the air that he would attain victory over the Rākṣasas.—Chap. 44, verses 1-20.

(g) While Rāma was fighting with Kumbhakarṇa on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi, Brahmā invoked Devī in a Bilva tree by citing the Devī-sūkta as well as *mantras* containing Tantric symbols, and continued to worship her daily for Rāma's victory.—Chap. 45, verses 1-25.

(h) Devī's description of the method of her own worship in an earthen image during the three days from Śukla-saptamī to Śukla-navamī with the performance of patrikā-praveśa, saṃdhi-pūjā, paśu-bali (sacrifice of animals), śatru-bali[619] (sacrifice of enemies, on the Navamī Tithi) etc.; and the immersion of the image in a current of water on the Daśamī Tithi with great merriment (*sumahotsava*).—Chap. 45 verses 26-36.

(i) Devī's praise of the annual worship of herself in the above-mentioned manner; and her description of sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa worship.—Chap. 46.

(j) Rāma worshipped Devī in an earthen image on the Saptamī, Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī Tithis after performing her *adhivāsa* (in the evening of the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī

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[617] Mahābhāg. 43. 26—yat-kalā-koṭi-koṭy-aṃśā rādhā kṛṣṇasya gehinī.
[618] For detailed description of Devī's Tāntrikī mūrti see Mahābhāg. 43. 65-86.
[619] Mahābhāg. 45. 33—tataḥ śatruṃ baliṃ dadyāt kṛtvā piṣṭamayaṃ mama.

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Tithi) and *patrī-praveśa* (on the Saptamī Tithi), immersed the image in the sea on the Daśamī Tithi, and killed Rāvaṇa with a missile received from Devī.—Chaps. 47-48.]

Chaps. 49-58—Story of the birth of Kālī as Kṛṣṇa (son of Vasudeva and Devakī) and of Śiva as Rādhā (daughter of Vṛṣabhānu) in accordance with Śiva's prayer to Kālī. The eight forms of Śiva were born as Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and others; Vijayā and Jayā were born as Śrīdāma and Vasudāma respectively; and Viṣṇu was born as Halāyudha.

[Being approached by the Earth to relieve her of the tyrannical rulers such as Kaṃsa, Duryodhana and others, who were the same as the demons killed previously by Viṣṇu and Devī, Brahmā went to Kailāsa and eulogised Devī, who consequently promised to be born as Kṛṣṇa and said that Viṣṇu, in part, would be born as Arjuna, Dharma as Yudhiṣṭhira, Pavana, in part, as Bhīmasena, Aśvins as the sons of Mādrī (i.e. as Nakula and Sahadeva), and Devī (Kālī), in part, as Kṛṣṇa.

Story of Viṣṇu's birth as Haladhara and Arjuna, and of Kālī's birth as Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva and Devakī who were respectively the same as Kaśyapa and Aditi reborn; Kṛṣṇa's assumption of the forms of four-handed Kālī[620] and ten-handed Devī (Durgā) in order to prove his own power to his parents; his killing of Pūtanā, Tṛṇāvarta and others by assuming temporarily the form of Kālī; his sports with Rādhā[621] who was the same as Śiva born sportively as a female 'in the house of Vṛṣabhānu' and who was married to a certain cowherd (named as 'Āyāna' in the Calcutta edition as well as in most of the Mss)[622] who became impotent at

[620] Mahābhāg. 50. 77-79

... ... kṛṣṇaḥ kamala-locanaḥ /
sahasā samabhūt kṛṣṇā bhīmāsyā śava-vāhanā //
caturbhujā tri-nayanā jihvā-lalana-bhīṣaṇā /
galad-āyata-keśaugh-ācchanna-pṛṣṭhā kirīṭinī //
tadābhavan munc sāpi vanamālā manoramā /
muṇḍāli-racitā mālā lambamān-ātiśobhanā //

[621] See especially chap. 53 in which there is mention of Kṛṣṇa's playing on the flute, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā's assumption of eight forms, the rāsa-krīḍā, vastra-haraṇa, and so on.

[622] See Vaṅga. ed. 51. 34—

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Śiva's wish immediately after marriage; his other sports and exploits; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's going to Madhupura (Mathurā); Kṛṣṇa's help to the Pāṇḍavas; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's further exploits; and so on.

Story of the birth of Dakṣa and Prasūti as Nandagopa and Yaśodā respectively.

Story of the Pāṇḍavas, who are said to have seen Kāmākhyā at Yonipīṭha[623] (i.e. Kāmarūpa) during their exile and to have been blessed by the latter on different occasions. (Chaps. 55-57).

Kṛṣṇa and others' passing to heaven.

Towards the end of chap. 58 it is said that in another Kalpa Viṣṇu would be born as Kṛṣṇa towards the end of the Dvāpara age.]

Chap. 59—Description of the region of Mahākālī.

Chaps. 60-63—Story of Indra's killing of Vṛtra, his performance of a horse-sacrifice for expiating the sin arising out of Dadhīci's death, and his visit to the reigion of Mahākālī[624] with the help of Śiva for getting rid of the remaining part of the sin.

[Chaps. 64-75—Story of Gaṅgā's liquefaction and her descent on earth.]

Chap. 64.—After marriage Śaṃkara and Gaṅgā visited Vaikuṇṭha at the invitation of Viṣṇu. There, being requested by the gods, Śaṃkara sang three songs, of which the third turned Viṣṇu into water. This water, which was the second form of Gaṅgā, was placed by Brahmā in his Kamaṇḍalu and taken to heaven.

Chap. 65.—Story of Viṣṇu's birth as Vāmana and of Gaṅgā's attainment of Viṣṇu's feet by being poured out of Brahmā's Kamaṇḍalu when Vāmana raised one of his feet into the sky.

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tāṃ rādhām upasaṃyamy-āyāna-gopo mahāmune /
klībatvaṃ sahasā prāpa śaṃbhor icchānusārataḥ //

In the first line of this verse the Bombay ed. reads 'upasaṃyeme ko'pi gopo.'

[623] Mahābhāg. 56. 1-32.

[624] For description of Mahākālī and Mahākāla see Mahābhāg. 63.28-36.

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Chap. 66.—Bhagīratha's austerities for bringing Gaṅgā down to the earth, Gaṅgā's consent, and her advice to Bhagīratha to please Śiva also.

Chap. 67.—Bhagīratha's eulogy of Śiva with the mention of his one thousand and eight names (including 'Kāmadeva', 'Gajāsya', 'Matsya-priya', etc.); Śiva's permission to Bhagīratha to take Gaṅgā down to the earth.

Chap. 68.—Bhagīratha, with the Earth, mounted the peak of Meru and sounded a conch-shell. That sound reached Vaikuṇṭha and liquefied Gaṅgā who resorted to Viṣṇu's feet. As Gaṅgā descended on the peak of Meru, she was eulogised by Bhagīratha and the Earth. As a result of this eulogy, Gaṅgā divided herself into four streams which flowed in different directions. Bhagīratha led one of these streams towards the south. At the prayer of the gods, this stream divided itself into two, of which one flowed in heaven and was known as Mandākinī, and the other broke through the southern peak of Meru on the Jyaiṣṭha-śukla-daśamī, which is known as Daśaharā.

Chaps. 69-70.—Gaṅgā then reached the Himalayas, where she descended on Śiva's head and lost her way in his matted hair. By Śiva's grace she found a way out and reached Haridvāra, where she divided herself into seven streams by following the sound of seven conch-shells blown by seven sages. She then rushed towards the south-east and met the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī at Prayāga. Taking an easterly course she reached Kāśī, where she flowed to a short distance towards the north and was challenged by a Bhairava. After leaving Kāśī she felt a desire to see Kāmākhyā and took an easterly course. Understanding her intention, Bhagīratha stopped his chariot and ceased from sounding the conch-shell. In the meantime, being led astray by Jahnu, Gaṅgā got enraged and flooded his hermitage. Jahnu drank up Gaṅgā, but the latter came out by piercing his thigh and was known as Jāhnavī. On account of this dissension with a sage, Gaṅgā gave up her idea of visiting Kāmākhyā and proceeded towards the south by following Bhagīratha. When, after going to a short distance, Bhagī-

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ratha was taking rest, Padmā, daughter of Jahnu, wanted to see her sister (Gaṅgā) and blew a conch-shell. Hearing its sound, Gaṅgā rushed towards the south-east but was stopped by Bhagīratha. This excited Padmā, who consequently turned into water and, as a broad river, met the ocean.[625] Gaṅgā also proceeded with great speed towards the south and flowed into the sea.

Chap. 71.—Gaṅgā then went to the nether world and delivered the burnt sons of Sagara by washing away their ashes. One of her streams remained there under the name of Bhogavatī.

Praise of reading or hearing this story of Gaṅgā.

Chap. 72.—Praise of Gaṅgā and of seeing her before death and residing on her banks.

Story of a sinful Śavara fowler named Sarvāntaka who chanced to see Gaṅgā during his arrest by king Citrasena and was consequently taken to Śiva-loka by the Śiva-dūtas after his death.

Chap. 73.—Praise of Gaṅgā; the results of bath in her waters on different occasions, and of the performance of śrāddha and *mantra-puraścaraṇa* on her banks.

Chap. 74.—Praise of death in the Ganges.

Story of a robber named Dhanādhipa who, though placed in a hell after death, was able to pass to the region of Śiva, because his flesh came in contact with the waters of the Ganges drunk by a tired jackal that had eaten up his body.

Praise of residence on the banks of the Ganges.

Chap. 75.—One hundred and eight names of Gaṅgā. Praise of Gaṅgā.

Chap. 76.—Praise of Kāmarūpa, where Devī's female organ fell and in which Devī resides as Kāmākhyā. Praise of bath in the Lauhitya.

Chap. 77.—Description[626] and praise of Kālī, who is

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[625] Mahābhāg. 70. 56b-57—
samabhūt tena padmātikruddhā jalamayī babhau //
sā tu pūrva-diśaṃ prāyād vistīrṇa-salilā nadī /
puṇyā vegavatī sindhurājenāpi susaṃgatā //

[626] See verses 5ff.

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said to be the same as Kāmākhyā and is called the presiding deity of Kāmarūpa, and who, being herself the chief of the ten Mahāvidyās, is surrounded by the remaining nine.

Description and praise of Devī-kavaca (in which there is mention of 'Nīlasarasvatī' and 'Ugratārā' and the names of the Mahāvidyās).

Chap. 78.—Praise of worshipping Kālī and Śiva at Kāmarūpa. Praise of a Bilva tree and the waters of the river Lauhitya.

Chap. 79.—Glorification of Tulasī plants.

Chap. 80.—Praise of Rudrākaṣas.

Chap. 81.—Moral degradation of people during the Kali age. Praise of Śiva-worship.

From the contents summarised above, it is evident that the Mahābhāgavata advocates Śāktism. According to this work, it is Kālī who is Parama Brahma as well as Parā Prakṛti (or Mūla-prakṛti). Though 'saccidānanda-vigrahā', 'śuddha-jñānamayī', 'nityā' and 'arūpā', Kālī, as Prakṛti, assumed, for creation, the form of a young and beautiful female seated on a lion and having a collyrium-dark complexion, four hands, red eyes, dishevelled hair, and the quarters as her clothes (digambarā). She created a Puruṣa as an embodiment of the three guṇas and contaminated into him a wish for creation. From the three guṇas, viz., *rajas*, *sattva* and *tamas*, of this Puruṣa were born Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. Prakṛti, on her part, divided herself into Māyā, Vidyā and Paramā, and became Satī, Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and others.

Unlike the present Kālikā-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p. the Mahābhāgavata conceives Kālī as the wife and Śakti of Śiva.[627] It identifies Śiva with Puruṣa and says that Brahma consists of Śiva and his Śakti.[628] It regards Kāśī and Kailāsa as the best holy places in earth and heaven

[627] Mahābhāg. 15.16—
jānīhi māṃ parāṃ śaktiṃ maheśvara-kṛtāśrayām /
śāśvat-aiśvarya-vijñāna-mūrtiṃ sarva-pravartikām //

[628] *Ibid.*, 18.14—
śivaḥ pradhānaḥ puruṣaḥ śaktiś ca paramā śivā /
śiva-śakty-ātmakaṃ brahma* * * * *//

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respectively and remarks that Vaikuṇṭha and Brahma-loka do not deserve comparison even with a small part of Śiva-loka.[629] It introduces several stories for establishing Śiva's superiority over other gods, especially over Viṣṇu. It praises Śiva-worship thus: "In the Kali age there is no work like Śiva-worship. A man, whether he is a Śākta, a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva, should worship Śaṃkara first of all and then his own tutelary deity with a feeling of reverence. At first one should worship a liṅga with Bilva-leaves; otherwise all (his efforts), being bereft of Śiva-worship, will be like those of Śūdras".[630] From this praise of Śiva and from the nature of some of the stories[631] it is evident that the Śaiva-śāktas had the Vaiṣṇavas and the Vaiṣṇava-śāktas as their most powerful rivals and tried hard to popularise their own ideas especially against those of the latter. But in spite of its outspoken inclination towards Śiva, the Mahābhāgavata follows the Vedānta in advocating the unity of all gods.[632]

The Mahābhāgavata was written in Bengal and most probably in its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa, as the following evidences indicate.

(*i*) The Mahābhāgavata devotes a few chapters to the praise of Kāmarūpa which is called the best of the 'fifty-one' mahāpīṭhas created by the fall of Satī's limbs. (See especially chaps. 11-12 and 76-78).

(*ii*) According to this work Gaṅgā, when following Bhagīratha, intended to visit Kāmākhyā but gave up her project as she chanced to displease the sage Jahnu at the very beginning of her advance eastwards. This shows that the author of the Mahābhāgavata had a special attraction for Kāmarūpa and wanted to add to it the same sanctity as it generally attached to those parts of the country which are watered by the Ganges.

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[629] *Ibid.*, 5. 12-15.

[630] *Ibid.*, 81. 13-14. See also Mahābhāg. 81. 32-34.

[631] Viz., those of Gaṇeśa (who was Nārāyaṇa reborn—chap. 35) and of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (who were the same as Kālī and Śiva respectively—chaps. 49-58).

[632] Mahābhāg. 7. 63-64; 10. 42 and 64; and so on.

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(*iii*) The accounts of the Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā, as given in chaps. 69-70, shows that the author of the Mahābhāgavata was quite familiar with these rivers and regarded both of them as sacred.

(*iv*) In the Mahābhāgavata the autumnal worship of Durgā has been connected with the story of Rāma (son of Daśaratha). The method of Durgā-worship, as described in this work, includes the following operations:—*bodhana* of Devī in a Bilva tree; special worship of Devī for three days (viz., Saptamī, Aṣṭamī and Navamī Tithis) in an earthen image after performing Devī's *adhivāsa* in the evening of the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi; performance of *patrikā-praveśa* on the Saptamī Tithi and of *śatru-bali* on the Navamī Tithi; and the immersion of the image on the Daśamī Tithi with great merriment (sumahotsava).[633] It is to be noted that the custom of *śatru-bali* (in which an image of the enemy is constructed with powdered rice and sacrificed before Devī on the Navamī Tithi) is still surviving in some form or other in Bengal. (For information about *śatru-bali* see pp. 80-85, under Devī-p. above).

(*v*) In the Mahābhāgavata there are some words and expressions which are clearly based on their parallels in Bengali, viz.,

(*a*) ... ... *garvaṃ* tvam āśu *paricūrṇaya* (9. 59a);

(*b*) 'ā+√kṣip' used in the sense of 'lamenting'—... ... śambhuḥ ... ruroda ha / patnīm *ākṣipya* bahudhā satīṃ prākṛta-lokavat // (12. 4);

(*c*) sati tvaṃ mama bhāryeti *loka-lajjāṃ* parityajan / mūrdhnā vahāmi te cchāyāṃ ... ... // (11. 61);

(*d*) 'u mā !' (used by females in expressing *astonishment*—cf. the Bengali expression 'ओ मा !' uttered by women in modern Bengal)—*u meti* vismitā prāha ... ... (21. 59);

(*e*) peculiar use of the word 'nikaṭa'—drutam āgacchata surā brahmaṇo *nikaṭaṃ* tataḥ (13. 50); nātra yāsyati vai kaścij janas tvan-*nikaṭe* prabho (21. 26); (for the use of this

[633] The word 'sumahotsava', occurring in Mahābhāg. 45. 35-36, may mean the famous Śāvarotsava mentioned in the Nibandhas of Bengal.

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word see also Mahābhāg. 20. 15; 21. 10; 22. 5 and 44; 24. 4 and 50; 25. 30; 29. 18; and 33.10);

(*f*) kuputri duścaritrā tvaṃ *cakṣuṣor me bahir bhava*—9. 73b (the second half of this line meaning 'go out of my sight'); sā tvaṃ me *cakṣuṣor bāhyaṃ* śīghraṃ *bhava* durātmike (9. 76b); ahaṃ te *cakṣuṣor bāhyaṃ bhaviṣyāmi* na kevalam (9. 81a);

(*g*) apakarma svayaṃ kṛtvā paraṃ dūṣayate kudhīḥ (8. 43b).

(*h*) vācaṃ niyaccha kalyāṇaṃ yadīcchasi sudurmate / chinde jihvāṃ mahāmūrkha ... ... // (9. 65b-66a);

(*i*) use of Locative in place of Ablative—śrutvā tava *mukhāmbhoje* kathāṃ ... ... (2. 3a).

(*vi*) That part of the country which is watered by the Ganges has been praised in Mahābhāg. 74. 30f. as follows: "One, who leaves the banks of the Ganges and resides elsewhere, searches for hell by setting aside final emancipation lying in his hand. Blessed is that land in which there is the Ganges that sanctifies the three worlds. No country deserves to be called as such, if it is bereft of the Ganges. One should prefer begging and death on the banks of the Ganges to royalty elsewhere ... ...". In another place the Mahābhāgavata says, "A sacrifice without Śiva is just like a country without the Ganges" (7. 61).

(*vii*) Almost all of the numerous Mss of the Mahābhāgavata, hitherto discovered, were found in Bengal, mostly in its eastern part, and are written in Bengali script.

(*viii*) So far as we have been able to find, it is only the authors of Bengal who refer to or draw upon the Mahābhāgavata. (For these references see below).

(*ix*) Independent Mss of the Navagraha-kavaca, Bhagavatī-gītā, Śiva-sahasra-nāma-stotra, Kāmākhyā-kavaca etc., claiming to be parts of the Mahābhāgavata, are found scattered all over Bengal. Some of these Mss have been collected by the Dacca University and the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[634]

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that

[634] See Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 774-5, Nos. 4117-18; Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 645B (found in Rangpur), 645C (found in Rangpur), 526P (found in Bogra), and so on.

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the *Mahābhāgavata is a work of Bengal and most probably of its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa.*

The Mahābhāgavata calls itself 'Purāṇa'[635] as well as 'Mahāpurāṇa'[636] but never 'Upapurāṇa', and this claim has been supported by the Bṛhaddharma-p. which includes its name among those of the eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas'.[637] Yet it must not be taken to be an early work. It knows the names of rāśis and week-days, and mentions the Tulasī plant as well as Rādhā, the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. Its comparatively late date is further evidenced by the fact that it is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇic works except the Bṛhaddharma-p., which, as we shall see afterwards, cannot be dated earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. However, the Mahābhāgavata is certainly not a very modern work. In his Report, p. 12 R. G. Bhandarkar mentions a complete Ms of the Mahābhāgavata which he found in the Bombay Presidency. In the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Ms of the Mahābhāgavata which is dated Śaka 1697.[638] Śrītīrtha-svāmin, who was most probably a court-poet of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇa-candra of Nadia (Bengal), wrote a philosophical treatise entitled Yathārtha-mañjarī in the middle of the eighteenth century. In this work[639] he ascribes to the 'Mahābhāgavata' three lines 'jñānāt saṃjāyate muktiḥ' etc. which are the same as Mahābhāg. 15. 63b-64. In the introductory portion of his Sāradā-maṅgala-kāvya Śiva-candra Sena, who lived a little later than Bhārata-candra (a vernacular poet of Bengal), refers to the 'Mahā-bhāgavata' as describing the autumnal worship of Durga.[640]

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[635] See Mahābhāg., chap. 1, verses 6, 8, 13, 49, 51 and so on.

[636] Mahābhag. 1. 16. See also the chapter-colophons.

[637] Bṛhaddh. (ASB ed.) I. 25. 20. See also footnote 600 above.

[638] Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 772, No. 4112.

[639] Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4093, fol. 11b. (This is a complete Ms written in Bengali script and dated Śaka 1734. Its colophon runs as follows: इति श्रीलश्रीतीर्थस्वामि-कृतयथार्थमञ्जरी समाप्ता ।

[640] Sāradā-maṅgala-kāvya (Dacca Univ. Ms No. 3099)—

मार्कण्डेयपुराण आर देवीपुराणेते ।
अशेष प्रमाण आछे महाभागवते ।
शरत कालेते पूजा प्रकाश से मते ।।

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In the Dacca University collection there is a Ms (No. 1470) of the Mahābhāgavata which is dated 1729 Śaka and which, in its last leaf, contains a *saṅkalpa-mantra* for the study of the Mahābhāgavata.[641] In this collection there is another Ms (No. 4150) which contains a metrical Bengali translation of the Bhagavatī-gītā constituting chaps. 15-19 of the Mahābhāgavata. We have already said that independent Mss of the Bhagavatī-gītā, Śiva-sahasra-nāma-stotra, Nava-graha-kavaca, Kāmākhyā-kavaca etc., claiming to be parts of the Mahābhāgavata, are found in all parts of Bengal. These evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the Mahābhāgavata became a highly popular work and was widely studied as an authoritative Purāṇa a few centuries ago. It has already been mentioned that the Bṛhaddharma-p. has included the name of the Mahābhāgavata in its list of eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas'. That the Mahābhāgavata mentioned in the Bṛhaddharma-p. is the same as the extant one, is shown definitely by the fact that the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. has not only derived many of his stories from the present Mahābhāgavata[642] but has plagiarised a large number of verses from the latter.[643] As a matter of fact, a comparison between these two Upapurāṇas shows that the author of the

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[641] The text of this *saṅkalpa-mantra*, which abounds in mistakes, runs as follows: viṣṇur nnamo'dyetyādi amuka-gotraḥ śrī-amuka-dāsaḥ śrīmajjagadambikā-bhagavatī-durgā-devyāḥ prīti-kāmaḥ sūta-śaunaka-maharṣi-vedavyāsa-yaimini-saṃprokta yām ārādhya viriñcir ityādi iti śrīmahābhāgavate mahāpurāṇe śiva-nārada-saṃvāde prathama-khaṇḍa-samāptir nnāmaikāśītitamo 'dhyāyaḥ samāpta ityantaṃ yathā-jñānataḥ mahābhāgavata-mahāpuraṇasya yathākāla-śravaṇam ahaṃ kariṣye.

[642] Compare, for instance, the chapters on the origin of creation, stories of Satī and Gaṅgā, and Rāma's autumnal worship of Durgā in the two works.

[643] The verses, which are common to these two works, are the following:

Mahābhāg.	Bṛhaddh.	Mahābhāg.	Bṛhaddh.
3. 26a	= II. 1. 56b.	5. 36a	= II. 5. 25b.
3. 42a	— cf. II. 1. 21b.	5. 37a	= II. 5. 26b.
3. 45b	= II.1.25b.	5. 37b	= II. 5. 27b.
3. 46a	— cf. II. 1. 26a.	5. 38b	= II. 5. 28a.
3. 58	= II. 2. 16b-17a.	5. 46-47	— cf. II. 5. 32-33.
3. 61-63	= II. 2. 19 and 21-22.	7. 21b-23a	— cf. II. 6. 2-3.
3. 64b-65a	= II. 2. 25a-b.	7. 24b-25a	— cf. II. 6. 4.
4. 48a	— cf. II. 3. 22b.	7. 40b-41a	= II. 6. 10.
5. 25-28	— cf. II. 5. 17-20.	7. 43	= II. 6. 11.
5. 29-34a	= II. 5. 21-25a.	7. 46b, &c.	= II. 6. 12b, &c.

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Bṛhaddharma-p. thoroughly utilised the language and contents of the Mahābhāgavata in his work. Hence the Mahābhāgavata must have preceded the Bṛhaddharma-p. by a fairly long time, otherwise it could not be regarded as an authoritative 'Mahat Purāṇa' by the author of the latter. We shall see afterwards that the Bṛhaddharma-p. was composed not later than the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Hence *the Mahābhāgavata cannot be dated later than the twelfth century A.D.* Its Śaiva tendency like that of the earlier Kālikā-p. and its silence about the present Kālikā-p. which is remarkably inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism, tend to show that *it was written about the tenth or eleventh century A.D.*

In describing the state of society during the Kali age the Mahābhāgavata (81. 8a) says: "kara-graha-ratā nityaṃ rājāno mleccha-rūpiṇaḥ." But this mention of kings as Mlecchas must not be taken to mean that at the time of composition of the Mahābhāgavata Bengal came under the sway of the Muhammadans; because the Bṛhaddharma-p., which the Mahābhāgavata preceded by a fairly long time, was composed not much later than the advent of the Muhammadans in Bengal. It is probable that the author of the Mahābhāgavata used the expression 'rājāno mleccha-rūpiṇaḥ' only to characterise the kings of the Kali age as being regardless of all moral laws like Mlecchas. Or, it may be that this generalisation was based on the introduction of Muhammadan rule in other provinces outside Bengal.

A study of the Mahābhāgavata shows that the author of this work lived in a society in which the most powerful sects were those of the Śaivas, Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas and Sauras,[644] and which was seriously influenced by Tantricism. People performed ṣaṭ-karma (the six acts, viz., vaśīkaraṇa, māraṇa, uccāṭana etc.), studied the Āgamas, and followed Tantric manners, customs and methods of worship.[645] Even in their conception of the forms of deities they were often guided

[644] For mention of the Sauras see Mahābhāg. 67. 61.

[645] Mahābhāg. 8. 72ff. For Tantric *mantras* used in Durgā-worship, see chaps. 44-45. Kāmākhyā was worshipped according to the Tantric method (12.37).

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by the Tantras.[646] So, the author of the Mahābhāgavata praised varṇāśrama-dharma and prescribed the study of Vedānta.[647] He did not decry Tantricism but tried to bring about a compromise between the two systems by making Devī say,

> "O Śaṃkara, the Āgama and the Veda are my two hands with which I sustain the whole universe consisting of stationary and moving objects.
>
> "If, out of ignorance, anybody violates [the directions of] these two, he is sure to slip down from my hands. ... ...
>
> "It is true and undoubted that I am unable to deliver that person who worships [me] by violating [the directions of] the Āgama and the Veda.
>
> "A wise man should practise *dharma* by taking these two as the same. ... ...
>
> "Those, who worship these [forms of mine], are considered as Vaiṣṇavas in the assembly. ... ...
>
> "Mantra, Yantra and Kavaca—whatever is given by the spiritual preceptor himself [to his disciple] has to be kept secret [by the latter] with much care and is not to be disclosed anywhere.
>
> "From disclosure ensues loss of success, from disclosure comes misforture. So, the best Sādhaka (follower of austere religious practices) should keep [them] secret with all effort."[648]

We have already noted the Śaiva tendency of Śāktism advocated by the Mahābhāgavata. But in spite of its high praise of Śiva the Mahābhāgavata follows Vedānta in establishing the unity of all gods.[649]

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[646] See chap. 43, in which there is mention of Devī's Purāṇic and Tantric forms.

[647] Mahābhāg. 15. 61-64 and 68.

[648] *Ibid.*, 8. 77-82.

[649] *Ibid.*, 7. 63-64; 10. 42 and 64; and so on.

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4. *The Devī-bhāgavata*[650].

This work, as its title shows, deals with the praise of

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[650] This work has been printed on more occasions than one, its chief editions being those published by the Saṃskrta-pustakālaya (Benares), Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay), and Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta). Of these three editions, which have practically the same text, the first is furnished with a 'Devī-bhāgavata-māhātmya' consisting of five chapters and claiming to belong to the Mānasa-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. and the second, with the commentary Tilaka of one Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha. There is also an English translation of this work by Svāmī Vijñānānanda, which was published in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series (Allahabad).

Besides the editions mentioned above, there was another prepared by Haricharan Basu under the patronage of Roy Baradaprasad Basu Bahadur and published in three volumes in Bengali characters in Śaka 1809-1813 from the Śabda-kalpadruma-kāryālaya at 71, Pathuriaghata, Calcutta, with Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary and a Bengali translation.

As the Benares edition, which we have mainly used here, contains numerous instances of careless editing, we have compared its readings with those of the Bombay and Calcutta editions before utilising them for our purpose.

For Mss of the Devī-bhāgavata, see.

(*i*) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1207, Nos. 3363-6. (Of these four Mss, which are all incomplete, the first and the third are written in modern Bengali handwriting, and the rest in Devanāgarī. Skandha IV of the second Ms is dated Saṃvat 1861).

(*ii*) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 770, No. 4108, Ms No. 4061. (This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara and dated Saṃvat 1865 at the end of the seventh Skandha).

(*iii*) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 28-29, No. 35 (written in Nāgara; dated Śaka 1726 and Saṃvat 1861; incomplete, containing the first six Skandhas and a part of the seventh), and p. 100, No. 181 (written in *Bengali* script; fresh; complete 'as regards the first part only').

(*iv*) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 79-81, No. 136 (written in Bengali script; incomplete).

(*v*) Weber, Berlin Cat., pp. 126-132, No. 1528 (a complete Ms dated Saṃvat 1867 and 1868). Also his Berlin Cat. of 1853, pp. 139-140, No. 479.

(*vi*) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., pp. 193-8, Nos. 420-432 (written in Nāgara).

(*vii*) Mss No. 114 of A1881-82 and No. 115 of A1881-82 belonging to Government Mss Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. (Of these two Mss the former consists of two parts written in different hands and bearing the dates Śaka 1715 and Śaka 1734 respectively. Both these Mss are incomplete).

(*viii*) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, p. 913, No. 6608 (containing Skandhas I-V; written in Grantha characters,; and dated about 1852 A.D.).

(*ix*) Adyar Library Cat., I, p. 151. (All the three Mss mentioned are incomplete. One of them is written in Grantha characters, another in Bengali script, and the third in Āndhra).

(*x*) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 201. (This is a complete Ms furnished with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary).

(*xi*) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 338, No. 2203 (incomplete; written in Devanāgarī; and dated Saṃvat 1848), and p. 339, No.2204 (incomplete; containing Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary; and dated Saṃvat 1904).

(*xii*) Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 211.

(*xiii*) Lewis Rice, Cat. of Sans. Mss, p. 72.

(*xiv*) Burnell, Classified Index, Tanjore, p. 188.

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Devī as the highest deity and the Energy (śakti) of all gods and others. It consists of 12 Skandhas or Books divided into two halves of six Skandhas each[651] and opens with a Devī-gāyatrī which runs as follows:

sarva-caitanya-rūpāṃ tām ādyāṃ vidyāṃ ca dhīmahi /
buddhiṃ yā naḥ pracodayāt //[652]

In its first three chapters we are told that once Sūta went to the Naimiṣa forest in Vinaśana[653] and met a group of sages, of whom Śaunaka praised Sūta for his study of the 'eighteen Purāṇas' with Vyāsa, referred to the classification of all Purāṇas and other Śāstras into three classes, viz., sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa, and requested him to narrate the 'fifth'[654] Purāṇa called 'Bhāgavata'. Consequently, Sūta saluted Bhagavatī (whom he described as the Śakti of all including Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and as the primary cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe) and said that the 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata Purāṇa' (i.e. the Devī-bhāgavata) contained 18000 ślokas divided into 318 chapters and 12 Skandhas, the first Skandha consisting of 20 chapters, the second Skandha of 12 chapters, the third of 30 chapters, the fourth of 25 chapters, the fifth of 35 chapters, the sixth of 31 chapters, the seventh of 40 chapters, the eighth of 24 chapters, the ninth of 50 chapters, the tenth of 13 chapters, the eleventh of 24 chapters, and the twelfth of 14 chapters. He then explained the five topics (viz., *sarga*, *pratisarga*, *vaṃśa*, *manvantara* and *vaṃśānucarita*) of this Purāṇa thus:— In *sarga* Bhagavatī, who, in her supreme (turīya) state, is

(*xv*) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, Nos. 9768-74 (incomplete; written in Devanāgarī).

(*xvi*) Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 50, No. 1063 (with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary).

[651] Dbh. VI. 31. 57a—pūrvārdho'yaṃ purāṇasya kathitas tava suvrata. See also the post-colophon statement (ṣaṣṭha-skandhātmakaḥ pūrvārdhaḥ saṃpūrṇaḥ) of chap. 31 of Skandha VI of the Vaṅga. ed.

[652] In some of the Mss of the Devī-bhāgavata, this line is given as 'jīvat-hṛt-kañja-nilayāṃ buddhiṃ yā naḥ pracodayāt'.—See Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3363; Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, No. 35; and Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., No. 136, p. 79.

[653] The printed texts read 'viśvasanaṃ'. Aufrecht's Ms reads 'vinasanaṃ'.

[654] In the list of Purāṇas given in Dbh I. 3. 3-12 the 'Bhāgavata' occupies the fourth place.

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'nirguṇā', 'nityā' and 'yoga-gamyā', takes to the *guṇas* and manifests herself, for the sake of creation, as Sāttvikī, Rājasī and Tāmasī Śaktis in the forms of Mahālakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Mahākālī respectively; by *pratisarga* is meant the origin of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra for creation, preservation and destruction respectively; *vaṃśa* means the genealogies of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, as well as those of Hiraṇyakaśipu and others; *manvantara* involves the description of the periods of reign of the different Manus; and *vaṃśānucarita* consists of the accounts of the descendants of these Manus. Śaunaka next narrated how all these sages came to Naimiṣāraṇya by following a wheel given to them by Brahmā at the advent of Kali, and asked Sūta to name the different Purāṇas before narrating the 'Purāṇa furnished with the name of Bhagavatī' (bhagavatyā nāma-yuktaṃ purāṇam). Consequently, Sūta named the eighteen Purāṇas with their extents,[655] as well as the eighteen Upapurāṇas,[656] and said that after writing the eighteen Purāṇas Vyāsa wrote the unparalleled Mahābhārata, magnifying it by means of the Purāṇic contents, that Viṣṇu took the form of Vyāsa in every Dvāpara age and compiled the Purāṇas, and that in the Dvāpara of the Vaivasvata Manvantara it was Vyāsa, son of Satyavatī, who wrote the Purāṇas, because in the Kali age Brahmins became short-lived and had little intelligence, and women, Śūdras and the unworthy members of the higher three castes were not entitled to hear the Vedas. Sūta then named the twenty-seven Vyāsas[657] preceding

[655] Dbh I. 3. 2-12. In these verses the names and extents of the Purāṇas are given as follows: Mātsya of 44000 verses; Mārkaṇḍeya of 9000 verses; Bhaviṣya of 14500 verses; Bhāgavata of 18000 verses; Brahma-purāṇa of 10,000 verses; Brahmāṇḍa of 12100 verses; Brahma-vaivarta of 18000 verses; Vāmana of 10,000 verses; Vāyavya of 24600 verses; Vaiṣṇava of 23000 verses; Vārāha of 24000 verses; Agni-purāṇa of 16000 verses; Nārada of 25000 verses; the voluminous (*vipula*) Pādma of 55000 verses; the Liṅga of 11000 verses; the Gāruḍa, spoken out by Hari (hari-bhāṣitam), consisted of 19000 verses; the Purāṇa declared by Kūrma consisted of 17000 verses; and the extremely wonderful (paramādbhuta) Skānda consisted of 81000 verses.

[656] Dbh I. 3. 13-16. For the names of the Upapurāṇas in this list, see Vol. I, Chap. I (p. 10).

[657] Svayaṃbhū, Prajāpati, Uśanas, Mṛtyu, Maghavan, Vasiṣṭha, Sārasvata, Tridhāman, Trivṛṣa, Bharadvāja, Antarīkṣa, Dharma, Trayyāruṇi, Dhanaṃjaya, Medhātithi, Vratin, Atri, Gautama, Uttama, Haryātman, Veṇa Vājaśravas, Soma Amuṣyāyaṇa, Tṛṇabindu, Bhārgava, and Śakti Jātukarṇya (Dbh I. 3. 26-33).

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Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana, son of Satyavatī, and said that the twenty-eighth Vyāsa (son of Satyavatī) wrote the' Śrīmad-bhāgavata-purāṇa' (i.e. the Devī-bhāgavata) and taught it to his son Śuka who was born from an 'araṇi' and was indifferent to the world from his very birth. This reference to Śuka roused curiosity in the sages to hear about Śuka's birth and conduct; and in chaps. 4-19 we find Sūta narrating the story of Śuka, with relevant digressions, in the following way:

While living in his hermitage on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, once chanced to notice with interest the affectionate care of a pair of sparrows for their newborn offspring. This sight had such a great appeal to Vyāsa's mind that he began to muse on the benefits of having a son. He felt in his mind a strong desire for one, and determined to practise austerities for the purpose. At Nārada's advice he went to the mountain Meru and worshipped Devī and Mahādeva by muttering the monosyllabic Vāg-bīja. Mahādeva granted to Vyāsa a boon, which resulted in the birth of Śuka from Vyāsa's energy discharged on an 'araṇi' at the sight of the nymph Ghṛtācī who had assumed the form of a female parrot (śukī). From his very birth Śuka was indifferent to worldly pleasures and wanted to lead the life of a celibate. Being unable to persuade Śuka to marry, Vyāsa asked him to study the 'Bhāgavata-purāṇa' (i.e. the Devī-bhāgavata) which Vyāsa himself wrote and of which the essence had been revealed in times of yore by Bhagavatī in a single line (viz., sarvaṃ khalv idam evāhaṃ nānyad asti sanātanam—Dbh I. 15. 52b) to Viṣṇu when the latter was lying as a child on a Vaṭa-leaf. Śuka studied this 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' but did not change his mind. So, Vyāsa sent Śuka to Janaka, king of Videha. Janaka pointed out to Śuka the dangers of spontaneous renunciation and convinced him that it was highly necessary for one to pass successively through all the stages of life, and that even in the second stage of life one can be free from all kinds of attachment by training up his mind. He praised the sacrificial religion of the Vedas, although it often required the killing of animals, drinking of Soma, playing with dice,

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and similar other practices. Being fully convinced, Śuka returned to Vyāsa, married Pīvarī, daughter of the Pitṛs, and begot on her three sons and a daughter. He muttered the Māyā-bīja and passed into the sky by means of *yoga*-practices.

The above story of Śuka has been interspersed with various digressions which are as follows:

Chap. 5.—Viṣṇu's attainment, through Devī's favour, of the form of Hayagrīva as a result of a curse of Viṣṇu's wife Mahālakṣmī (who was under the influence of Tāmasī Śakti) as well as of the boon granted by the Tāmasī Śakti to the demon Hayagrīva who worshipped her by muttering the monosyllabic Māyā-bīja and desired to be killed by none but Hayagrīva.

Chaps. 6-9.—Brahmā's rousing of Viṣṇu by eulogising Yogamāyā, and Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who had pleased Devī by muttering the Vāg-bīja and received from her a boon that their death would depend upon their own wish.

Chaps. 11-13.—Birth of Budha from Tārā by Soma; Sudyumna's change into a female named Ilā, and the birth of Purūravas from Ilā by Budha; Sudyumna's worship of Devī mounted on a lion; story of Purūravas and Urvaśī.

Chap. 18.—Story of king Śaśabindu whose cow-sacrifice gave rise to the river Carmaṇvatī.

Chap. 19.—Story of the mutual curse of Nimi and Vasiṣṭha.[658]

Chap. 20.—Śāntanu's marriage with Satyavatī, mother of Vyāsa, and the birth of Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya. Citrāṅgada's death in a fight with a Gandharva of the same name. Vicitravīrya's marriage with Ambikā and Ambālikā, daughters of the king of Kāśī, and his untimely death by consumption. Satyavatī's appointing of Vyāsa to raise children on the childless wives of Vicitravīrya, and the consequent birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura.

The contents of the remaining Skandhas are as follows.

[658] In the Devī-bhāgavata Satyavatī is called 'daughter of Dāśa' and 'daughter of Niṣāda'.—Dbh II. 5, verses 3, 18 etc.; I. 20. 5; II. 3. 4; and so on.

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Skandha II

Chap. 1.—Birth of Matsyagandhā (also called Kālī and Matsyodarī) from an Apsaras named Adrikā when the latter assumed the form of a fish due to the curse of a sage and ate up the energy of Vasu Uparicara, king of Cedi.

Chap. 2.—Story of Parāśara's union with Matsyagandhā, and the birth of a part of Viṣṇu as Vyāsa.

Chap. 3.—Brahmā's curse on king Mahābhiṣa and Gaṅgā who became enamoured of each other, and the former's birth as Śāntanu (son of king Pratīpa). Vasiṣṭha's curse on the Vasus, especially on Dyauḥ, to be born as human beings, because Dyauḥ stole Vasiṣṭha's cow Nandinī with the help of the other Vasus.

Chap. 4.—Gaṅgā's union with Śāntanu, and the birth of the eight Vasus as her sons. Gaṅgā's drowning of all her sons except the last, viz., Gāṅgeya, who was Dyauḥ reborn and whom Gaṅgā handed over to Śāntanu after he had attained youth.

Chap. 5.—Gāṅgeya's promise to renounce his right to the throne and to remain unmarried throughout his life. Śāntanu's marriage with Satyavatī.

Chap. 6.—Birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's marriage with Gāndhārī and Saubalī, and Pāṇḍu's marriage with Kuntī and Mādrī. Story of the birth of Karṇa and the five Pāṇḍavas. Pāṇḍu's death at the time of embracing Mādrī.

[The names of the different kinds of sons are given in this chapter as follows:— *aṃśaja*, *putrikā-putra*, *kṣetraja*, *golaka*, *kuṇḍa*, *sahoḍha*, *kānīna*, *krīta*, *vana-prāpta* (prāptas tathā vane), and *datta*.—Verses 47-48. Dbh VII. 16.15 also speaks of 'ten kinds of sons'—putrā daśa-vidhāḥ proktāḥ, but in Dbh VI. 13. 7-8 there is mention of 'thirteen kinds of sons', of which *krīta* is one.—trayodaśa-vidhāḥ putrāḥ kathitā dharma-saṃgrahe / tasmāt krītaṃ sutaṃ kṛtvā ... ... //]

Chap. 7.—Names of the wives and descendants of the Pāṇḍavas. Bhīma's ill treatment to Dhṛtarāṣṭra after his sons' death. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's performance of śrāddha cere-

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monies for his deceased sons, and his retirement to the forest with Vidura, Gāndhārī and Kuntī. Vidura's death. Kuntī, Gāndhārī and Subhadrā's request to Vyāsa to show them Karṇa, Duryodhana and Abhimanyu respectively; and Vyāsa's compliance with this request through the favour of Devī Śrībhuvaneśvarī who lives in Maṇidvīpa.

Chaps. 8-9.—Extinction of the whole family of the Yādavas including Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and the sequence thereof. Pāṇḍavas' death on the Himālaya.

King Parīkṣit's hunting excursion, and his insult to a sage by putting a dead snake round his neck. The sage's son's curse on Parīkṣit to die of snake-bite.

Story of sage Ruru (a descendant of Bhṛgu) who revived his snake-bitten wife Pramadvarā by giving her half of his own longevity. Parīkṣit's precautions for avoiding the curse.

Chap. 10.—Story of the meeting of Kaśyapa and Takṣaka on their way to Parīkṣit's residence, and the testing of their power on a Banian tree. Takṣaka's entrance into a fruit and causing the death of king Parīkṣit.

Chap. 11.—Janamejaya's accession to the throne, his marriage with the daughter of Suvarṇavarman, king of Kāśī, and his commencement of a snake-sacrifice at the advice of sage Uttaṅka who was troubled by Takṣaka. Uttaṅka's narration of the story of Ruru, who set out for killing snakes and met a Ḍuṇḍubha which, being relieved of its snakehood, turned a Brahmin and advised Ruru to practise *ahiṃsā* except in sacrifices. Janamejaya's snake-sacrifice stopped by Āstīka, son of sage Jaratkāru. Vaiśaṃpāyana's recitation of the 'Bhārata' to Janamejaya, but the latter's mental unrest and approach to Vyāsa for advice about the way of attaining peace.

Chap. 12.—Vyāsa's proposal to narrate the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' (also called 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata') which he taught to his own son Śuka and which contained the essence of all the Vedas (sarvāgama-samuddhṛta). Vyāsa's narration of the story of Jaratkāru's marriage with Vāsuki's sister (named Jaratkāru), and the birth of Āstīka. Story of Garuḍa's

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redemption of his mother Vinatā from slavery. Vyāsa's praise of Devī and her worship.

Skandha III

Chap. 1.—Janamejaya's wish to know about Devī and her worship. Vyāsa's consequent description of his meeting with Nārada and of questioning the latter about the nature of that deity which occupies the highest position and is the primal source of the universe.

Chap. 2.—Nārada's description of what he had heard from Brahmā on the same topic.—Brahmā's confusion at the sight of the world immersed in water; his meeting with Mahāviṣṇu, who, being left by Devī Yoganidrā, awoke and killed Madhu and Kaiṭabha; and his start with Rudra and Mahāviṣṇu in an aerial car (vimāna) brought by Devī.

Chap. 3.—Passing of the car through a number of beautiful regions, in which they found Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva[659] different from themselves. Arrival of the car in a region which was occupied by Devī Śrībhuvaneśvarī,[660] who is called 'kumārī', 'mahāvidyā', 'mahāmāyā' and 'pūrṇā prakṛti' and is said to have preserved in her own body the seed of creation.[661]

Chap. 4.—Devī's transforming of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva into charming young girls; and the latter's viewing of the whole universe (including themselves and the other gods

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[659] This Śiva is described as follows:

... ... bhagavāñ chambhur vṛṣārūḍhas trilocanaḥ /
pañcānano daśa-bhujaḥ kṛta-somārdha-śekharaḥ //
vyāghra-carma-parīdhāno gaja-carmottarīyakaḥ /
pārṣṇi-rakṣau mahāvīrau gajānana-ṣaḍānanau //
Verses 21-22.

[660] She is described in verses 38ff. as 'rakta-mālyāmbara-dharā', 'surakta-nayanā', 'vidyut-koṭi-sama-prabhā', 'aruṇā', 'vara-pāśāṇkuśābhīti-dharā', 'sarva-śṛṇgāra-veśāḍhyā', etc. According to Viṣṇu, she is the mother (jananī) of himself as well as of Brahmā and Śiva (verse 67).

For description of Devī Śrībhubaneśvarī, the resident of Maṇidvīpa, see also Dbh VI. 5.50-56; VI. 8. 57-62; VII. 30. 3; VIII. 31. 31-41; and so on.

[661] Dbh III. 3. 54-55—

liṅgāni sarva-jīvānāṃ svaśarīre niveśya ca /
sarva-bījamayī hy eṣā rājate sāṃprataṃ surau //

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and goddesses) in the nail of her toe. Eulogy of Devī Śrībhuvaneśvarī by Viṣṇu who was 'yuvatī-bhāva-saṃsthitā'.

Chap. 5.—Śiva's eulogy of Devī, and his receipt of the nine-syllabled *mantra* from the latter. Brahmā's eulogy of Devī and prayer to her to explain her own self.

[In all the eulogies Devī is called the primal source of the universe.]

Chap. 6.—Devī's description of her own self. (—Devī is 'eka advitīya brahma', but she assumes 'dvaita-bhāva' in creation. She is neither male nor female, nor is she neuter. She appears as the Śaktis[662] of the different gods and enables them to do their own duties). Devī's creation of the three Śaktis, viz., Mahāsarasvatī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahākāli from herself, and her giving of these Śaktis to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. Her instruction to Brahmā and others to mutter her nine-syllabled *mantra* and do their respective duties. Unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva advocated. Brahmā and others' attainment of male-hood and return to their former place.

Chap. 7.—Description of Nirguṇā Śakti and Nirguṇa Puruṣa who are but one. The three *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) and their effects.

Chaps. 8-9.—A discussion on the nature of the three *guṇas* and the mode of their operation.

Praise of Mahāsarasvatī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahākālī, as well as of uttering even the syllable 'एं' (which is bereft of the nasal) out of fear or otherwise.

Chaps. 10-11.—Story of Utathya (*alias* Satyatapas or Satyavrata), son of Devadatta of Kośala, who, being born as a fool in consequence of Gobhila's curse on his father, retired to the forest, became a renowned poet by unconsciously uttering the Sārasvata *bīja* out of compassion for a boar wounded by a fowler, and spontaneously pronounced, like Vālmīki, a śloka—

yā paśyati na sā brūte yā brūte sā na paśyati /

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[662] Namely, Gaurī, Brāhmī, Raudrī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Śivā, Vāruṇī, Kauverī, Nārasiṃhī, Vāsavī and others.

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aho vyādha sva-kāryārthin kiṃ pṛcchasi punaḥ punaḥ // (chap. 11, verse 41).

[In chap. 11, verse 36 truth is defined as follows:

satyaṃ na satyaṃ khalu yatra hiṃsā
dayānvitaṃ cānṛtam eva satyam /
hitaṃ narāṇāṃ bhavatīha yena
tad eva satyaṃ na tathānyathaiva //]

Chap. 12.—Vyāsa's description of the method and result of performing Devī-yajña, which may be *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* according as the performers are sages, kings and Rākṣasas respectively. The necessity of dravya-śuddhi, kriyā-śuddhi and mantra-śuddhi in Devī-yajña.

Chap. 13.—Brahmā's creation of the world as well as of gods, sages and others. Viṣṇu's performance of Devī-yajña according to the instructions of Devī (the resident of Maṇidvīpa), and his attainment of the highest position among all the gods. Results of worshipping Devī in images according to the Vedic method.

[Chaps. 14-25.—Story of Sudarśana, eldest son of Dhruvasandhi, king of Kośala.]

Chaps. 14-23.—Sudarśana, being deprived of the throne after his father's death by Yudhājit (the maternal grandfather of his step-brother Śatrujit), took shelter in Bharadvāja's hermitage, won Devī's favour by muttering the syllable 'क्लीं' (named Kāmarāja, which Sudarśana chanced to gather, in his childhood, from the word 'klīva' applied by the young hermits to his old chamberlain), became fortunate enough to see Vaiṣṇavī Śakti[663] even in his childhood, and was able to recover his kingdom by marrying Śaśikalā, daughter of Subāhu, king of Kāśī, in a '*svayaṃvara*'.[664] Subāhu's eulogy

[663] In Dbh III. 17. 42-43 Vaiṣṇavī Śakti, as seen by Sudarśana in his childhood, is described as follows:

... ... devī-rūpaṃ dadarśa ha /
raktāmbaraṃ rakta-varṇaṃ rakta-sarvāṅga-bhūṣaṇam //
garuḍe vāhane saṃsthāṃ vaiṣṇavīṃ śaktim adbhutām /
dṛṣṭvā prasanna-vadanaḥ sa babhūva nṛpātmajaḥ //

[664] According to Dbh III. 18. 42-43 there are three kinds of 'svayaṃvara'—*icchā-svayaṃvara*, *paṇa-svayaṃvara* (such as Rāma's winning of Sītā by breaking Śiva's bow), and *śauryaśulka-svayaṃvara*.

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of Durgā, who protected Sudarśana during his fight with the rival kings.

[In chaps. 16 and 17 the following stories occur as digressions:—

(1) Jayadratha's abduction of Draupadī during the absence of the Pāṇḍavas from the hermitage.

(2) Vāmana's chastisement of Bali.

(3) Viśvāmitra's sad experience in his attempt to take Vasiṣṭha's cow Nandinī by force.]

Chap. 24.—Durgā's consent to Subāhu to remain constantly at Benares and protect the city. Sudarśana's eulogy of Durgā, and the latter's instruction to him to go to Ayodhyā, establish her image there, worship her thrice daily, especially on the Aṣṭamī, Navamī and Caturdaśī Tithis as well as in the autumn season according to the Navarātra method, and observe great festivals in honour of her during the months of Caitra, Āśvina, Āṣāḍha and Māgha. Sudarśana's description of Devī as both Saguṇā and Nirguṇā, and his praise of the Kāma-bīja.

Chap. 25.—Sudarśana's return to Ayodhyā and consecration of an image of Devī (Ambikā) which became famous in Kośala. Subāhu's consecration of an image of Durgā at Benares.

Chap. 26.—Vyāsa's description of the Navarātra-vrata, which is to be observed in the months of Āśvina and Caitra in autumn and spring respectively, because these two seasons cause diseases and death to people and are thus known as 'Yama's teeth'.[665]

(In the Navarātra-vrata, which is to continue for 'nine nights' from Śukla-pratipad to Śukla-navamī and in which the worshippers are to observe complete fast or to take only one meal at daytime, the priests should be 'veda-vedāṅga-

[665] Dbh II. 26. 4b-7a—
dvāv ṛtū yama-daṃṣṭrākhyau nūnaṃ sarva-janeṣu vai /
śarad-vasanta-nāmānau durgamau prāṇinām iha /
tasmād yatnād idaṃ kāryaṃ sarvatra śubham icchatā //
dvāv eva sumahāghorāv ṛtū roga-karau nṛṇām /
vasanta-śaradāv eva jana-nāśa-karāv ubhau //
tasmāt tatra prakartavyaṃ caṇḍikā-pūjanaṃ budhaiḥ /

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pāraga', 'ācāra-nirata' and 'devī-tattva-viśārada', and Devī may be worshipped either in an image or in a *yantra* furnished with the nine-syllabled *mantra*. An image of Devī should be mounted on a lion and furnished with four hands having a conch-shell (śaṅkha), a discus (cakra), a mace (gadā) and a lotus (padma) in them. It may also have eighteen hands.[666] In Devī-worship, buffaloes, he-goats and boars may be sacrificed by those who take meat, and virgin girls, aged not less than two years or more than ten years,[667] are to be worshipped and honoured with food, clothes, ornaments etc.).

Chap. 27.—Qualifications of virgin girls eligible for worship;[668] restrictions as regards their castes in case of Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra worshippers.

People, who are unable to observe the Navarātra-vrata duly, may worship Devī for three days from Saptamī to Navamī.

Praise of the performance of Navarātra-vrata.

Story of a poor merchant of Kośala, who attained prosperity by performing the Navarātra-vrata and muttering the Māyā-bīja in accordance with the instructions of a Brahmin.

The Brahmin's reference to Rāma's performance of this Vrata at Kiṣkindhyā for rescuing Sītā.

Chaps. 28-30.—A short summary of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa,[669] with the mention of Rāma's performance of the Navarātra-vrata at Kiṣkindhyā in the month of

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[666] Dbh III. 26. 18-21—

... ... devī caturhastāyudhānvitā //
śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-dharā siṃhe sthitā śivā /
aṣṭādaśa-bhujā vāpi pratiṣṭhāpyā sanātanī //
arcābhāve tathā yantraṃ navārṇa-mantra-saṃyutam /
sthāpayet pīṭha-pūjārthaṃ kalasaṃ tatra pārśvataḥ //

[667] Virgin girls aged 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 years are called Kumārikā (or Kumārī), Trimūrti, Kalyāṇī, Rohiṇī, Kālikā, Caṇḍikā, Śāṃbhavī, Durgā and Subhadrā respectively.—Dbh. III. 26. 40-43.

In verses 44-62, the results of, and *mantras* for, worshipping these virgin girls have been described.

[668] Birth in a high family is one of the disqualifications of these girls.—Verse 1 (viśāla-kula-saṃbhavām).

[669] According to Dbh III. 28. 22 it was Rāma who cut the nose of Śūrapaṇakhā.

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Āśvina in accordance with Nārada's advice. Devī's appearance before Rāma by mounting a lion (siṃhārūḍhā), and her mention that it is Nārāyaṇa who took the forms of the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, and the son of Jamadagni, and then appeared as the son of Daśaratha. Rāma's worship of 'Vijayā' and start on the Daśamī Tithi for victory over Rāvaṇa.

Skandha IV

Chap. 1.—Janamejaya's questions regarding the cause of the incidents in the lives of Vasudeva, Devaḳī, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī.

Chap. 2.—Vyāsa's discourse on the inevitability of the fruits of actions (which are classified into 'saṃcita', 'bhaviṣya' and 'prārabdha').

Chap. 3.—Cause of Kaśyapa's birth as Vasudeva and Aditi's birth as Devakī.—Kaśyapa's stealing of Varuṇa's cows, and the consequent curse of Varuṇa and Brahmā on Kaśyapa to be born, with his wife, in the family of Yadu.

Birth of the Maruts; and Diti's curse on Aditi to suffer the troubles of prison-life and to have her sons killed one after another.

Chap. 4.—Vyāsa's speech on the power of *māyā* which urges creatures to do various kinds of impious acts.

Chaps. 5-6.—Story of the austerity practised by Nara and Nārāyaṇa at Vadarikāśrama in the Himalayas by meditating on the Mahāvidyā as well as on the Tantric syllables called Vāg-bīja, Kāma-bīja and Māyā-bīja. Indra's fear, and his unsuccessful attempt to dissuade the sages from their austere practices first by offering to them the best boon, then by creating wolves, lions and tigers, and rain, wind and fire by means of his magic power (māyā), and finally by sending Kāma (Cupid) with Rati, Vasanta (Spring) and 8050 Apsarases headed by Rambhā and Tilottamā. The reception given by Nārāyaṇa to the nymphs. His creation of Uravaśī by striking his thigh with his palm. His subsequent creation of other divine nymphs, who wanted

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to have their creator as their husband. Nārayaṇa's rage against these nymphs.

Chap. 7.—Effects of 'ahaṃkāra', the birth place of *kāma*, *krodha* etc.

Chap. 8.—Story of Cyavana, who entered the Narmadā for bath and was taken to the nether world by a Nāga. Cyavana's meeting with Prahlāda, his praise of *manaḥ-śuddhi*, and his mention of Naimiṣa as the best holy place.

Prahlāda's visit to Naimiṣa and bath in the Sarasvatī.

[In this chapter there is mention of the Niṣādas, Kaivartas, Hūṇas, Vaṅgas, Khasas and Mlecchas as living along the banks of the Ganges.—Verses 31-32.]

Chap. 9.—Prahlāda's fight with Nara and Nārāyaṇa, because, unlike the sages, they had bows and quivers.

Chaps. 10-14.—'Ahaṃkāra' as the cause of the fight as well as of all kinds of actions.

Bhṛgu's curse on Viṣṇu to be born again and again as a human being, because Viṣṇu severed the head of Kāvya's mother who tried to save the Daityas by overpowering the gods by means of her Yogic power.

Kāvya's penance in Kailāsa for getting a *mantra* from Mahādeva; his amorous sports with Jayantī for ten years; Bṛhaspati's disguise as Kāvya and preaching of Jaina *dharma* among the Daityas; Kāvya's return and curse on the infatuated Daityas to be defeated by the gods; Bṛhaspati's departure for heaven; Daityas' entreaty to Kāvya.

Chap. 15.—Gods' defeat in a war with the Daityas protected by Kāvya; Indra's eulogy of Devī (Vaiṣṇavī Śakti) as 'śūla-dhāriṇī', 'śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-khaḍga-hastā', 'daśa-tattvātmikā', 'mahāvidyā-svarūpiṇī' etc., and the latter's appearance before Indra by mounting a lion, wearing red clothes and having four hands holding 'śaṅkha', 'cakra', 'gadā', and 'padma' in them.[670]

Prahlāda's eulogy of Devī by calling her 'hrīṃ-mūrti',

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[670] Verses 22-23.

... ... siṃhārūḍhā caturbhujā //
śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padmān bibhratī cāru-locanā /
raktāmbara-dharā devī divya-mālya-vibhūṣaṇā //

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and his return to the nether world in accordance with Devī's wish.

Chap. 16.—Viṣṇu's incarnations (viz., Nara-and-Nārāyaṇa, Dattātreya, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa-and-Arjuna, and others) in the different Yugas and Manvantaras under the influence of Parā Prakṛti.

Chap. 17.—Nārāyaṇa's promise to the love-smitten nymphs to become their husband when he himself and Nara would be born as Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna respectively in the twenty-eighth Dvāpara.

Chap. 18.—Indra and Brahmā's prayer to Viṣṇu to be born on earth and relieve her by killing Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla, Kaṃsa and others. Viṣṇu's mention of the sufferings undergone by him in his different incarnations, especially as Rāma, and his confession that he is not the master of himself but is a mere tool in the hand of Devī Yoga-māyā.

[In verses 41-58, the main incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa have been mentioned. These incidents include Rāma's banishment of Sītā and the latter's entrance into the nether world.]

Chap. 19.—Brahmā and others' invocation of Devī Bhuvaneśvarī Yogamāyā of Maṇidvīpa with the citation of the *mantra* "mahālakṣmyai ca vidmahe sarva-śaktyai ca dhīmahi / tan no devī pracodayāt //", and the latter's assurance that Kaśyapa, Aditi, Viṣṇu and others would be born on earth and accomplish their objects.

Chaps. 20-22.—Description of the power of Devī, who is both Vidyā and Avidyā.

Birth of Kaśyapa and Aditi as Vasudeva and Devakī respectively. Vasudeva and Devakī's agreement with Kaṃsa at the time of their marriage, Kaṃsa's killing of their first six sons at the advice of Nārada (who is described as '*kalaha-priya*'—chap. 22, verse 5). Accounts of the previous births of these sons. Names of gods and demons reborn on earth.

Chap. 23.—Transfer of Devakī's seventh son to Rohiṇī's womb. Birth of Kṛṣṇa, and his transfer to Nanda's house. Yogamāyā's threat to Kaṃsa.

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Chaps. 24-25.—Exploits of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in Gokula, Mathurā and Dvāravatī. Story of Kṛṣṇa's bringing about the death of Kālayavana, king of Mlecchas.

Story of Pradyumna, who was stolen by Śambara immediately after his birth, but whom Kṛṣṇa recovered through the favour of Devī Yogamāyā.

Kṛṣṇa's penance for winning the favour of Maheśvara. Vyāsa's praise of Devī, who was realised by Śvetāśvatara and other sages.

[In chap. 25, verses 10-20 the main incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa have been mentioned in exemplifying the power of *māyā*. These incidents include Sītā's entrance into fire, Rāma's banishment of Sītā, and Sītā's entrance into the nether world.]

Skandha V

Chap. 1.—Cause of Kṛṣṇa's penance for Śiva's favour.—Superiority of Śiva (or Mūla-rudra) over Viṣṇu (of whom Kṛṣṇa is called only a partial incarnation—aṃśāvatāra); *māyā* and *ahaṃkāra*, which steep all in nescience.

Chaps. 2-19.—Devī-māhātmya.—Story of the birth of the demon Mahiṣa from a mahiṣī (female buffalo) by the demon Rambha; Mahiṣa's occupation of heaven; gods' meeting for bringing about the death of Mahiṣa; origin of an eighteen-handed Devī (called 'Mahālakṣmī') from the energy of the gods, who furnished her with ornaments, weapons, and a lion as her *vāhana*; Mahiṣa's repeated proposal of marriage to Devī (who gave herself out as the mother of gods named Mahālakṣmī); Devī's war[671] with Mahiṣa and his generals; the latter's death; gods' eulogy of Devī; Devī's disappearance after promising help to the gods in all crises.

Chap. 20.—Passing of Devī (Mahālakṣmī) to her own place Maṇidvīpa, which is situated in the ocean of nectar and where Devī, as Māyā-śakti, always sports in different forms.

[671] In describing the battlefield, Dbh V. 13. 33 refers to the use of gourd-shells by learners of swimming.

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Chaps. 21-31.—Story of the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha.—Their penance at Puṣkara for Brahmā's favour; their occupation of heaven; their muttering of the Māyā-bīja and penance on the Himālaya for Devī's favour; Devī's appearance as Pārvatī, from whose body came out Ambikā (called Kauśikī) of incomparable beauty; Pārvatī's consequent dark complexion and name Kālikā; Kauśikī[672] and Kālikā's war with and killing of Dhūmralocana, Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa and other demons; origin of Kālī (also called Cāmuṇḍā) from Devī's forehead; Devī's appellation 'Śiva-dūtī' for sending Śiva as a messenger to Śumbha; death of Raktabīja, Śumbha and Niśumbha.

Chaps. 32-35.—Story of king Suratha and a Vaiśya, who heard Devī-māhātmya from a sage, received the nine-syllabled *mantra* from him, and worshipped Devī by practising severe austerities.

The method of Devī-worship, as given in chap. 34, includes the following operations:— performance of bhūta-śuddhi and nyāsa; worship of Devī either in a metal image or in a *yantra* (diagram) which is to have six or eight corners and the syllables of the nine-syllabled *mantra* written in it, and is to be consecrated after the Vedic method; use of the nine-syllabled *mantra* in Devī-worship, which could be done either in the Tantric or in the Vedic method; 'fast for nine nights' during the Navarātra-vrata (which was open to Śūdras and in which virgin girls were to be worshipped and fed).

Skandha VI

Chap. 1.—Tvaṣṭṛ's creation of a son named Viśvarūpa (also called Triśiras for having three heads) out of enmity against Indra; Viśvarūpa's severe austerities, which could not be disturbed by Aprasases.

Chap. 2.—Indra's killing of Viśvarūpa; Takṣan's severing of Viśvarūpa's heads in temptation for having a

[672] She is said to have eighteen hands and a lion as her *vāhana*.—See Dbh V. 26.6; 25. 38; 26.4; 31.18; and so on.

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share of the sacrificial offerings; origin of various kinds of birds from the severed heads; Tvaṣṭṛ's rage and creation of Vṛtra[673] from the sacrificial fire.

Chap. 3.—Vṛtra's war against Indra, and the latter's defeat.

Chap. 4.—Vṛtra's receipt of a boon from Brahmā, and his occupation of heaven.

Chap. 5.—Gods' eulogy of Devī (described as 'pāśāṅkuśa-varābhīti-lasad-bāhu-catuṣṭayā', 'netra-traya-vibhūṣitā', 'raktāmbara-parīdhānā' etc. in verses 50-56) for infatuating Vṛtra.

Chap. 6.—Indra's treaty with Vṛtra, and his killing of the latter in the evening by means of a mass of foam containing the thunder as well as Viṣṇu's energy.

Chap. 7.—Tvaṣṭṛ's curse on Indra. The latter's residence in a lotus-stalk in the Mānasa lake for escaping 'Brahma-hatyā'. Appointment of Nahuṣa in place of Indra. Nahuṣa's passion for Śacī.

Chap. 8.—Indra's escape from 'Brahma-hatyā' by performing a horse-sacrifice at the advice of Viṣṇu. Śacī's worship of Devī Śrībhuvaneśvarī,[674] and the latter's consent to infatuate Nahuṣa and degrade him from the position of Indra. Śacī's meeting with Indra in the Mānasa lake.

Chap. 9.—Sages' curse on Nahuṣa to become a snake.

Chap. 10.—Vyāsa's discourse on different kinds of '*karma*' (viz., sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa; and saṃcita, vartamāna and prārabdha).

Chap. 11.—Vyāsa's description of *yuga-dharma*. [In the Satya-yuga Brahmins remain engaged in Devī-worship and mutter the Māyā-bīja; and the Rākṣasas of the previous Yugas are reborn as Brahmins in the Kali age, mostly follow the Pāṣaṇḍa-dharma, and serve Śūdras.[675]]

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[673] Dbh VI.2.44—

vṛjināt trātum adhunā yasmāc chakto 'si putraka /
tasmād vṛtra iti khyātaṃ tava nāma bhaviṣyati //

[674] She is described as 'haṃsa-vāhinī,' 'vidyut-koṭi-samānābhā,' 'pāśāṅkuśābhaya-varān dadhatī,' and 'locanatraya-bhūṣitā'.—Verses 57-62.

[675] See verses 36ff.

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Praise of the power of Devī-worship in destroying sin.

Chap. 12.—Names of holy rivers,[676] mountains, lakes,[677] and places[678] which are sacred to Devī.

Praise of dravya-śuddhi, kriyā-śuddhi and manaḥ-śuddhi.

Story of king Hariścandra, who was attacked with dropsy (jalodarābhidhā vyādhiḥ) due to his breach of promise of sacrificing his own son Rohita to Varuṇa.

Chap. 13.—Vasiṣṭha's advice to king Hariścandra to perform the sacrifice with a 'purchased son', and Hariścandra's purchase of Śunaḥśepha from his father Ajīgarta; Śunaḥśepha's prayer to Varuṇa in accordance with Viśvāmitra's advice; and Varuṇa's favour to both Śunaḥśepha and Hariścandra.

Story of the fight between the *āḍī* (a kind of bird) and the *vaka* (crane) into which Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra had respectively been transformed by their mutual curse.

Chap. 14.—Story of Vasiṣṭha's birth as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa as a result of Nimi's curse on Vasiṣṭha who, in spite of Nimi's request to help him in performing a sacrifice for the pleasure of Devī, went to heaven to attend a sacrifice instituted by Indra, and after return cursed Nimi to be '*videha*' (bodiless).

Chap. 15.—Nimi's residing, as *nimiṣa*, in the eyes of creatures through Devī's favour. Birth of Janaka from a fire-producing stick (araṇi).

Vyāsa's speech on the bad effects of passions as well as on the results of śābdika and anubhavākhya jñāna.

Chaps. 16-19.—Slaughter of Bhṛgus by Haihayas for the former's refusal to render pecuniary help to the latter. Worship of Devī by the females of the Bhṛgu family, and the consequent birth of a son named Aurva who blinded the Haihayas by the brilliance of his body and thus saved the remaining Bhṛgus.

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[676] Viz., Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Gaṇḍakī, Gomatī, Tamasā, Candrabhāgā, Vetravatī, Tāpī, Sābhramatī, etc.

[677] Viz., Mānasa and Bindusaras.

[678] Viz., Puṣkara, Kurukṣetra, Dharmāraṇya, Prayāga, Arvudāraṇya etc.

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Story of the origin of the family of the Haihayas.—Lakṣmī's abstraction at the sight of Revanta (son of Sūrya), her birth as a mare in consequence of Viṣṇu's curse, her union with Viṣṇu who approached her as a horse at the request of Śiva, and the birth of Ekavīra (*alias* Haihaya), from whom the Haihaya family started.

Chaps. 20-23.—Story of Ekavīra, who was given to Yayāti's son Turvasu (*alias* Harivarman) by Viṣṇu. Ekavīra's accession to the throne of his foster-father; his meeting with Yaśovatī, who narrated how her friend Ekāvalī, daughter of king Raibhya, was abducted by a demon named Kālaketu, how she received a Devī-mantra from a Brahmin and worshipped Devī for three months with great devotion, and how, being instructed by Devī, she came to the bank of the Ganges in search of Ekavīra; Ekavīra's receipt of a Yogeśvarī-mahāmantra named Trilokī-tilaka from Dattātreya and rescue of Ekāvalī after killing Kālaketu; and his marriage with Ekāvalī.

Chaps. 24-25.—Vyāsa's description of his own appointment by his mother Satyavatī to raise children on the widowed wives of Vicitravīrya; birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura; descendants of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu; incidents in the life of the Pāṇḍavas.

Power of '*moha*' (delusion of the mind) in confounding even the wisest men.

Chaps. 26-31.—Nature and power of *māyā* explained and illustrated by means of stories.—Nārada and Parvata's travel on earth; mutual love between Nārada and Damayantī, daughter of king Sañjaya; Parvata's curse on Nārada to become monkey-faced; Nārada's marriage with Damayantī in spite of the latter's father's protest; and Nārada's attainment of his previous facial beauty.

Story of Nārada's experience after turning a female named Saubhāgya-sundarī by bathing, at Viṣṇu's advice, in a lake near Kānyakubja.

Praise of Devī, who only is capable of releasing creatures from *māyā*.

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Skandha VII

Chap. 1.—Origin of Brahmā, his worship of Mahādevī, and his creation of his mind-born (mānasa) sons as well as of Vīriṇī who was married to Dakṣa. Creation by Dakṣa; Nārada's sending away of Dakṣa's sons to measure the earth before creation; Dakṣa's curse on Nārada for doing so; and Nārada's consequent birth as a son of Vīriṇī. Marriage of Dakṣa's daughters with Kaśyapa, Dharma, Soma, Bhṛgu and others.

Chaps. 2-5.—Kaśyapa's descendants including Vivasvān, whose son was Vaivasvata Manu. Descendants of Vaivasvata Manu.

Story of Cyavana's blindness caused by Sukanyā (daughter of king Śaryāti of the Solar race), his marriage with the latter, and his regaining of his eye-sight and youthful beauty through the favour of Aśvins pleased by Sukanyā. Cyavana's promise to make Aśvins have a share of the Soma-drink in sacrifices.

Chaps. 6-8.—Śaryāti's performance of a sacrifice at the advice of Cyavana (who is said to be a devotee of Devī), and the latter's compelling Indra to recognise the Aśvins as sharers of the Soma-drink in this as well as in other sacrifices by benumbing him as well as his thunder-weapon and by creating a 'kṛtyā' named Mada for his destruction.

Śaryāti's descendants. Story of king Revata, who saw Brahmā in the Brahma-loka and gave his daughter Revatī in marriage to Baladeva at Brahmā's advice.

Position of the different *lokas* (such as Indra-loka, Vahni-loka etc.) on the peak of Meru.

King Mahābhiṣa and Gaṅgā's looking amorously at each other, and Brahmā's consequent curse on them to be born on earth.

Chap. 9.—Story of Vikukṣi (son of Ikṣvāku), who, while hunting animals for aṣṭakā-śrāddha to be performed by his father, ate the meat of a hare, and was consequently named Śaśāda and forsaken by his enraged father.

Story of Kakutstha (son of Vikukṣi), who was a devotee

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of Devī and fought the demons by mounting Indra transformed into a bull.

Names of Kakutstha's descendants including Kuvalayāśva (who was named Dhundhumāra for killing the demon Dhundhu) and Māndhātṛ (who is said to have constructed one thousand and eight Devī-temples at different holy places).

Story of Māndhātṛ's birth.

Chaps. 10-11.—Names of Māndhātṛ's descendants including Satyavrata (son of Aruṇa), who, being discarded by his father for marrying a Brahmin's wife by force, lived with the Śvapākas (who used to abduct the wives of the twice-born people),[679] supported Viśvāmitra's wife and children during his absence, became known as Triśaṅku by killing Vasiṣṭha's cow, worshipped Devī by muttering the nine-syllabled *mantra*, and succeeded his father through Devī's favour.

Aruṇa's instructions to his son Triśaṅku.

Chaps. 12-14.—Story of Triśaṅku's attempt to ascend heaven with the human body through Viśvāmitra's help, and the result thereof.

Story of Viśvāmitra's eating the meat of a dog during a famine (chap. 13, verses 8-27).

Chaps. 14-17.—Story of king Hariścandra (son of Triśaṅku).—His dejection due to his sonlessness; his worship of Varuṇa for a son; Varuṇa's granting a boon on condition that this son would be sacrificed to him; birth of Rohita; Hariścandra's deferring the performance of the sacrifice under various pretexts; Rohita's escape from the capital; Varuṇa's curse on Hariścandra to have dropsy; Hariścandra's purchase of Śunaḥśepha from his father Ajīgarta; Śunaḥśepha's eulogy of Varuṇa; and so on.

[For this story see also Dbh VI, chaps. 12-13.]

Chaps. 18-27.—Story of king Hariścandra's sufferings

[679] Dbh VII. 10. 16a—
śvapacasya kṛtaṃ karma dvija-dārāpahāraṇam /

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brought on by Viśvamitra, to whom the king had given his whole kingdom.[680]

[The story runs as follows.—Vasiṣṭha praised Hariścandra for his munificence and other qualities. This excited Viśvāmitra, who promised to lower the king in public opinion. Once Hariścandra met a beautiful young woman in a forest and learnt from her that she was troubled by Viśvāmitra's severe penance. Hariścandra approached Viśvāmitra and requested him not to create trouble to others. This enraged Viśvāmitra. He lured Hariścandra into an unknown forest by sending to the latter's pleasure-garden a demon in the form of a boar (... dānavaṃ ... / preṣayāmāsa ... vidhāya śūkarākṛtim // —chap. 18, verse 16b-17a). Finding that Hariścandra had lost his way, Viśvāmitra appeared before him in the form of an old Brahmin. Hariścandra requested this Brahmin to lead him out of the forest and promised to give him enormous wealth for his service. This gave Viśvāmitra a grand chance. On the pretext of marrying his son, whom he created by his magic power, Viśvāmitra asked the king to give him his entire kingdom. The king readily agreed and returned to Ayodhyā. Viśvāmitra also followed him there, accepted the whole kingdom, asked Hariścandra for proper 'dakṣiṇā', and ordered him out of his kingdom. Hariścandra went to Benares and paid up the 'dakṣiṇā' at the last moment by selling his wife Śaivyā and son Rohita to an old Brahmin (who was none but Viśvāmitra himself in disguise), and himself to Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra, in his turn, sold Hariścandra to a Cāṇḍāla (who was Dharma in disguise). Now, in course of time, Rohita was bitten to death by a cobra sent by Viśvāmitra. But Śaivyā was not allowed by her master to see her son till midnight. When, at dead of night, she went to her son's dead body, people took her to be a fiend that used to kill children (bāla-ghātinī) and handed her over to the Cāṇḍāla. The Cāṇḍāla ordered his servant

[680] This story has been influenced by that in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, as is shown by the verses of the latter retained in Dbh VII. 18-27.

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Hariścandra to kill Śaivyā. When, with great reluctance, Hariścandra got ready to carry out his master's order, Śaivyā narrated the sad story of her son's death and sought his permission to bring the dead body there for cremation. Then, with Hariścandra's permission, the dead body was brought to the cremation ground; Hariścandra and Śaivyā recognised each other and decided to burn themselves with their son. They prepared a funeral pyre and meditated on Devī Śatākṣī (i.e. Śākambharī)[681] before entering it. At this moment, the gods appeared there, revived Rohita, and allowed Hariścandra to ascend heaven with his wife and subjects.]

Chap. 28.—Story of Devī Bhuvaneśvarī's appearance as Śatākṣī (*alias* Śākambharī)[682] during a famine for sustaining the creation by killing the demon Durgama on the Himālaya. [During her war with Durgama, Śatākṣī was helped by her Śaktis, viz., Kālikā, Tāriṇī, Tripurā, Bhairavī, Bagalā, Mātaṅgī, Kāmākṣī, Chinnamastā and others, who issued from her own body.—See verses 54ff.]

Chaps. 29-30.—Praise of worship of Devī (Bhuvaneśvarī), who is called the highest deity.

Story of the powerlessness of Viṣṇu and Śiva who felt proud of their own capacity in killing the demons called Hālāhala and were consequently forsaken by Mahālakṣmī and Gaurī respectively.

Dakṣa and others' muttering of the Māyā-bīja on the Himālaya, and their prayer to Devī Bhuvaneśvarī, the resident of Maṇidvīpa (maṇidvīp-ādhivāsinī); Devī's assurance that one of her Śaktis would be born to Dakṣa as Satī and another would come out of the ocean and be known as Mahālakṣmī.

Story of Satī.—In course of time Devī's energy was born to Dakṣa as Satī and was married to Śiva. Once Nārada gave to Dakṣa a garland which he had received from Devī by muttering the Māyā-bīja, but Dakṣa did not show due

[681] She is described as 'raktāmbara-parīdhānā' and 'nānāyudha-dharā'.—Chap. 27, verses 2-3.

[682] For description of Śatākṣī see verses 33-37.

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regard to this garland and thus dishonoured both Śiva and Devī. So, Satī did not think it proper to retain her body which she had received from Dakṣa, but burnt it to ashes by means of Yogic fire. Though Śiva was very much excited at Satī's death, he stopped Vīrabhadra from destroying the three worlds, made Dakṣa goat-faced, lamented for Satī, and roamed about on earth with Satī's body on his shoulder. Viṣṇu severed Satī's limbs with his arrows. These limbs fell in different places and created one hundred and eight 'siddha-pīṭhas',[683] which were resorted to by both Devī and and Śiva and in which Devī should be worshipped with the Māyā-bīja. It is to be noted that though these pīṭhas include Ekāmrakṣetra, Puruṣottama, Vaidyanātha and Puṇḍra-vardhana, most of them belong to the western part of Northern India.

Chap. 31.—Gods' prayer to Devī (the resident of Maṇi-dvīpa)[684] to furnish Śiva with a wife, so that Śiva's son born of this wife might kill the demon Tāraka. Devī's assurance that her Śakti would be born to Himālaya as Gaurī and become Śiva's wife.

Chaps. 32-34.—At the request of Himālaya, Devī described her own self and her relation to the world, and revealed her 'virāḍ-rūpa', which was composed of the whole universe and which filled the gods with awe. Devī's speech on *karman* and *jñāna*, and her explanation of the syllable 'hrīṃ'.

[These and the following few chapters deal with Śākta theology and philosophy as conceived by the author of the Devī-bhāgavata.]

Chaps. 35-36.—Devī's description of the method of practising *yoga*.—The different kinds of impediments to *yoga;* description of *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi;* number of veins (nāḍi) in the body; names and functions of the principal veins; names

[683] For the names of these pīṭhas see chap. 30, verses 53-84. These verses are practically the same as Mat. 13. 25-53 and Pd (Sṛṣṭi-kh.) 17.188ff., but neither in the Matsya-p. nor in the Padma does the name 'siddha-pīṭha' for these holy places occur.

[684] She is described as 'pāśāṅkuśa-varābhīti-caturbāhu', 'trilocanā' etc.—See verses 31ff.

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and description of *padmas*[685] in the body; method of practising *yoga*, which should be learnt from the spiritual preceptor and not from books (gurūpadeśato jñeyo nānyathā śāstra-koṭibhiḥ); realisation of Brahma.

Praise of a *guru*, who should give instructions on Brahma-jñāna to his eldest son or to a devoted disciple.

Chap. 37.—Devī's description of the different kinds of *bhakti*, viz., tāmasī, rājasī, sāttvikī and parā; and her praise of sāttvikī and parā *bhakti*. [Devī explains the relation between *jñāna* and *bhakti* thus: bhaktes tu yā parā kāṣṭhā saiva jñānaṃ prakīrtitam.—Verse 28.]

Chap. 38.—Devī's mention of the names of those holy places which should be visited by her worshippers.

[These places are the following:—Kolāpura, where Lakṣmī dwells permanently; Mātṛpura; Tuljāpura; Kāñcī-pura; places of Hiṅgulā, Jvālāmukhī, Śākambharī, Bhrāmarī, Śrīraktadantikā, Durgā, Vindhyācala-nivāsinī, Bhīmādevī, Vimalā, Śrīcandralā, Kauśikī, Nīlāmbā situated 'on the peak of the Nīlaparvata', Jāmbūnadeśvarī 'in Śrīnagara', Guhyakālī 'in Nepāla', Mīnākṣī 'in Cidambara', Mahālasā, Yogeśvarī, and Nīlasarasvatī 'in Cīna';[686] Vedāraṇya, the place of Sundarī; Ekāmbarā; Vaidyanātha, the place of Bagalā; Maṇidvīpa, the place of Śrīmac-chrībhuvaneśvarī; Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala, the place of Śrīmat-tripura-bhairavī;[687] Puṣkara, the best place of Gāyatrī; Amareśa; Prabhāsa; Naimiṣa; Mahāsthāna; Nākula; Japyeśvara; Āmrātakeśvara; Mahākāla; Kedāra; Gayā; Kurukṣetra; Kanakhala; Mākoṭa; and so on.]

Names of Devī-vratas which should be observed by males and females, viz., Ananta-tṛtīyā-vrata, Rasa-kalyāṇinī-vrata, Ārdrānandakarī-vrata, Śukravāra-vrata, Kṛṣṇacatur-daśī-vrata, Bhaumavāra-vrata, Pradoṣa-vrata, Somavāra-vrata, the two Navarātra-vratas, and 'many others'.

Names of festivals (*utsava*) to be performed in honour of

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[685] One of these *padmas* is called 'maṇipadma'.—Chap. 35, verse 38.

[686] tathā nīlasarasvatyāḥ sthānaṃ cineṣu viśrutam.—Verse 13.

[687] śrīmat-tripurabhairavyāḥ kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍalam.—Verse 15.

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Devī, especially Dolotsava, Śayanotsava, Jāgaraṇotsava, Rathotsava, Damanotsava, and Pavitrotsava.

Chap. 39.—Devī's description of the different ways of her worship.—There are two kinds of worship, viz., outer (bāhya) and inner (ābhyantara). Outer (bāhya) worship is, again, of two kinds, viz., Vedic and Tantric. Outer Vedic worship may be performed in two different ways according to the difference in the forms of the deity. Persons, having Vedic initiation, are entitled to perform Vedic worship, but those, who are initiated according to the directions of the Tantras, must follow the Tantric method.

Description of the first type of outer Vedic worship (bāhyā vaidikī pūjā), in which Devī's 'virāḍ-rūpa' should be conceived and worshipped with the performance of sacrifices etc., and the directions of the Vedas should be followed. [In this connection it is said that Śiva composed the anti-Vedic (śruti-smṛti-viruddhāni) Āgamic literatures of the Vāmas, Kapālakas, Kaulakas and Bhairavas for deluding people, and that he wrote the Āgamas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Sauras, Śāktas and Gāṇapatyas for correcting those twice-born who had been cursed by Dakṣa, Bhṛgu and Dadhīca.][688]

In the second type of outer Vedic worship, Devī is to be worshipped in any of the following mediums,—image, altar, solar orb, lunar orb, water, Bāṇaliṅga, *yantra* and mahāpaṭa, and the worshipper is to meditate on her as 'aruṇāruṇā', 'śṛṅgāra-rasa-saṃpūrṇā', 'candra-khaṇḍa-śikhaṇḍinī', and 'pāśāṅkuśa-varābhīti-dharā'.[689]

Description of inner worship (ābhyantara-pūjā).

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[688] Verses 26b-30—

anyāni yāni śāstrāṇi loke'smin vividhāni ca
śruti-smṛti-viruddhāni tāmasāny eva sarvaśaḥ //
vāmaṃ kapālakaṃ caiva kaulakaṃ bhairavāgamaḥ /
śivena mohanārthāya praṇīto nānya-hetukaḥ //
dakṣa-śāpād bhṛgoḥ śāpād dadhīcasya ca śāpataḥ /
dagdhā ye brāhmaṇa-varā veda-mārga-bhiṣkṛtāḥ //
teṣām uddharaṇārthāya sopāna-kramataḥ sadā /
śaivāś ca vaiṣṇavāś caiva saurāḥ śāktās tathaiva ca /
gāṇapatyā āgamāś ca praṇītāḥ śaṃkareṇa tu //

[689] Verses 38-43.

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Chap. 40.—Method of outer Tantric worship (bāhyā tāntrikī pūjā).—Meditation on the *guru* in the morning; performance of *bhūta-śuddhi*, *nyāsa*, *dig-bandhana*, *homa* etc.; worship of the main deity as well as her attendants in a *yantra;* and so on.

Devī's birth to Himālaya as Gaurī and marriage with Śiva; birth of Skanda, and his killing of Tāraka.

Origin of Lakṣmī from the churned ocean.

Skandha VIII

[In Skandhas VIII—XII Vyāsa reproduces to Janamejaya what Nārāyaṇa said to Nārada on various topics.]

Chap. 1.—Brahmā's request to Manu to begin creation; and Manu's eulogy of Devī before doing so.

Chap. 2.—Viṣṇu's assumption of the form of a boar and his killing of Hiraṇyākṣa and uplifting of the earth.

Chap. 3.—Manu's sons (Priyavrata and Uttānapāda) and daughters (Ākūti, Devahūti and Prasūti), and their descendants. Praise of Kapila (son of Devahūti), who was the author of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy and wrote the 'Kāpila-śāstra which destroys all nescience'.

[Chaps. 4-20.—Geography of the earth. Solar system.]

Chap. 4.—Priyavrata's descendants. Names and position of the seven dvīpas, and the names of Priyavrata's sons ruling over these dvīpas.

Chaps. 5-7.—Names and position of the nine *varṣas* of Jambudvīpa. Names of mountains and rivers in these *varṣas*.

Chaps. 8-11.—Worship of Devī as well as the different forms of Viṣṇu in the different *varṣas*.[690] Names of mountains and rivers in Bhārata-varṣa. Praise of Bhārata-varṣa as

[690] Saṃkarṣaṇa is said to have been worshipped in Ilāvṛta-varṣa, Hayagrīva in Bhadrāśva-varṣa, Narasiṃha in Hari-varṣa, Smara in Ketumāla-varṣa, Matsya in Ramyaka-varṣa, Kūrma in Hiraṇmaya-varṣa, Varāha in Kuru-varṣa, Rāma in Kiṃpuruṣa-varṣa, and Nārāyaṇa in Bhārata-varṣa.

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'karma-bhūmi'. Names of the eight upadvīpas[691] comprised in Jambudvīpa.

Chaps. 12-13.—Description of Plakṣa and other dvīpas. —Their extent and position; names of their *varṣas*, mountains and rivers; conduct of the inhabitants; and so on.

Chaps. 13-15.—Position and description of the Lokāloka mountain. Movements of the sun in the different parts of the year, and the results thereof.

Chap. 16.—Movements of the moon and other planets and their distance from one another. Origin of the different kinds of *vatsara*, *ayana*, *ṛtu* etc.

Chaps. 17-20.—Position and description of Dhruva-maṇḍala, Rāhu-maṇḍala, and the worlds named Atala, Vitala, Sutala etc. The kings and inhabitants of these worlds.

Chap. 21.—Difference in śrāddha causing difference in the results of actions. Names of the twenty-eight hells.

Chaps. 22-23.—Actions which lead to the different hells. Sufferings of sinners in these hells.

Chap. 24.—Method of Devī-worship for attaining the highest state of existence.—Worship of Devī from Śukla-pratipad to Pūrṇimā with the offer of different articles; Devī-worship in a Madhūka tree on the Śukla-tṛtīyā of every month from Caitra, with the offer of different kinds of food in different months.

Skandha IX

[Almost all the chapters of this Skandha have been taken from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the present Brahma-vaivarta-p.][692]

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[691] jambudvīpasya cāṣṭau hi upadvīpāḥ smṛtāḥ pare /
hayamārgān viśodhadbhiḥ sāgaraiḥ parikalpitāḥ //
svarṇaprasthaś candraśukra āvartanaramāṇakau /
mandaropākhyahariṇau pāñcajanyas tathaiva ca /
siṃhalaś caiva laṅketi upadvīpāṣṭakaṃ smṛtam //
Chap. 11, verses 30-31.

[692] For the list of chapters common to the Devī-bhāgavata and the Brahma-vaivarta-p., see footnote 775 below.

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Chap. 1.—Description of Prakṛti's five forms, viz., Durgā (mother of Gaṇeśa), Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Rādhā,[693] as well as of her chief parts, viz., Gaṅgā, Tulasī, Manasā,[694] Ṣaṣṭhī,[695] and Maṅgala-caṇḍī.[696]

Innumerable other parts (kalā) of Prakṛti.—Svāhā, Dakṣiṇā, Svadhā, Svasti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, Saṃpatti, Dhṛti etc.; Aditi, Diti, Rohiṇī, Saṃjñā (wife of the Sun), Tārā (wife of Bṛhaspati), Arundhatī, Gāndhārī, Draupadī, Śaivyā, mother of Rādhā, Mandodarī, Sītā and others; all the rural goddesses;[697] and all females (among whom some have *sattva-guṇa* and are '*uttama*', some have *rajo-guṇa* and are classed as '*madhyama*', and some have *tamo-guṇa* and are called '*adhama*').

[In this chapter there is reference to (1) the worship of Durgā first by Suratha and then by Rāmacandra for killing Rāvaṇa,[698] (2) Devī's birth first as the daughter of Dakṣa and then as that of Himālaya, (3) birth of Kṛṣṇa as Gaṇeśa and of a part of Viṣṇu as Skanda,[699] (4) first worship of Lakṣmī by king Maṅgala, of Sāvitrī by king Aśvapati, of Sarasvatī by Brahmā, and of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa on Kārttikī Paurṇamāsī in the Rāsa-maṇḍala in Goloka and by Suyajña on earth.]

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[693] For description of Rādhā see verses 44-57, in which Rādhā is called 'sanātanī', 'paramānanda-rūpā', 'nirguṇā', 'nirākārā', and 'ātma-svarūpiṇī'.

[694] Verses 71-77.

Manasā is called 'śaṃkara-priya-śiṣyā', 'viṣṇu-pūjā-parāyaṇā,' and 'brahma-svarūpā.'

[695] See verses 78-83a.

Ṣaṣṭhī Devī is called 'putra-pautrādi-dātrī' and is said to be worshipped in the lying-in chamber on the sixth day after child-birth. Or she may be worshipped on the twenty-first day.

[696] See verses 83b-96a.

Maṅgala-caṇḍī is called 'prakṛter mukha-saṃbhūtā' and 'kṛṣṇa-bhaktā' and is said to be worshipped every Tuesday.

[697] Verse 136b-137a—

bahvyaḥ satyaḥ kalāś caiva prakṛter eva bhārate /
yā yāś ca grāma-devyaḥ syus tāḥ sarvāḥ prakṛteḥ kalāḥ //

See also verse 157b-158a—

kalā yā yāḥ samudbhūtāḥ pūjitās tāś ca bhārate /
pūjitā grāma-devyaś ca grāme ca nagare mune //

[698] Verse 145b-146a—

pūjitā surathenādau durgā durgārti-nāśinī /
tataḥ śrīrāmacandreṇa rāvaṇasya vadhārthinā //

[699] Verse 148b—

gaṇeśaś ca svayaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ skando viṣṇu-kulodbhavaḥ /

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Chap. 2.—Origin of the universe from Kṛṣṇa[700] and Rādhā.—Conception of Kṛṣṇa as Para Brahma and Paramātman, and of Rādhā as his Śakti. Desire of supreme Kṛṣṇa (the Supreme Brahma) for creation, and the consequent origin of a male (i.e. primary Kṛṣṇa) from his right side and a young female (i.e. primary Rādhā) from his left. Primary Kṛṣṇa's sports (rāsa-krīḍā) with this female who is called his 'cit-śakti', and the origin of a golden egg (ḍimba) from their union. Origin of water, the vital airs, Varuṇa and Varuṇānī from this female. Primary Kṛṣṇa's curse on this female as well as on other goddesses to be childless, because this female had thrown away the egg into water. Origin of Sarasvatī from the tongue of this female. Division of this female into two halves, and the origin of Kamalā (Lakṣmī) from the left half and Rādhikā (i.e. secondary Rādhā) from the right. Division of primary Kṛṣṇa into two halves, and the origin of a two-handed being (i.e. secondary Kṛṣṇa) from the right half and a four-handed one (Nārāyaṇa) from the left. (Secondary) Rādhā was given to two-handed Kṛṣṇa, and Lakṣmī to four-handed Nārāyaṇa. Origin of four-handed attendants (pārṣada) and crores of maid-servants (dāsī) from the bodies of Nārāyaṇa and Kamalā respectively. Origin of innumerable cowherds and cowherdesses from the pores of secondary Kṛṣṇa and secondary Rādhā respectively. Sudden appearance of Viṣṇumāyā (Durgā[701]) before Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's assumption of the forms of Kṛṣṇa (the lord of cowherdesses) and Mahādeva (who came out of the left half of his body).

Chap. 3.—Origin of Mahāvirāṭ from the egg; his meditation on Kṛṣṇa (the Supreme Being) and muttering of the *mantra* 'oṃ kṛṣṇāya svāhā'; and Kṛṣṇa's blessings on him. Origin of Kṣudra-virāṭ from Mahāvirāṭ, and of Brahmā from

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[700] The etymological meaning of the word 'kṛṣṇa' is given as follows:

kṛṣis tad-bhakti-vacano naś ca tad-dāsya-vācakaḥ /
bhakti-dāsya-pradātā yaḥ sa ca kṛṣṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ //
kṛṣiś ca sarva-vacano nakāro bījam eva ca /
sa kṛṣṇaḥ sarva-sraṣṭā ... ...

Verses 24b-26a.

[701] For description of Viṣṇumāyā and her relation to Kṛṣṇa see verses 64ff.

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Kṣudra-virāṭ. Origin of Rudra from Brahmā's forehead. Brahmā's creation of *mānasa* sons and others.

Position of different *lokas*, viz., Vaikuṇṭha, Goloka, Brahma-loka, Bhūrloka, Bhuvarloka etc.

Chap. 4.—Mention of fivefold Prakṛti, viz., Durgā, Rādhā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī, and of Prakṛti's parts, viz., Kālī, Vasundharā, Gaṅgā, Ṣaṣṭhī, Maṅgala-caṇḍikā, Tulasī, Manasā, Nidrā, Svāhā, Svadhā and Dakṣiṇā.

Sarasvatī's birth from the tongue of Rādhā, and her desire for union with Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa's worship of Sarasvatī and instruction to her to go to Nārāyaṇa for the purpose.

Description of the method of Sarasvatī-pūjā as followed in the Kāṇva school (of the White Yajurveda).—Worship of Sarasvatī either on the Māgha-śuklapañcamī or at *vidyārambha*; offer of different articles such as tila-laḍḍuka, haviṣyānna, śrīphala, vadarīphala etc. with the use of the eight-syllabled *mantra* 'śrīṃ hrīṃ sarasvatyai svāhā'; meditation (dhyāna) on Sarasvatī as 'śukla-varṇā', 'vīṇā-pustaka-dhāriṇī' etc.; and so on. The worship of Sarasvatī must be preceded by that of Gaṇeśa performed according to the Vedic or the Tantric method.

Description of Sarasvatī-kavaca, by wearing which Pāṇini, Śākaṭāyana and others are said to have written books.

Chap. 5.—Eulogy of Sarasvatī by Yājñavalkya who lost his learning due to the curse of his *guru*.

Chaps. 6-8.—Story of the quarrel among Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā, the three wives of Viṣṇu.—Sarasvatī's curse on Lakṣmī and Gaṅgā, and Gaṅgā's curse on Sarasvatī; the consequent transformation of a part of Lakṣmī into the Tulasī plant as well as the river Padmāvatī, and of Gaṅgā and Sarasvatī into rivers of the same names; Gaṅgā and Sarasvatī's attainment of wifehood of Śiva and Brahmā respectively at Viṣṇu's order.

Viṣṇu's mention of the means of getting rid of these curses.

Praise of devotees of Viṣṇu (who are said to sanctify

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asi-jīvins, masī-jīvins, dhāvakas and others, and even the rivers Gaṅgā, Padmā and Sarasvatī).[702]

Description of the evils of the Kali age. [In this connection it is said that during the Kali age the twice-born would give up saṃdhyā and the sacred thread (yajña-sūtra), read Mleccha-śāstras, and serve Śūdras, and people of all castes would sell their daughters, become Vāmācāras, and enjoy all women except their own mothers—mātṛ-yoniṃ parityajya viharişyanti sarvataḥ.[703]]

Chap. 9.—Origin of the Earth from Mahāvirāṭ, and her union with the Boar. Method of worshipping the Earth according to the Kāṇva school of the Śukla Yajurveda.

Chap. 10.—Results of bhūmi-dāna. Works (such as bhūmi-haraṇa, digging the earth during Ambuvācī, placing a lamp, a conch-shell, a Śiva-liṅga, a Śālagrāma, books etc. on the bare earth, and so on) which lead one to hell.

[Chaps. 11-14.—Story of Gaṅgā.]

Chap. 11.—Story of Bhagīratha's worship of Gaṅgā according to the method of the Kauthumas, and his bringing Gaṅgā down to the earth.

Chap. 12.—Gaṅgā-dhyāna according to the Kāṇva school; and Gaṅgā-worship. Viṣṇupadī-stotra of Gaṅgā.

Story of Gaṅgā's origin from the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā liquefied by Śiva's song on Kṛṣṇa during the Rāsotsava on the Kārttikī Paurṇamāsī.

Chap. 13.—Story of Gaṅgā continued.—Rādhā's rage against Gaṅgā, and her intention to drink the latter up; Gaṅgā's entrance into Kṛṣṇa's feet; Brahmā's imparting of the Rādhikā-mantra to Gaṅgā; Gaṅgā's worship of Rādhā according to the directions of the Sāmaveda, and her passing to Vaikuṇṭha; Brahmā's taking into his *kamaṇḍalu* the water from which Gaṅgā came out.

Chap. 14.—Brahmā's request to Viṣṇu to accept Gaṅgā as his wife, and Viṣṇu's consequent marriage with Gaṅgā according to the Gāndharva form.

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[702] Chap. 7, verse 29.

[703] See chap. 8. For mention of the Vāmācāras see verses 16 and 43-45.

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[Chaps. 15-25.—Story of Tulasī.]

Chap. 15.—Vṛṣadhvaja, a descendant of Dakṣa-sāvarṇi Manu, was a devotee of Śiva. He had no regard for Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and stopped their worship. Sūrya was enraged at this, and cursed Vṛṣadhvaja to be bereft of fortune. Śiva got excited and rushed forward to kill Sūrya with his trident. Sūrya, with Brahmā, sought Viṣṇu's protection. As Śiva was a great devotee of Viṣṇu, the latter could easily pacify Śiva with the assurance that Dharmadhvaja and Kuśadhvaja, the grandsons of Vṛsadhvaja, would become prosperous and that Lakṣmī would be born in part to their wives.

Chap. 16.—Dharmadhvaja and Kuśadhvaja attained prosperity through Mahālakṣmī's favour. Kuśadhvaja had a daughter named Vedavatī, who was a part of Lakṣmī reborn and was versed in the Vedic lore from her very birth. With a view to pleasing Nārāyaṇa she practised austerities first at Puṣkara and then on the Gandhamādana mountain, where she was touched perforce by Rāvaṇa. Vedavatī cursed Rāvaṇa to be destroyed for her sake, and left her body by means of Yogic power. She was reborn as Sītā and married to Rāma (described as 'paripūrṇatama Hari'). When, during exile, Rāma was living with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa on the sea-shore, Agni approached him privately in the form of a Brahmin and gave him a shadow (chāyā) of Sītā saying: ".. .. . The time for the abduction of Sītā has come. .. .. . Place the mother of the world in my charge and keep this chāyā with you. I shall return Sītā to you at the time of the ordeal. .. .. .." Rāma accepted Chāyā-Sītā, but did not divulge her character even to Lakṣmaṇa. In course of time Rāvaṇa abducted Chāyā-Sītā and was killed by Rāma. During Sītā's fire-ordeal (vahni-parīkṣā) in Laṅkā, Agni returned real Sītā to Rāma. At the advice of Rāma and Agni, Chāyā-Sītā practised austerities at Puṣkara for three lacs of divine years and became Svarga-Lakṣmī. Rāma installed Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā, ruled at Ayodhyā for eleven thousand years and then passed to Vaikuṇṭha with all his subjects.

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Story of Chāyā-Sītā's rebirth as Draupadī as a result of her prayer to Śaṃkara five times for a husband, and the latter's boon to her to be born as Draupadī and have the five Pāṇḍavas as her husbands.

Chaps. 17-25.—Story of the birth of a part of Lakṣmī as Tulasī.— Tulasī's birth from Mādhavī, wife of Dharmadhvaja; her receipt of a boon from Brahmā to be married to Sudāman reborn as Śaṅkhacūḍa through Rādhikā's curse; her worship of Rādhikā with the sixteen-syllabled Rādhikā-mantra; her love for and marriage with Śaṅkhacūḍa, who received Kṛṣṇa-mantra from Jaigīṣavya, wore a Viṣṇu-kavaca, and practised austerities at Puṣkara; her enjoyment of the pleasures of married life; gods' approach to Viṣṇu for saving them from the tyranny of Śaṅkhacūḍa; Viṣṇu's advice to the gods, with a description of the incident of Rādhikā's curse to Sudāman to be born as Śaṅkhacūḍa; Śiva's war with Śaṅkhacūḍa on the bank of the Puṣpabhadrā (also called Candrabhāgā) in Southern India;[703a] Viṣṇu's approach to Śaṅkhacūḍa in the form of an old Brahmin, and his begging of the *kavaca* from the latter; Viṣṇu's enjoyment of Tulasī by assuming first the form of Śaṅkhacūḍa and then that of his own, and his transformation of Tulasī's body into the river Gaṇḍakī and of her hairs into the Tulasī plant; Tulasī's curse on Viṣṇu to turn into Śālagrāma-śilā; Śiva's killing of Śaṅkhacūḍa with a lance (śūla) received from Viṣṇu; Śaṅkhacūḍa's assumption of the form of two-handed Kṛṣṇa and passing to Goloka. Glorification of the Tulasī plant, and the classification[704] and praise of Śālagrāma-śilās.

Story of the first worship of Tulasī by Viṣṇu; hymn of Tulasī.

[Chaps. 26-38.—Story of Sāvitrī.]

[703a] For description of this river and for mention of the 'Akṣaya-vaṭa' tree and the hermitage of Kapila as standing on its bank see Dbh IX. 21. 16-21.

For an interesting account of this great Banyan Tree, as given by James Forbes and John Copland, see M.S. Commissariat's History of Gujarat, pp. 488-491.

[704] For the classification of Śālagrāma stones into Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī-janārdana, Raghunātha, Vāmana, Śrīdhara etc. see chap. 24, verses 58-74.

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Chap. 26.—King Aśvapati's worship of Sāvitrī at Puṣkara with the muttering of gāyatrī and the offer of sixteen articles (ṣoḍaśopacāra) as well as with Sāvitrī-dhyāna and Sāvitrī-stava according to the Mādhyandina recension of the Śukla Yajurveda.

Chap. 27.—Sāvitrī was born as the daughter of king Aśvapati and married to Satyavat, son of Dyumatsena. While collecting fuel, Satyavat died by a sudden fall from a tree. Yama took Satyavat's soul and proceeded towards his region. As Sāvitrī also followed him, he spoke on *karma* (work) as determining the fate of creatures.

Chap. 28.—Yama's praise of the Vedic *dharma;* his speech on *karma;* and his classification of *bhakti*[705] and *jñāna.*

Chap. 29.—Yama's boon to Sāvitrī, and his description of the results of niṣkāma and sakāma *karma*, especially of donation. [It is said that the dutiful worshippers of Sūrya, Śiva, Gaṇapati and other deities attain the respective regions but are forced to return to India, and that it is the devotees of Mūla-prakṛti who pass to Maṇidvīpa never to return.—Verses 32ff.]

Chap. 30.—Yama's description of the results of (*i*) giving food, clothes, cows, Śālagrāmas, palanquin, young girls, land, *śaktu* (in the month of Vaiśākha) etc. to worthy recipients, and (*ii*) performing various kinds of vows and worships, such as Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī-vrata, Śivarātri-vrata, Śaṃkara-pūjā (in the month of Māgha or Caitra)[706] Rāma-navamī-vrata, Śāradīya-mahāpūjā,[707] Mahālakṣmī-pūjā (to be observed for a fortnight from Śuklāṣṭamī),

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[705] Verses 8b-9—

bhaktiś ca dvividhā ... ... //
nirvāṇa-pada-dātrī ca hari-rūpa-pradā nṛṇām /
hari-rūpa-svarūpāṃ ca bhaktiṃ vāñchanti vaiṣṇavāḥ //

[706] In this worship, which is to be continued for a month, a fortnight, ten days, or seven days, the worshipper is to dance with a cane in his hand. This Śaṃkara-pūjā, as observed in the month of Caitra, may be the same as the modern Caitra-pūjā (also called Caḍak-pūjā or Gājan) prevalent in rural Bengal.—Verses 74-75.

[707] In this worship buffaloes, he-goats, sheep, rhinoceroses, frogs etc. are to be scarificed.—Verses 78-82a.

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Rāsotsava (on the Kārttikī Pūrṇimā), Śakra-pūjā (on the Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī), Sūrya-pūjā (on Sundays, Saṃkrāntis, and Śukla-saptamī Tithis), Sāvitrī-pūjā (on Jyaiṣṭha-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī), and Sarasvatī-pūjā (on Māgha-śukla-pañcamī).

Yama's praise of Devī-yajña (which is called the best of all sacrifices, Devī being described as *nirguṇa* Para Brahma).

Chap. 31.—Sāvitrī's eulogy of Yama, and the latter's imparting of Śakti-mantra (Māyā-bīja) to the former.

Chap. 32.—Yama's description of hells, which are not visited by Vaiṣṇavas, Śāktas, Sauras, Gāṇapas and other pious people.

Chaps. 33-35.—Actions[708] which lead to the different hells and cause various kinds of undesirable rebirths (as Yavanas, Rajakas, Mlecchas, Svarṇavaṇiks, Devalas, Gaṇakas, Vaidyas, Gopas, Karmakāras, Raṅgakāras etc.).

Chap. 36.—Yama's praise of the worship of 'five deities' (pañca-deva), and his accounts of the *sūkṣma* and the *kṛtrima deha*.

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[708] Such as decrying Mūlaprakṛti, the Vedas, Purāṇas and other Śāstras, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods, Gaurī, Vāṇī and other goddesses, and so on; non-maintenance of one's own parents, superiors, wife, children and other dependants; killing of animals; acceptance of food offered by Śūdras; carrying of the dead body of a Śūdra; serving as priests or cooks to Śūdras; stealing of gold etc.; serving a Mleccha; following the profession of a scribe (masī-jīvin); distinguishing between Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā and other deities; showing disregard to devotees of Śakti and to Śākta scriptures; non-observance of the five *parvans*, viz., Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī, Rāma-navamī, Śivarātri, Ekādaśī and Ravivāra; digging the earth during Ambuvācī; marking the body with 'tapta-mudrā' and 'tapta-śūla'; cohabitation with the brother's wife; non-initiation to Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura or Gāṇapa *mantras;* acceptance of gifts at Vārāṇasī, Badarī, Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, Puṣkara, Hariharakṣetra, Prabhāsa, Kamarusthala, Haridvāra, Kedāra, Mātṛpura, Vṛndāvana, Triveṇī and Himācala, and on the banks of the Sarasvatī, Godāvarī and Kauśikī; following the profession of a Devala or a Daivajña Brahmin or of a Vaidya; cohabitation with unchaste women (who are classified into kulaṭā, dharṣiṇī, puṃścalī, veśyā, puṅgī and mahāveśyā); and so on.

The different types of unchaste women have been defined as follows:

pativratā caika-patau dvitīye kulaṭā smṛtā /
tṛtīye dharṣiṇī jñeyā caturthe puṃścalīty api //
veśyā ca pañcame ṣaṣṭhe puṅgī ca saptame'ṣṭame //
tata ūrdhvaṃ mahāveśyā sāspṛśyā sarva-jātiṣu //

Chap. 35, verses 4-5.

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Chap. 37.—Description and measurement of the different hells.

Chap. 38.—Yama's praise of Devī-bhakti (devotion to Devī) which was originally described by Kṛṣṇa to Śiva at Goloka, his explanation of Devī's self as consisting of Puruṣa (*pumas*) and Prakṛti and thus constituting Supreme Brahma; and his advice to Sāvitrī to perform the Sāvitrī-vrata (on the Jyaiṣṭha-śukla-caturdaśī), Mahālakṣmī-vrata (on the Bhādra-śuklāṣṭamī), Maṅgalavāra-vrata (on every Tuesday), Ṣaṣṭhī-pūjā (on the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi of every month), Manasā-pūjā (on Āṣāḍha-saṃkrānti), Rāsotsava, and Durgā-pūjā (on the Śuklāṣṭamī of every month), and to worship the respective deities in diagrams (*yantra*) or images.

[Chaps. 39-42.—Story of Lakṣmī.]

Chap. 39.—Origin of a Devī in Rāsa-maṇḍala from the left half of Kṛṣṇa, the Paramātman; origin of Mahālakṣmī from the left side of the body of this Devī, and of Rādhikā from her right side; division of primary Kṛṣṇa into two-handed Kṛṣṇa and four-handed Nārāyaṇa for the sake of Rādhikā and Mahālakṣmī respectively; presence of Lakṣmī in different places in different capacities, viz., as Svarga-lakṣmī, Nāga-lakṣmī, Rāja-lakṣmī, Gṛha-lakṣmī etc.

Chap. 40.—Story of Durvāsas's curse on Indra to be forsaken by Lakṣmī.—Durvāsas's meeting with Indra on the Kailāsa mountain, and his presentation to the latter of a garland of Pārijāta flowers which he had received from Viṣṇu; Indra's disregard for this garland, and the sage's consequent curse on Indra.

Praise of devotion to Viṣṇu and of good actions, especially of donations made to Brahmins on particular occasions.

[In connection with the praise of Viṣṇu-naivedya, acceptance of food from a twice-born physician, a Devala, and a seller of his daughter has been regarded as an offence. —Verse 33.]

Chap. 41.—Brahmā and Viṣṇu's censure on Indra for his conduct, and Viṣṇu's mention of those persons of undesirable conduct and habits who are forsaken by Mahālakṣmī.

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Viṣṇu's request to Lakṣmī to come out, in part, of the ocean of milk. Gods' churning of the ocean, and Lakṣmī's consequent appearance out of it.

Chap. 42.—Description of the method of Indra's worship of Lakṣmī, which was preceded by the worship of the six deities, viz., Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Agni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śivā, and in which sixteen articles including *paramānna*[709] and *miṣṭānna*[710] were offered.

[This chapter contains a Lakṣmī-stotra and Lakṣmī-dhyāna 'as given in the Sāmaveda'—dhyānaṃ sāmaved-oktam.]

Chap. 43.—Story of Svāhā, a part of Prakṛti.—Her penance for winning Kṛṣṇa's favour; Kṛṣṇa's instruction to her to become the Śakti of Agni; her consequent marriage with Agni; and the birth of her three sons named Dakṣiṇāgni, Gārhapatyāgni and Āhavanīyāgni.

Praise of pronouncing the word '*svāhā*' in sacrifices.

Method of worshipping Svāhā in a Śālagrāma or a pitcher at the beginning of all sacrifices, with the practice of 'sāmavedokta dhyāna', the recitation of a *stotra*, and the use of Svāhā-mantra (oṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ vahni-jāyāyai devyai svāhā).

Chap. 44.—Story of Svadhā, the mind-born daughter of Brahmā and a part of Prakṛti, and her marriage with the Pitṛs.

Method of worshipping Svadhā. Praise of the utterance of the word *svadhā* in śrāddha ceremonies.

Chap. 45.—Story of Dakṣiṇā (a part of *Prakṛti*), who fled from Goloka for fear of Rādhā and entered the person of Mahālakṣmī and who was taken out by Nārāyaṇa during the Rāsa-festival on the Kārttikī Pūrṇimā and married to Yajña.

Method of worshipping Dakṣiṇā in a Śālagrāma or a pitcher, with the 'kāṇva-śākhokta' *dhyāna* and *stotra*.

This chapter contains a few verses on the praise of devotion to the husband.

[709–710] For the constitutional difference between *paramānna* and *miṣṭānna* see verses 24 and 28b-29a.

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Chap. 46.—Story of Ṣaṣṭhī, who is the sixth part of Prakṛti (ṣaṣṭhāṃśā prakṛteḥ) and is the same as Devaseṇā, wife of Skanda, and whose worship was first introduced on earth by Priyavrata, son of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu.

Goddess Ṣaṣṭhī is a guardian deity of children. She is said to have revived the dead son of Priyavrata and asked the latter to worship her. Consequently, Priyavrata worshipped Ṣaṣṭhī in the lying-in chamber on the sixth day after the birth of his son, and in doing so he followed the method of the Kauthumas.

Ṣaṣṭhī may be worshipped in the Śālagrāma or a pitcher or at the root of a Baṭa tree or in a human figure drawn on a wall.

Chap. 47.—Story of Maṅgala-caṇḍī, who is the same as Durgā and who was first worshipped by Śiva after the manner of the Mādhyaṃdinas every Tuesday for the destruction of Tripura.

Story of Manasā (also called Viṣaharī), who was the mind-born daughter of Kaśyapa and the wife of sage Jaratkāru.

Chap. 48.—Method of worshipping Manasā and meditating on her according to the directions of the Sāmaveda.

Story of Manasā.—Her origin from the mind of Kaśyapa; her penance first at Kailāsa for pleasing Śiva and then at Puṣkara for winning the favour of Kṛṣṇa; her marriage with sage Jaratkāru; birth of Āstīka; penance of Jaratkāru and Āstīka at Puṣkara; Āstīka's saving the lives of snakes by stopping the snake-sacrifice begun by king Janamejaya.

Description of the method of Manasā-pūjā, which is to be performed especially on the Manasā-pañcamī and is to be preceded by the worship of the six deities, viz., Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Agni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śivā.

Chap. 49.—Story of the origin and worship of Surabhi. —While sporting with Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa felt a strong desire for drinking milk and created Surabhi, who was worshipped according to the directions of the Yajurveda on the day following the Dīpānvitā.

Chap. 50.—Glorification of Rādhā as one of the two

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creative Śaktis of Mūla-prakṛti and as 'Kṛṣṇa-prāṇ-ādhidevī'. Method of worshipping Rādhā, who is to be meditated upon as twelve years old in accordance with the directions of the Sāmaveda.

Glorification of Durgā; and description of the method of her worship.

Skandha X

Chaps. 1-7.—Origin of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu from Brahmā's mind, and his worship of Devī in an earthen image with the use of the Vāg-bīja. Devī's blessings on Manu and her residence on the Vindhya mountain as Vindhya-vāsinī.

Story of the Vindhya mountain.—Being informed by Nārada of the pride of other mountains, Vindhya became jealous of Meru and obstructed the path of the sun by raising his peaks. Finding that the world was in danger, the gods, with Brahmā and Śiva at their head, went to Viṣṇu and eulogised him with the mention of his ten incarnations (including Kṛṣṇa, Buddha[711] and Kalki). At Viṣṇu's advice the gods went to Benares and saw Agastya, a devotee of Devī. Agastya stopped the rise of the mountain.

Chap. 8.—Other Manus (viz., Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa and Vaivasvata), and their worship of Devī with the Vāg-bīja and Kāma-bīja on the banks of the Yamunā, Gaṅgā and Narmadā.

Chap. 9.—Cākṣuṣa Manu's penance on the bank of the Virajā by muttering the Vāg-bīja.

Chaps. 10-12.—Story of Sāvarṇi Manu's worship of Devī. Devī-worship by king Suratha, to whom the account of Devī's manifestation as Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī and Sarasvatī was related by a sage. As Mahākālī, Devī roused Viṣṇu who was to kill Madhu and Kaiṭabha; as Mahā-

[711] Chap. 4, verses 13b-14a—
duṣṭa-yajña-vighātāya paśu-hiṃsā-nivṛttaye /
bauddha-rūpaṃ dadhau yo'sau tasmai devāya te namaḥ //

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lakṣmī, she killed the demon Mahiṣa; and as Sarasvatī, she killed Śumbha and Niśumbha.

Chap. 13.—Names of the six sons of Vaivasvata Manu, and their worship of Devī on the bank of the Yamunā.

Names of the remaining Manus, and their worship of Devī.

Story of Devī's manifestation as Bhrāmarī for killing the demon Aruṇa. [In eulogising Bhrāmarī the gods call her Kālikā, Nīlasarasvatī, Ugratārā, Tripurasundarī, Bhairavī, Mātaṅgī, Dhūmāvatī, Chinnamastā, Śākambharī, Rakta-dantikā etc.]

Skandha XI

Chap. 1.—Description of *sadācāra* which pleases Devī. —Mention of Śrauta and Smārta *dharma;* praise of ācāra; classification of ācāra into 'śāstrīya' and 'laukika', and of *dharma* into grāma-dharma, jāti-dharma and deśa-dharma; three sources of *dharma*, viz., Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa, of which the first is the most authoritative and the basis of all other Śāstras; acceptability of those directions of Tantras which do not go against the Vedas; denouncement of certain sectaries (viz., Kāmācāras, Pāśupatas, Liṅga-dhārins, those who mark their bodies with 'tapta-mudrā', and the followers of the doctrine of the Vaikhānasas)[712] who are 'veda-mārga-bahiṣkṛta' and influence the people with bad śāstras; method of performing prāṇāyāma for the destruction of sins; mental worship of *guru.*

Chaps. 2-3.—Description of sadācāra continued.—Rules of performing various daily duties such as study of the Vedas, answering the call of nature, cleansing the mouth, bathing in the morning, muttering of gāyatrī, performance of prāṇā-yāma, and wearing of Rudrākṣas on different parts of the body.

Chaps. 4-7.—Story of the origin of Rudrākṣa trees from

[712] See verses 30-31.

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Śiva's tears; classification of Rudrākṣas; rules of making garlands with these; praise of wearing Rudrākṣas.

Story of an ass and a sinful Brahmin named Guṇanidhi, who were liberated by virtue of Rudrākṣas.

Chap. 8.—Method of performing bhūta-śuddhi.

Chaps. 9-10.—Description and praise of Śirovrata and Pāśupata-vrata (in which the body is to be painted with ashes in different ways).

Chap. 11.—Methods of preparation of three kinds of ashes.

Chaps. 12-15.—Method and praise of painting Tripuṇḍra marks with these ashes as well as of besmearing the body with these. Method of painting Ūrdhva-puṇḍra according to 'Vaiṣṇavāgamas'; difference in its painting in the case of Ekāntins, Paramaikāntins and 'other Vaiṣṇavas';[713] prohibitions to Vaidikas with regard to certain kinds of Ūrdhva-puṇḍra; praise of Ūrdhva-puṇḍra.

[Bath in ashes—*bhasma-snāna*—is said to cure various kinds of diseases including 'eighty kinds of rheumatism, sixty-four kinds of bile-complaints and fifteen kinds of phlegm-complaints'.—Chap. 14, verses 20-22.]

Chaps. 16-19.—Methods of performing Vedic and Purāṇic prātaḥ-saṃdhyā with gāyatrī-japa and prāṇāyāma. (In Purāṇic saṃdhyā, various kinds of nyāsas and mudrās are to be performed).

Method of Pañcāyatana-pūjā, in which Śivā, Śiva, Gaṇapati, Sūrya and Viṣṇu are to be worshipped.[714]

Method of the special worship of Devī. (In such worship Devī is to be bathed with various things including juice of sugarcanes growing in Puṇḍravardhana).

Method of performance of Madhyāhna-saṃdhyā.

Chap. 20.—Performance of *brahma-yajña*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, entertainment of guests, giving of food to cows, and so on.

Performance of sāyaṃ-saṃdhyā.

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[713] Chap. 15, verses 64-66.

[714] Chap. 17, verses 35ff.

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Chap. 21.—Method of gāyatrī-puraścaraṇa, preceded by purification of one's own self and food (ātma-śuddhi and anna-śuddhi) according to Tantric and Vedic processes.

[In this chapter as well as in chap. 16 it is said that 'all twice-born people are neither Śaivas nor Vaiṣṇavas but are Śāktas inasmuch as they worship Gāyatrī, the primordial energy (ādi śakti) and the mother of the Vedas'.

In verse 32, Kāśīpurī, Kedāra, Mahākāla, Nāsika and Tryambaka are called the 'five lamps' (pañca-dīpāḥ) on earth.]

Chap. 22.—Mention of the 'five great sacrifices' (pañca mahāyajña); and description of *vaiśvadeva-vidhi.*

Chap. 23.—Penances (viz., Cāndrāyaṇa, Kṛcchra, Tapta-kṛcchra etc.) and other ways of removing sins caused by violation of śāstric directions as regards food, cohabitation with the wife, etc.

Chap. 24.—Different methods of performance of śāntika and pauṣṭika *homas* for curing various kinds of diseases, attaining prosperity, and so on.

Effects of repeating gāyatrī with the practice of various kinds of austerities.

Skandha XII

Chaps. 1-5.—Dissertation on *gāyatrī.*—Praise of gāyatrī; names of sages, metres, deities, Śaktis and colours of the different syllables of the gāyatrī; names of mudrās (viz., saṃmukha, saṃpuṭa etc.) for the different syllables; gāyatrī-kavaca; gāyatrī-dhyāna; gāyatrī-hṛdaya; gāyatrī-stava.

(Gāyatrī has been regarded as Devī herself).

Chap. 6.—One thousand and eight names of Gāyatrī. (All these names have been arranged alphabetically from अ to क्ष).

Chap. 7.—Method of initiation to Devī-worship. (Though this method is full of Tantric elements, the *mantra* to be imparted to the disciple may be Vedic or Tantric according to circumstances).

Chap. 8.—Glorification of Devī by repeating, with

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modifications, the story of 'Umā Haimavatī' (as found in the Kena-upaniṣad).

Identification of Devī with Gāyatrī; and the necessity and effect of Gāyatrī-upāsanā.[715]

Chap. 9.—Story of Gautama's curse on some sages to be irreverent to Devī and Śiva, to be averse to Advaita philosophy, to go against Śrauta and Smārta *dharma*, to worship deities other than Devī, to mark their bodies with 'tapta-mudrā', and to turn Kāpālikas, Bauddhas, Jainas, Vāmācāras, Kaulikas, Pāñcarātras and other anti-Vedic sectaries.

[This story runs as follows. Once there was a great famine, which caused a number of sages to seek Gautama's shelter. Gautama received these sages very cordially and accommodated them in his hermitage. He pleased Gāyatrī with worship and eulogy and received from her a 'pūrṇa-pātra' which supplied him with all things necessary for their maintenance. At the end of the famine these sages left Gautama by creating a pretext through a magic cow. Being offended at their conduct Gautama cursed them in the above-mentioned manner. He then worshipped Gāyatrī and returned to his hermitage. In the meantime the cursed sages forgot the Vedas and the *gāyatrī*. They appeased Gautama, and the latter told them that they would have to live in the Kumbhīpāka hell up to the end of Kṛṣṇa incarnation and then be born on earth. Consequently, the cursed sages lived in that hell and were then born on earth as Brahmins after Kṛṣṇa had left it. These Brahmins had no regard for the Vedas or gāyatrī, and followed the views of the Pāṣaṇḍas. Some of them marked their limbs with 'tapta-mudrā', some followed the practice of the Kāmācāras, and some became Kāpālikas, Kaulikas, Bauddhas or Jainas.

Chaps. 10-12.—Detailed description of Maṇidvīpa, the place of residence of Devī Bhuvaneśvarī, which is situated above all other regions.

Chap. 13.—Initiation of king Janamejaya to Devī-

[715] See especially verses 88-89 and 91-92.

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worship, and his performance of Devī-yajña, during which he caused Brahmins to read the Devī-bhāgavata. Parīkṣit's passing to Maṇidvīpa in consequence of Janamejaya's actions.

Praise of the Devī-bhāgavata as the best Purāṇa and as the essence of all the Vedas and Purāṇas.

Chap. 14.—Praise of the Devī-bhāgavata, which is said to be the epitome of a much bigger work (of one lac of verses) based on a half-verse[716] uttered by Devī.

According to the Devī-bhāgavata, the Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas, Sauras and Gāṇapatyas should study it for pleasing the Śaktis of their respective gods, and the Vaidikas should do so for pleasing Gāyatrī.

The above contents show clearly that the Devī-bhāgavata is avowedly a Śākta work, and not Śivaite as Winternitz takes it to be.[717] It conceives of a central goddess called Devī Śrībhuvaneśvarī, and describes her as follows: She is a maiden (kumārī) having four hands and three eyes; she has a complexion as bright as crores of lightning-flashes (vidyut-koṭi-sama-prabhā) and wears red clothes and a red garland (rakta-mālyāmbara-dharā); she holds a noose (pāśa) and a goad (aṅkuśa) in two of her hands and assures boon and safety with the other two; and she lives in a region called Maṇidvīpa, which is situated above all other regions such as Goloka, Brahma-loka, Śiva-loka etc.[718] Following the doctrine of monism of the Vedānta[719] the Devī-bhāgavata says that in her supreme state this Devī is 'nirguṇā', 'saccidānanda-rūpiṇī' and 'nirādhārā' and is identical with Para Brahma and Paramātman, but in creation she takes to the *guṇas* and divides herself into Puruṣa and Prakṛti. It is

[716] sarvaṃ khalv idam evāhaṃ nānyad asti sanātanam—Dbh I. 15. 52b.

[717] Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 555.

[718] Dbh III. 3. 37ff.; VI. 8. 55ff.; VII. 30. 2ff.; VII. 31. 31ff.; and so on.

[719] Dbh III. 6.4—

ekam evādvitīyaṃ vai brahma nityaṃ sanātanam /
dvaita-bhāvaṃ punar yāti kāla utpatti-saṃjñake //

See also Gautama's curse on the sages in Dbh XII. 9. 66—

advaita-jñāna-niṣṭhāyāṃ śānti-dāntyādi-sādhane /
bhavatānunmukhā yūyaṃ sarvadā brāhmaṇādhamāḥ //

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this Mūla-prakṛti who is Mahāmāyā and creates Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Rudra out of herself and enables them to perform their respective duties by furnishing them with her own Sāttvikī, Rājasī and Tāmasī Śaktis in the forms of Mahālakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Mahākālī respectively. Nay, she is the mother of the whole universe and the Śakti of all. Nothing exists beyond her, and it is she who appears as Durgā, Rādhā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Gaṅgā, Tulasī and others for accomplishing different objects.

The Devī-bhāgavata praises Devī as the highest deity, regards Devī-yajña as the best of all kinds of worship, and says that the Sauras, Śaivas, Śāktas, Gāṇapatyas and the devotees of other deities, who faithfully perform their own duties, attain the regions of their respective deities but are forced to be reborn in India, whereas the dispassionate and dutiful devotees of Devī go to Maṇidvīpa never to return.[720] It lays special stress on *bhakti*[721] as a means of realising Devī and takes *jñāna* to be the same as *bhakti* in its highest state.[722] It holds that as soon as a devotee realises Devī, he attains *jñāna* bereft of all sense of dualism.[723]

A study of the Devī-bhāgavata shows that at the time of composition of this work the most prominent deities were Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Devī, and their worshippers were divided into different classes following different ideas and practices, viz., Vaiṣṇavas, Pāñcarātras, Sauras, Gāṇapatyas, Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, Liṅgadhārins, Triśūladhārins, Bhairavas, Vāmācāras, Kaulakas, those who marked their bodies with 'tapta-mudrā', and the followers of the system of the Vaikhānasas.[724] Though almost all these sectaries imbibed Śākta ideas more or less,[725] some of

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[720] Dbh IX. 29. 33-36.

[721] In Skandha IX, the Devī-bhāgavata speaks of 'dāsya-bhakti'.

[722] Dbh VII. 37. 28—bhaktes tu yā parā kāṣṭhā saiva jñānaṃ prakīrtitam.

[723] Cf. Dbh VII. 37. 35—mama loke bhavej jñānaṃ dvaita-bhāva-vivarjitam.

[724] Dbh VII. 39. 26b-30; XI. 1. 29-31; XII. 8. 3-4; XII. 9, verses 71-72, 75 and 95-96. (For the texts of these verses see footnote 727 below).

[725] Dbh XII. 14. 21-24a—

vaiṣṇavaiś caiva śaivaiś ca ramomā-prītaye sadā /
sauraiś ca gāṇapatyaiś ca sveṣṭa-śaktes ca tuṣṭaye //

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them followed the directions of the Vedas and the Smṛtis, but the majority was guided by the Āgamas (i.e. Tantras). Among the followers of the Āgamas, again, there were some who did not recognise the superiority of Śakti,[726] while there were many others, especially the Kāpālikas, Kaulakas, Bhairavas, Taptamudrāṅkitas, and the widely spread Vāmācāras, who had no regard for the Vedas and followed non-Vedic and anti-Vedic ideas and practices.[727] Besides

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paṭhitavyaṃ prayatnena navarātra-catuṣṭaye /
vaidikair nija-gāyatrī-prītaye nityaśo mune //
paṭhitavyaṃ prayatnena virodho nātra kasyacit /
upāsanā tu sarveṣāṃ śakti-yuktāsti sarvadā //
tac-chakter eva toṣārthaṃ paṭhitavyaṃ sadā dvijaiḥ //

Cf. also Dbh XI. 16. 17—

tasmāt sarve dvijāḥ śāktā na śaivā na ca vaiṣṇavāḥ /
ādi-śaktim upāsante gāyatrīṃ veda-mātaram //

and Dbh XI. 21. 6—

sarve śāktā dvijāḥ proktā na śaivā na ca vaiṣṇavāḥ/ etc.

[726] Dbh V. 19. 24-25—

manye guṇās tava bhuvi prathita-prabhāvāḥ
kurvanti ye hi vimukhān nanu bhakti-bhāvāt /
lokān sva-buddhi-racitair vividhāgamaiś ca
viṣṇv-īśa-bhāskara-gaṇeśa-parān vidhāya //
kurvanti ye tava padād vimukhān narāgryān
svoktāgamair hari-harārcana-bhakti-yogaiḥ /
teṣāṃ na kupyasi dayāṃ kuruṣe'mbike tvaṃ
tān moha-mantra-nipuṇān prathayasy alaṃ ca //

[727] Dbh VII. 39. 26-30—

anyāni yāni śāstrāṇi loke 'smin vividhāni ca /
śruti-smṛti-viruddhāni tāmasāny eva sarvaśaḥ //
vāmaṃ kapālakaṃ caiva kaulakaṃ bhairāvagamaḥ /
śivena mohanārthāya praṇīto nānya-hetukaḥ //
dakṣa-śāpād bhṛgoḥ śāpād dadhīcasya ca śāpataḥ /
dagdhā ye brāhmaṇa-varā veda-mārga-bahiṣkṛtāḥ //
teṣām uddharaṇārthāya sopāna-kramataḥ sadā /
śaivāś ca vaiṣṇavāś caiva saurāḥ śāktās tathaiva ca /
gāṇapatyā āgamāś ca praṇītāḥ śaṃkareṇa tu //

Dbh XI. 1. 29-31—

ye kuśāstrābhiyogena vartayantīha manavān /
adhomukh-ordhvapādās te yāsyanti narakārṇavam //
kāmācārāḥ pāśupatās tathā vai liṅga-dhāriṇaḥ /
tapta-mudrāṅkitā ye ca vaikhānasa-matānugāḥ //
te sarve nirayaṃ yānti veda-mārga-bahiṣkṛtāḥ /

Dbh XII. 8. 3-4—

dṛśyante vaiṣṇavāḥ kecid gāṇapatyās tathāpare /
kāpālikāś cīna-mārga-ratā valkala-dhāriṇaḥ //
digambarās tathā bauddhāś cārvākā evamādayaḥ /
dṛśyante bahavo loke veda-śraddhā-vivarjitāḥ //

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these, there were the Bauddhas (including the Cīna-mārga-ratas), Jainas (including the Digambaras) and Cārvākas, who also did not recognise the authority of the Vedas.[728] Among all these sectaries, again, there was constant quarrel.[729] They respected their own deities but decried those of others, and the result was that the Hindu society was divided into a large number of mutually quarrelling religious groups. So, the author of the Devī-bhāgavata advocates the unity of all gods saying that Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā and others are not different and that those, who decry these gods and goddesses or differentiate between them, go to hell.[730] He does not try to dissuade people from respecting deities other than Devī but prescribes the worship of the six deities Gaṇeśa, Dineśa (Sūrya), Vahni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śivā at the beginning of all kinds of worship.[731] He even advises them to be initiated to the worship of any of the gods and goddesses they like.[732] But being himself a staunch Śākta, he claims

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Dbh XII. 9. 93-96—

bhuvi jātā brāhmaṇāś ca śāpa-dagdhāḥ purā tu ye /
saṃdhyā-traya-vihīnāś ca gāyatrī-bhakti-varjitāḥ //
veda-bhakti-vihīnāś ca pāṣaṇḍa-mata-gāminaḥ /
agnihotr-ādi-ṣaṭ-karma-svadhā-svāhā-vivarjitāḥ //
mūla-prakṛtim avyaktāṃ naiva jānanti karhicit /
tapta-mudr-āṅkitāḥ kecit kāmācāra-ratāḥ pare //
kāpālikāḥ kaulikāś ca bauddhā jainās tathā pare /
paṇḍitā api te sarve durācāra-pravartakāḥ //

[728] Dbh XII. 8. 3-4; XII. 9. 71-72 and 75; and XII. 9. 95-96.

The Bauddhas and the Jainas have been denounced on several occasions (see Dbh I. 18. 46; V. 15. 12; VI. 7. 28; and so on); and in Dbh VII. 11. 42-45 it has been said that the Rākṣasas of the previous Yugas have been born as Brahmins in the Kali age, and that these Brahmins follow the faiths of the Pāṣaṇḍas, decry the Vedas, and serve Śūdras.

[729] Dbh VI. 18. 35-36a—

mad-bhaktā vāsudevasya nindakā bahavas tathā /
viṣṇu-bhaktās tu bahavo mama nindā-parāyaṇāḥ//
bhavanti kāla-bhedena kalau devi viśeṣataḥ // (said by Śiva).

See also Dbh XI. 15. 37-39 which speak of persons denouncing Śiva, Devī, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa.

[730] Dbh III. 6. 53-56; VI. 18. 30-31 and 44-47; IX. 33.8-11; IX. 34. 32-33, 37 and 40; and so on.

[731] Dbh IX. 11. 72ff; 26. 47; 42. 3; 48. 120-121; and so on.

[732] Cf. Dbh IX. 34. 83—

vaiṣṇavaṃ ca tathā śaivaṃ śāktaṃ sauraṃ ca gāṇapam /
yo 'haṃkārān na gṛhṇāti mantraṃ so'dīkṣitaḥ smṛtaḥ //

(An uninitiated person is said to visit hells).

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that it is only Śakti-worship which is advocated by the Vedas[733] and that all twice-born people are Śāktas and not Śaivas or Vaiṣṇavas, inasmuch as they worship Gāyatrī, the primordial energy and the mother of the Vedas.[734] He tries to infuse his own ideas of Śakti into the members of different sects by adapting his work as far as practicable to the views of these sectaries. Hence we see that in some parts of the Devī-bhāgavata Viṣṇu is glorified as the highest deity,[735] and Śiva is said to meditate on Viṣṇu and sing his praise;[736] in some places Śiva is described as greater than Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa;[737] in some portions, especially in Skandha IX, Kṛṣṇa has been regarded as Para Brahma, and Viṣṇu as one of his parts; and in many places Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Manasā, Maṅgala-caṇḍī, Gaṅgā, Tulasī and other female deities have been pictured and praised as parts of Devī. As a matter of fact, the author of the Devī-bhāgavata claims that this Purāṇa should be constantly studied by the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas for the pleasure of Ramā and Umā respectively, by the Sauras and the Gāṇapatyas for the satisfaction of their own favourite Śaktis, and by the Vaidikas for the pleasure of Gāyatrī, and that all these sectaries would not find in this Purāṇa any statement that would go against their own views.[738] But in spite of his assigning each of the chief gods alternately to a position higher than that of the rest, he makes Devī the life and energy of all.

Although a Śākta work, the Devī-bhāgavata holds the Vedas in high esteem and tries its best to establish their authority among the people, especially among Brahmins. It calls itself 'veda-saṃmita' and claims to contain the essence of the Vedas (veda-sāra).[739] It regards 'Śruti', 'Smṛti' and 'Purāṇa' as sources of *dharma* and looks upon the first

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[733] Dbh XII. 8. 1— dvijātīnāṃ tu sarveṣāṃ śakty-upāstiḥ śrutīritā:
See also Dbh XII. 8. 88-89, 91, and XII. 9. 98-99.

[734] Dbh XI. 16. 17, and XI. 21. 6 (quoted in footnote 725 above).

[735] Dbh III. 13. 36b-37 and 39b.

[736] Dbh IX. 15. 28.

[737] Dbh V. 1, verses 3, 20-21, 25 and 27.

[738] Dbh XII. 14. 21-24a (quoted in footnote 725 above).

[739] Dbh I. 1. 16; I. 2. 2; I. 16. 15; II. 12. 4; and so on.

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as the highest authority; but it does not totally ignore the Tantras. At one place Devī has been made to say: "That which is said by Śruti and Smṛti, is called *dharma*; what is declared by other śāstras, is called pseudo-*dharma*. The Veda has originated from my omniscient and omnipotent self; and due to complete absence of nescience in me the Veda is not unauthoritative. The Smṛtis have come out by taking the meanings of Śruti, and it is for this reason that the Smṛti-works of Manu and others are to be regarded as authorities. In some places [these authorities] hint, on certain occasions, at the meanings of Tantras and declare as *dharma* the statements of others, but those portions are not to be accepted by the Vaidikas. As the authors of other śāstras have sprung from ignorance, their statement, being made defective by it, is not regarded as authoritative. Hence one, striving for final emancipation, should, for the sake of *dharma*, take to the Veda by all means. ... ... Those various other śāstras, which [exist] on earth and go against Śruti and Smṛti, are tāmasa, pure and simple. The Āgamic literatures of the Vāmas, Kāpālikas, Kaulakas and Bhairavas were written by Śiva for deluding [people] and not for any other reason. For the deliverance of those best Brahmins who were burnt by the curses of Dakṣa, Bhṛgu and Dadhīca, and were caused to stray from the path of the Vedas, the Āgamas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Sauras, Śāktas and Gāṇapatyas were written as steps (sopāna) by Śaṃkara. In some places of these works there are some portions which do not go against the Vedas. By accepting these [portions] the Vaidikas do not incur sin. A twice-born man is by no means entitled to do what is not supported by the Vedas; but one, who is not privileged to study the Vedas (vedādhikāra-hīnaḥ), is qualified for performing such actions. Hence a Vaidika should zealously take to the Veda. Knolwedge, [accompanied] with *dharma*, reveals Para Brahma".[740] At another place of the Devī-bhāgavata Nārāyaṇa is found to declare: "Śruti and Smṛti are regarded

[740] Dbh VII. 39. 15-33.

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as the two eyes, and Purāṇas as the heart. The prescriptions of these three only should be taken as *dharma*, and not what is found in other works. In case of disagreement among these three, Śruti should be deemed as authoritative. ... ... In the Purāṇas there are certain matters which, though derived from the Tantras, have been regarded as *dharma*, but one must not follow them [blindly]. If the Tantra does not go against the Veda, it is undoubtedly to be regarded as authoritative, but if it goes clearly against Śruti, it must not be taken as an authority. By all means, it is the Veda which is the authority with regard to the path of *dharma*. That, which does not contradict it, becomes authoritative, and not otherwise. In the realm of Yama there are hells for chastising one who, after forsaking the Veda-dharma, fares on the authority of other śāstras. So, one should strenuously follow the *dharma* declared by the Veda. Every śāstra, be it Smṛti, Purāṇa, Tantra or anything else, should be regarded as authoritative, in case it is based on the Veda, and never otherwise. Those, who direct people by means of bad scriptures, will plunge into the hell with their legs up and faces down. The Kāmācāras, Pāśupatas, Liṅgadhārins, those who mark their limbs with hot seals (taptamudrāṅkita), and the followers of the systems of the Vaikhānasas (vaikhānasa-matānuga)—all these people fare outside the pale of the Vedic *dharma* and go to hell. Hence one should always practise the faultless *dharma* declared by the Vedas."[741] The Devī-bhāgavata recognises both the Vedic and the Tantric initiation but says that a dutiful Vedic Brahmin should mutter only the Vedic *mantra* and not a '*laukika*' one.[742] As regards the ashes meant for use by the Śiva-worshippers, it says that the Vedic Śaivas should prepare their own ashes and should not use those prepared according to the Tantric process.[743] It describes

[741] Dbh XI. 1. 21-32a.

[742] Dbh XI. 3. 12b-13a—
brāhmaṇaḥ śruti-saṃpannaḥ svadharma-niratāḥ sadā /
sa vaidikaṃ japen mantraṃ laukikaṃ na kadācana //

[743] Dbh XI. 12. 10-12.

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both the Vedic and the Tantric method of worship[744] but says that the Vedic method should be followed by those having Vedic initiation, whereas the Tantric method is meant for persons initiated in the Tantric process.[745] These and similar other statements made in the Devī-bhāgavata show that its author tried his level best to popularise the Vedas as authorities in all matters and to make the members of the Vedic fold immune from Tantric influence as far as possible. But he could not fully ingore the influence of the age in which he lived. The spread of Tantricism was so wide in his days and its hold on himself and the people so great that he did not hesitate to prescribe the '*yantra*' (diagram) as a medium even in the Vedic method of worship,[746] to furnish the *mantras* of different deities with Tantric bījas, and to glorify these bījas (especially the Vāg-bīja, Māyā-bīja and Kāma-bīja) with various stories.

The Devī-bhāgavata calls itself a 'Purāṇa' in the body of the text and a 'Mahāpurāṇa' in the chapter-colophons, and claims to have 'five characteristics'.[747] In its own opinion, it is the best 'Purāṇa' (purāṇottama), with which other Purāṇas do not in any way stand comparison.[748] It styles itself mostly as 'Bhāgavata'[749] or 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata',[750] and once as 'Satī-purāṇa'.[751] It is only in the chapter-colophons of especially the printed editions as well as in several places of its last two chapters that the name 'Devī-bhāgavata' occurs. But except in only one Ms[752] nowhere does this

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[744] Dbh V. 34, and VII. 39-40.

[745] Dbh VII. 39. 4b-5a—

vaidikī vaidikaiḥ kāryā veda-dīkṣā-samanvitaiḥ /
tantrokta-dīkṣāvadbhis tu tāntrikī saṃśritā bhavet //

[746] See Dbh III. 26. 21; V. 34. 7-8; and VII. 39. 39.

[747] Dbh I. 1. 16; I. 16. 32; II. 4. 68.

[748] Dbh I. 2. 3 and 11; I. 3. 40; and so on.
Dbh XII. 13. 25b-26a—

santy anyāni purāṇāni hari-rudra-mukhāni ca /
devībhāgavatasyāsya kalāṃ nārhanti ṣoḍaśīm //

[749] Dbh I. 1, verses 16, 18, 21, 25; I. 2. 37; I. 15, verses 47, 49, 54; I. 16. 15; and so on.

[750] Dbh I. 2. 11; I. 3. 34 and 39; II. 4. 68; and so on.

[751] Dbh I. 3. 41.

[752] No. 115 of A1881-82, preserved in the Government Mss Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

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work call itself 'Bhagavatī-purāṇa'.

As the Devī-bhāgavata calls itself 'Bhāgavata' or 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata', conforms to the definitions of the 'Bhāgavata' contained in the Matsya and other Purāṇas,[753] includes its own name (Bhāgavata) in its list of the eighteen principal

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By examining the chapter-colophons of this incomplete Ms S. N. Tadpatrikar comes to the following conclusion:

"The Purāṇa was originally called, fittingly, Śrībhagavatī-purāṇa, and each of its parts was called 'aṃśa'.

Then with the growing popularity of Śrīmad-bhāgavata comes in the period of controversy, when the devotees of Devī at once went to the other extreme, and named this Purāṇa Śrīmad-bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa with the name 'skandha' for its parts. The name was boldly asserted to be grammatically derived from 'bhagavatī' as 'bhagavatyā idaṃ bhāgavatam'.

Then the two extremes mixed indiscriminately, and we come across all different sorts of adhyāya-colophons, as in the present fragment before us.

And last comes the present order of things, where, to distinguish this Purāṇa from its rival, the word 'devī' was added to the name Bhāgavata and we have the adhyāya-colophons, as we find them, in this last stage, in printed editions". (ABORI, XXIII, 1942, p. 562).

This conclusion, though apparently attractive, is based more on 'imagination' than on facts. It should be rejected for the following reasons:

(1) Not a single of the other Mss of the Devībhāgavata gives its name as 'Bhagavatī-purāṇa' either in the body of the text or in the chapter-colophons.

(2) In his Bikaner Cat., p. 187, R. L. Mitra describes a Ms of the 'Bhagavatī-purāṇa' which is quite different from the Devī-bhāgavata.

(3) A large number of verses has been ascribed to the 'Bhagavatī-purāṇa' in Jīmūta-vāhana's Kālaviveka (pp. 320, 322, 381, 382, 511), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (I, pp. 667, 982; III. i, pp. 606, 678-9, 692, 704, 717, 728-9, 871; III. ii, pp. 313-4, 314, 316), Mādhavācārya's Kāla-nirṇaya (pp. 311, 313), Gadādhara's Kālasāra (pp. 103, 109-110, 465, 610), and Mitra-miśra's Vīramitrodaya (Āhnika-prakāśa, p. 186); but not a single of these verses is found in the Devī-bhāgavata, which is, therefore, quite different from the 'Bhagavatī-purāṇa'.

(4) Even in the Ms (No. 115 of A1881-82) utilised by Tadpatrikar for his conclusion, the name 'Bhagavatī-puraṇa' occurs only in a few chapter-colophons and not in the body of the text.

(5) That the chapter-colophons of this Ms are not at all dependable for any conclusion, is shown by the fact that in the colophon of chap. 29 of its third Skandha, the name of the work is given as 'Devī-purāṇa'.

(6) The names 'Bhāgavata' and 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' occur in a large number of verses of the Devī-bhāgavata, and these names cannot be replaced conveniently with the name 'Bhagavatī-purāṇa' without effecting considerable changes in the verses containing these names.

[753] The 'Bhāgavata' is defined in the different Purāṇas as follows:—

Matsya-p. 53. 20-22—

yatrādhikṛtya gāyatrīṃ varṇyate dharma-vistaraḥ /
vṛtrāsura-vadhopetaṃ tad bhāgavatam ucyate //
.. ..
aṣṭādaśa-sahasrāṇi purāṇaṃ tat pracakṣate //

(These lines are the same as Skanda-p. VII. i. 2.39-42).

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Purāṇas, and regards the Vaiṣṇava 'Bhāgavata' as one of the eighteen Upapurāṇas, the question naturally arises as to which of these two works is the real Bhāgavata. There is a band of scholars, both European and Indian, who hold that the Devī-bhāgavata is the real Bhāgavata and that the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata is a spurious work written by Vopadeva, a contemporary of Hemādri.[754] But this view is untenable for the following reasons:—

(1) The Nibandha-writers are all in favour of the authenticity of the Bhāgavata (i.e. Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata). Many of them (such as Vallālasena, Madhvācārya, Hemādri,

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Agni-p. 272. 6-7—

yatrādhikṛtya gāyatrīṃ kīrtyate dharma-vistaraḥ /
vṛtrāsura-vadhopetaṃ tad bhāgavatam ucyate //
.. ..
aṣṭādaśa-sahasrāṇi .. .. ..

Skanda-p. V. iii. 1. 37—

navamaṃ bhagavan-nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitam /
tad aṣṭādaśa-sāhasraṃ procyate grantha-saṃkhyayā //

In his commentary on the Bhāgavata-p. (I. 1.1) Śrīdhara Svāmin gives, from a 'Purāṇāntara', the following definition:

grantho 'ṣṭādaśa-sāhasro dvādaśa-skandha-saṃmitaḥ /
hayagrīva-brahma-vidyā yatra vṛtra-vadhas tathā /
gāyatryā ca samārambhas tad vai bhāgavataṃ viduḥ //

According to these definitions, that Purāṇa which begins with the gāyatrī, deals elaborately with *dharma* as well as with *brahma-vidyā*, contains the stories of Hayagrīva and the killing of the demon Vṛtra, and consists of twelve Skandhas divided into two parts and of 18000 ślokas, is to be known as the 'Bhāgavata'.

All these characteristics are found in the Devī-bhāgavata, which begins with a Devī-gāyatrī, deals elaborately with *dharma* in most of the Skandhas and with *brahma-vidyā* especially in Skandha XII, contains the story of Hayagrīva in Skandha I (chap. 5) and that of the killing of Vṛtra in Skandha VI (chaps. 1-6), consists of twelve Skandhas divided into two parts of six Skandhas each, and professes to have 18000 verses.

[754] Wilson, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I, Preface, pp. XLIV-LI; Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I, p. 104; Burnouf, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Preface, pp. LXIIff.; Ganganath Jha in Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume, pp. 1-2; and so on.

At the beginning of his commentary on the Devī-bhāgavata Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha tries to prove that this Devī-bhāgavata is the real Bhāgavata-p.

There is a polemic treatise, viz., Durjana-mukha-capeṭikā of Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa, a Dakṣiṇācāra Tantrik of Benares, which strongly supports the claim of the Devī-bhāgavata to be the real Bhāgavata. (For this treatise see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1207-8, No. 3367; Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 771-2, No. 4111; Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 63, Nos. 1385-86).

See also the articles on the Devī-bhāgavata in ABORI, XIV, 1932-33, pp. 241-9, and XXIII, 1942, pp. 559-62.

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Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa, and others) quote verses from a 'Bhāgavata' in their respective works; and most of these verses are found in the present Bhāgavata-p., but not a single occurs in the Devī-bhāgavata.

(2) None of the comparatively early Nibandha-writers is found to mention even the name of the Devī-bhāgavata. Among the late Nibandhas even, we have found only one work which draws upon the Devī-bhāgavata.

(3) Although Devī-bhāgavata IX. 29 deals with gifts, Vallālasena does not refer to or draw upon it, nor does he include its name among those of the spurious or rejected Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. That Vallālasena knew the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata as the real Bhāgavāta, is shown by his statement, made in his Dānasāgara, that he did not draw upon the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' because it did not deal with the method of making gifts.[755] As a matter of fact, the present Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata, unlike the Devī-bhāgavata, contains no chapter on this topic. Vallālasena's recognition of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata is further shown by the fact that he does not include the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' among those works which he rejected for imbibing Tantric elements. (We have already seen how greatly the Devī-bhāgavata has been influenced by Tantricism).

(4) The contents of the Bhāgavata are more befitting a principal Purāṇa than those of the Devī-bhāgavata.

(5) Alberūnī mentions the 'Vaiṣṇava' Bhāgavata as one of the principal Purāṇas but does not betray his knowledge of the Devī-bhāgavata.

(6) The chapters on Bhāgavata-māhātmya found in the Purāṇas such as the Pādma (Uttara-khaṇḍa), Skānda (Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa), etc. relate to the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata and not to any other work claiming to be the Bhāgavata-p.

(7) By way of describing the contents of the eighteen principal Purāṇas the Nāradīya-p. gives, in chap. 96 of its

[755] See Dānasāgara, p. 6 (verse 57)—
bhāgavataṃ ca purāṇaṃ brahmāṇḍaṃ caiva nāradīyaṃ ca
dāna-vidhi-śūnyam etat trayam iha na nibaddham avadhārya //

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Pūrva-bhāga, the contents of a 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' which agree with those of our present Bhāgavata-p.

(8) In the Bhāgavata-p. there is no mention of the Devī-bhāgavata, nor is there any attempt to prove its superior position, but the Devī-bhāgavata gives out its knowledge of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata and thus acknowledges its own comparatively late origin by including this work among the Upapurāṇas obviously with a view to establishing its own claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa. Further, in the Bhāgavata Śuka is presented as given to complete renunciation of the world from his childhood. But the author of the Devī-bhāgavata saw that an ideal character like Śuka might encourage others, having much less indifference, to renounce the world and thus disturb the discipline in society. Hence he painted Śuka in a quite different colour in the Devī-bhāgavata. Here Śuka, who is about to give up the world, goes to Janaka at the request of his father Vyāsa. Janaka proves the benefits of *hiṃsā* as practised in Vedic sacrifices and convinces him of the necessity of passing successively through all the stages of life before entering into the life of a saṃnyāsin. Consequently, Śuka returns to his father and becomes a householder.

(9) The Bhāgavata regards Kṛṣṇa as Bhagavat himself and makes no mention of Rādhā. But the Devī-bhāgavata, though recognising the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, subordinates him to his Śakti Rādhā and thus tries to infuse Śāktism into the followers of the Bhāgavata religion.

(10) By its inclusion of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas and by its statement that the Purāṇas on Hari and Rudra do not, in any way, stand comparison with it,[756] the Devī-bhāgavata clearly betrays its knowledge of the Bhāgavata-p.

(11) The Śāktas are not unanimous about the identity of the 'Bhāgavata' named in the lists of eighteen principal Purāṇas. Some of them say that it is the Kālikā-p. which, on account of its treatment of the birth and exploits of

[756] Dbh XII. 13. 25b-26a (cited in footnote 748 above).

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Bhagavatī, is called 'Bhāgavata';[757] some are inclined to regard the Devī-p. as the real Bhāgavata; and some, again, are in favour of the Devī-bhāgavata. Besides these, there is another work, named Bhagavatī-purāṇa, which also tries to be known as 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata'.[758] Hence there is little doubt about the fact that the Śāktas, being jealous of the position and influence of the Bhāgavata-p., tried to substitute it by works of theirs.

The above arguments are perhaps sufficient to show that the Devī-bhāgavata cannot be regarded as the real Bhāgavata. In point of age also it is much younger than its rival. We have seen elsewhere[759] that the Bhāgavata-p. is a fairly early work. But the Devī-bhāgavata cannot reasonably be assigned to an early date. It repeatedly names the Mahābhārata[760] (mostly as 'Bhārata'), bases some of its stories on those of this great epic,[761] and has a good number of verses from it.[762] It also mentions the Dharmaśāstras of Manu and Yājñavalkya,[763] and knows the names of rāśis and week-days. It utilises the contents of the Mārkaṇḍeya-caṇḍī,[764] mentions that work under the title

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[757] See footnotes 515 and 523 above (under 'Kālikā-p.').

[758] For a Ms of this work see Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 187. In this Ms the Bhagavatī-purāṇa ends with the following verse:

santy anyāni purāṇāni vistarāṇi purāṇi ca /
śrīmad-bhāgavatasyāsya na tulyānīti me matiḥ //

(This verse is the same as Dbh III. 30.63. The Devī-bhāgavata reads 'bahūni' for 'purāṇi'.)

[759] Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 52-57.

[760] Dbh I. 3.17; II. 11.61; II. 12.53; XI. 20.20 (bhāṣya-bhārata-pūrvaṃ ca mahābhārata ity api).

[761] For instance, the story of Śuka's birth and meeting with Janaka in Dbh I. 14ff. is based on Mahābhārata, Śānti-parvan, chaps. 324-7, from which the Devī-bhāgavata has taken a few lines.

[762] For instance, Dbh I. 14.5, 6b (first half), 7a (second half), 7b, 9b, etc.=Mbh XII. 324.6, 7a (first half), 7b (second half), 8a, 10b, etc.; Dbh VII. 2. 43b-44, 45b, 48b, 52b (first half), 54b, 56a, 58b (first half)=Mbh III. 122. 3-4a, 5b, 7b, 12b (first half), 13b, 14a, 15a (first half); Dbh VII. 3.1b (first half), 9a (first half), 10b, etc.=Mbh III. 122. 19a (first half), 22a (first half), 23a, etc.; and so on.

[763] Dbh I. 4.16; IV. 21.10 and 12.

[764] Dbh V, chaps. 21-35 are undoubtedly based on the Mārkaṇḍeya-caṇḍī. At the end of chap. 35 Sūta says: 'iti vaḥ kathitaḥ sāraḥ purāṇānāṃ munīśvarāḥ', thus referring to the Mārkaṇḍeya-p.

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'Saptaśatī-stotra',[765] and has, in its story of king Hariścandra as given in Skandha VII, chaps. 18-27, a good number of verses from the relevant chapters of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. It gives the names of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations including the Buddha,[766] and speaks of the Hūṇas as living on the banks of the Ganges.[767] It praises the worship of the 'five deities' (pañca-deva),[768] includes 'pañcāyatana-pūjā' (i.e. the worship of the five deities—Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, Śiva and Śivā) among the daily duties of the twice-born people,[769] speaks of 'nine' Rasas including 'Śānti-rasa',[770] and knows the ten Mahāvidyās.[771] By its mention of 'people following the Cīna-mārga' and of 'the place of Nīlasarasvatī in Cīna' as 'widely known',[772] it indicates that Tantric Buddhism had spread into China much earlier than the date of its compo-

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[765] Dbh IX. 50.86—tataḥ saptaśatī-stotraṃ devyā agre tu saṃpaṭhet.

[766] Dbh X. 5. 4-15.

[767] Dbh IV. 8. 31-32.

[768] Dbh IX. 36. 10 and 14.

[769] Dbh XI. 17. 35—

pañcāyatana-pūjāṃ ca tataḥ kuryāt samāhitaḥ /
śivāṃ śivaṃ gaṇapatiṃ sūryaṃ viṣṇuṃ tathārcayet //

The custom of Pañcāyatana-pūjā is not of very early origin. For information about this worship see Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 179-180.

[770] Dbh V. 24.7—

śṛṅgāraḥ sarvathā sarvaiḥ prāṇibhiḥ parayā mudā /
sevanīyo buddhimadbhir navānām uttamo yataḥ //

Dbh V. 27. 56-57a—

rasānāṃ ca navānāṃ vai dvāv eva mukhyatāṃ gatau /
śṛṅgārakaḥ śānti-raso vidvaj-jana-sabhāsu ca //
tayoḥ śṛṅgāra evādau nṛpa-bhāve pratiṣṭhitaḥ /

Dbh V. 27. 60b-61a—

asaṃsāra-rasajñās te vañcitā vañcanā-paraiḥ /
madhurālāpa-nipuṇai ratāḥ śānti-rase hi te //

For the recognition of the Quietistic (śānta) as the ninth Rasa, see S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, II, pp. 346ff.

The stage-direction 'sa-nirvedaṃ', used with respect to Jīmūtavāhana in Nāgānanda, Act I (verse 1) tends to show that Harṣavardhana wanted to make Śānta (which has '*nirveda*' as its 'sthāyi-bhāva') the predominant sentiment in his drama.

[771] Dbh IV. 15. 12. The Benares edition wrongly reads 'mahābindu'- for 'mahāvidyā-'.

[772] Dbh XII. 8. 3 (cited in footnote 727 above).

Dbh VII. 38. 13—tathā nīla-sarasvatyāḥ sthānaṃ cineṣu viśrutam,

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sition. The way in which the Mlecchas[773] and the Yavanas[774] have been mentioned repeatedly in the Devi-bhāgavata, tends to show that the author of this Purāṇa was quite familiar with the spread of the Muhammadans in India. Devī-bhāgavata VII. 39 is clearly based on Kūrma-p. I. 12, from which it has borrowed a few lines[775] and which cannot be dated earlier than 800 A.D. Almost all the chapters of Skandha IX of the Devī-bhāgavata have been taken from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the present Brahma-vaivarta-p.,[776] which is a work of Bengal and which, in its present form, cannot be dated earlier than the tenth century A.D.[777] Hence the upper limit of the date of the Devī-bhāgavata can by no means be placed earlier than 950 A.D.

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[773] Dbh IV. 8. 31 (Mlecchas as living on the banks of the Ganges); IX. 8. 24 (people as following Mlecchācāra and studying Mleccha-śāstra during the Kali age); IX. 8. 52-53 (all becoming Mlecchas—sarvaṃ mlecchamayaṃ); IX. 33. 104 (a Brahmin, who serves Mlecchas, is condemned to hell—mleccha-sevī masī-jīvī yo vipro bhārate bhuvi/ vaset ... masīkuṇḍe ... ... //).

For mention of Mlecchas see also Dbh IX. 33. 64; 34. 20; and 35. 42.

[774] Dbh IX. 33. 45 (yāvanīṃ yonim) and 72 (jātiś ca yāvanī).

[775] Dbh VII. 39, verses 7a, 8a, 9b, 10a, 11a, 13, 14a, 15a, and 26b-27a=Kūr. I. 12, verses 244a, 244b, 245, 246a, 248b, 249, 251b and 257.

[776] The chapters common to the Devī-bhāgavata and the Brahma-vaivarta-p. II (Prakṛti-khaṇḍa) are as follows:—

Devī-bhāgavata		Brahma-vaivarta-p.
IX. 1-5	=	II. 1-5 respectively.
,, 6-7	=	,, 6.
,, 8-10	=	,, 7-9 respectively.
,, 11-12	=	,, 10 (except verses 40b-57).
,, 13-17	=	,, 11-15 respectively.
,, 18-19	=	,, 16.
,, 20-32	=	,, 17-29 respectively.
,, 33-34	=	II. 30.
,, 35-39	=	,, 31-35 respectively.
,, 40	=	,, 36 (except verses 60b-179) and 37 (except verse 1).
,, 41-46	=	38-43 respectively.
,, 47	=	,, 44-45.
,, 48-49	=	,, 46-47 respectively.

The Devī-bhāgavata omits or changes those verses of the Brahma-vaivarta-p. in which the Vaiṣṇavas have been praised. For instance, Bv II. 10. 40b-57 (on the praise of Vaiṣṇavas) do not occur in the Devī-bhāgavata; for 'kṛṣṇasya paramātmanaḥ' of Bv II. 7. 77, Dbh IX. 8. 75a reads 'śrīdevyāḥ procyate mune'; for 'harer nimeṣa-mātreṇa' of Bv II. 8. 1, Dbh IX. 9. 1 reads 'devyā nimeṣa-mātreṇa'; for 'vaiṣṇavāya' of Bv II. 16.97, Dbh IX. 18.85 reads 'sādhave'; for the line 'nivasanti hi goloke vaikuṇṭhe vā hareḥ pade' occurring in Bv II. 27.53b, Dbh IX. 30.53b reads 'nivasanti maṇi-dvīpe śrīdevyāḥ parame pade'; and so on.

On the other hand, the Devī-bhāgavata adds here and there a few verses (mainly on the praise of Devī) which have not been taken from the Brahma-vaivarta-p. For instance, Dbh IX. 29.34 and IX. 33.8-11 do not occur in the Brahma-vaivarta.

[777] Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 166-7.

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Again, a Ms of the Devī-bhāgavata is dated Saṃvat 1848.[778] Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha,[779] a disciple of one Śrīdhara who was different from Śrīdhara-svāmin, the famous commentator of the Bhāgavata-p., wrote his well-known commentary Tilaka on the Devī-bhāgavata not earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century A.D., and this commentary has been printed in the Bombay and Bengal editions of this work. The Śivārcana-dīpikā, which was written later than the first half of the seventeenth century A.D., draws upon the Devī-bhāgavata.[780] Going to prove the authenticity of the Bhāgavata-p. in the introductory portion of his commentary on the same, Śrīdhara-svāmin makes a remark which tends to indicate that in his days attempts had already begun to be made to estabilsh the reputation of the Devī-bhāgavata as the real Bhāgavata-p.[781] In his commentary on the Dharma-saṃhitā of the Śiva-p., Gaṅgādhara quotes

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[778] See footnote 650 (xi) above.

[779] In his introduction to his commentary Tilaka Nīlakaṇṭha informs us that he had the surname 'Śaiva' (śaivopanāmaka), that he was born in a family of Śaivas (śaiva-kulotpanna), and that both his father Ranganātha and mother Lakṣmī were staunch followers of Āgamic Śaivism (deśikottama). He names Kāśīnātha and Śrīdhara among his teachers (guru) and says that he was induced by one Ratnajī to write the Tilaka on the Devī-bhāgavata which was going without a commentary (vyākhyāna-rahita).

Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha's mention of Śrīdhara as one of his teachers has led Farquhar to take this Śrīdhara to be the same as Śrīdhara-svāmin, the famous commentator of the Bhāgavata-p. (see Farquhar, Outline, p. 359.) But the identification is perfectly wrong. Śrīdhara-svāmin flourished between 1350 and 1450 A.D. (see ABORI, XXX, 1949, pp. 277-283; Farquhar, Outline, pp. 231, 269, 297, etc.; S. K. De, Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement, p. 13; ABORI, XIV, 1932-33,'p. 168; and so on), whereas Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha, who names Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (*circa* 1565-1672 A.D.—see ABORI, XXX, 1949, pp. 326-331) as the author of the Sarva-śāstrārtha-saṃgraha and Nāgojī-bhaṭṭa (1700-1750 A.D.) as a Dharmaśāstra-writer (see Tilaka, p. 1b), cannot be placed earlier than 1750 A.D.

Our Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha must be distinguished from Nīlakaṇṭha, the famous commentator of the Mahābhārata. The latter was born of Govinda Sūri and Phullāmbikā and was a Brahmin scholar of Mahārāṣṭra. He wrote his commentary on the Mahābhārata at Benares in the last quarter of the seventeenth century A.D.—See Mahābhārata (ed. V. S. Sukthankar, Poona), Ādi-parvan, Prolegomena, p. LXV, and P. K. Gode's Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol. II, pp. 476-498; also Printz, "Bhāṣā-wörter, in Nīlakaṇṭha's Bhārata-bhāva-dīpa",Einleitung, KZ. 44. 77ff.

[780] ASB Ms No. 2187, fol. 14a.—See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, No. 2853, p. 866.

[781] See Śrīdhara-svāmin's commentary on Bhāgavata-p. I. 1. 1. It is to be noted that the Devī-bhāgavata begins with a Gāyatrī, contains the stories of the killing of Hayagrīva, Vṛtra and others, deals elaborately with Dharma, and consists of 12 Skandhas and 18000 verses.

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from 'Padma-p., chap. 19' a line (also quoted in Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary Tilaka on the Devī-bhāgavata) which includes the Devī-bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas.[782] The name of the Devī-bhāgavata occurs in the verse

'devī-bhāgavataṃ nityaṃ paṭhed bhaktyā samāhitaḥ /
navarātre viśeṣeṇa śrīdevī-prītaye mudā //'

which was derived by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha from Maheśa Ṭhakkura's Durgā-pradīpa in which this verse was ascribed to the Devī-yāmala.[783] These show that the Devī-bhāgavata must have preceded Śrīdhara-svāmin and others by a few centuries. Hence *it cannot be dated later than* 1200 *A.D.* Although the Devī-yāmala has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka[783a] and is thus a fairly early work, we cannot push the lower limit of the date of the Devī-bhāgavata much farther up, because, in the absence of any Ms of the Devī-yāmala, we are not sure that the said verse really belonged to this work. On the other hand, it is much more probable that, like the line 'śaivam ādipurāṇaṃ ca devī-bhāgavataṃ tathā' (which has been ascribed to the Padma-p. by Gaṅgādhara and Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha but is not found in the present text of that work) and many others (including those mentioned in connection with Durgā-pūjā towards the beginning of this Chapter), the above verse was

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The facts that the Bhāgavata-p. begins with a verse which can hardly be called a Gāyatrī and that it contains no mention of the Sārasvata Kalpa, must be due to the changes made in the original text of this work in course of time.

[782] Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 3550, p. 289—

....kim tv asyopapurāṇatvam eva pādme ekonaviṃśe 'dhyāye upapurāṇesu 'śaivam ādipurāṇaṃ ca devī-bhāgavataṃ tathā'
iti parigaṇanād iti cen na /.... /'

(See also Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary Tilaka, p. 1b—

tathā pādme bhāgavata-māhātmye ekonaviṃśe 'dhyāye upapurāṇeṣu 'śaivam ādipurāṇaṃ ca devī-bhāgavataṃ tathā' iti /

The line 'śaivam ādipurāṇaṃ ca etc.' does not occur in the chapters on Bhāgavata-māhātmya in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-p.).

[783] See Tilaka, p. 3b—

tathā—'devī-bhāgavataṃ nityaṃ paṭhed bhaktyā samāhitaḥ /
navarātre viśeṣeṇa śrīdevī-prītaye mudā //'
iti maheśa-ṭhakkura-kṛta-durgāpradīpa-dhṛta-devīyāmala-vacanena /

[783a] Āhnika III, p. 82 (verse 70), and Āhnika VIII, pp. 12 (verse 16) and 149 (verse 212).

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only a later creation made with a definite purpose. The lines 'purāṇaṃ *bhāgavataṃ daurgaṃ* nandi-proktaṃ tathaiva ca' and 'śaivaṃ *bhāgavataṃ daurgaṃ* bhaviṣyottaram eva ca', ascribed by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha to the 'Gāruḍa Tattva-rahasya' and the 'Pādma' Purāṇa respectively,[784] may be taken to mean the earlier Kālikā-p. or the Bhāgavatī-p., which, as we have already seen, was looked upon by some as the real Bhāgavata. The value of these lines as well as the verses quoted by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha from the Āditya-p., Śiva-p. (Umā-saṃhitā), etc.[785] dwindles to nothing when we find that the Devī-bhāgavata itself mentions the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata and includes it among the Upapurāṇas, thus presupposing this work and giving itself out as its younger rival.

From what has been said above *it is highly probable that the Devi-bhāgavata was compiled in the eleventh or twelfth*

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[784] See Tilaka, p. 1b—

tathā gāruḍe tattva-rahasye dvitīyāṃśe dharma-kāṇḍe prathamādhyāye ....uktaṃ

'purāṇaṃ bhāgavataṃ daurgaṃ nandi-proktaṃ tathaiva ca /
pāśupatyaṃ raiṇukaṃ ca bhairavaṃ ca tathaiva ca //'

iti / .... / tathā pādme śakuna-parīkṣāyāṃ

'.... ....' ....

'.... ....

vārāhaṃ brahmavaivartaṃ śakuneṣu praśasyate /
śaivaṃ bhāgavataṃ daurgaṃ bhaviṣyottaram eva ca //' iti /

The last verse (vārāhaṃ brahmavaivartaṃ etc.) is the same as Padma-p. (Pātāla-khaṇḍa)100.53.

[785] These verses are the following :

(1) āditya-purāṇe raktāsura-vadha-prastāve

'yā jaghne mahiṣaṃ daityaṃ krūraṃ vṛtrāsuraṃ tathā /
sādya raktāsuraṃ hatvā svārājyaṃ te pradāsyati //'

iti vacanam / .... / anantaraṃ ca tatraiva purāṇa-dāna-prastāve

'dadāti sūrya-bhaktāya yas tu bhāgavataṃ dvijāḥ /
sarva-pāpa-vinirmuktaḥ sarva-vyādhi-vivarjitaḥ /
jīved varṣa-śataṃ sāgram ante vaivasvataṃ padam //'

iti paṭhitam /

(2) kiṃ ca śiva-purāṇe umā-saṃhitāyaṃ

'brahmaṇā saṃstutā seyaṃ madhu-kaiṭabha-nāśane /
mahāvidyā jagad-dhātrī sarva-vidy-ādhidevatā /
dvādaśyāṃ phālgunasyaiva śuklāyāṃ samabhūn nṛpa //'

iti vacanāt phālguna-śukla-dvādaśyāṃ devyā udbhavas tad-dine eva sārasvata-kalp-odbhavaḥ, tad uktaṃ hemādrau kalpa-śrāddha-prakaraṇe nāgara-khaṇḍe

'sārasvatas tu dvādaśyāṃ śuklāyāṃ phālgunasya ca' iti /

And so on.

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century A.D. Farquhar takes this Purāṇa to belong to the period ranging from 900 to 1350 A.D.[786] This date of compilation of this work is fully supported by its Tantric elements as well as by the non-utilisation of its contents by the commentators and Nibandha-writers.

T. N. Ramachandran places the date of the Devī-bhāgavata 'not later than the 6th century A.D.'[787] by taking the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa's penance, as given in 'Devī-bhāgavata, Skandha IV, adhyāyas 5-10',[788] to be the basis of the scenes of penance of these two sages in the eastern niche of the Gupta temple of Deogarh in the Jhansi district. As the relief is of considerable antiquity, being dated 'about 600 A.D.' by Coomaraswamy[789] and in 'the second half of the 5th century A.D.' by Smith[790] and Codrington,[791] and as an unduly early date for the Devī-bhāgavata means not only the same for the state of religion and society reflected in it but also a better claim of this work to the status of a genuine Mahāpurāṇa than that of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata, which some scholars are inclined to date not earlier than the 8th century A.D.,[792] it is necessary to compare the story of the Devī-bhāgavata with the said relief a little more carefully to see whether this story can be taken as the basis of the relief and whether the date of compilation of the Devī-bhāgavata can thus be pushed up to such an early period.

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[786] Farquhar, Outline, p. 269.

[787] See IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 191-6.

[788] As a matter of fact, the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa's creation of Urvaśī is narrated in Dbh IV. 5-6, 7 (verses 1-16), and 17, the intervening verses and chapters being given to other matters (such as the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa's fight with Prahlāda) which were introduced by way of exemplifying the bad effects of *ahaṃkāra* (pride).

[789] A. K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 80.

[790] Vincent Smith, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, 1930, p. 12.

[791] K. de B. Codrington, Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the Guptas with Notes on the Architecture and Sculpture of the Mediaeval Period, 1926, p. 61.

[792] See C. V. Vaidya in JBBRAS, 1925, pp. 144 ff.; Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 49; F. E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 80; Farquhar, Outline, pp. 229ff.; M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 556; Durgashankar Shastri in Bhāratīya Vidyā, II, pp. 129-139; J. N. Banerjea in IHQ, XXVI, 1950, pp. 138-143.

Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf date the Bhāgavata-p. in the 13th century A.D.

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In order to explain some of the figures in the said relief Ramachandran gives a short summary of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story of the Devī-bhāgavata, but as his summary suffers from omission of facts and unwarranted stretch of imagination, we briefly narrate the story below with all its notable points. This story, as given in Devī-bhāgavata IV. 5-7 and 17, is as follows:

Brahmā's son Dharma was born from his father's heart. Dharma married Dakṣa's daughters and had four sons named Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Of these, the first two took to Yoga practices and the last two, who are said to be parts of Viṣṇu, went to Vadarikāśrama in the Prāleyādri (Himalayas) and practised severe austerities there on the bank of the Gaṅgā for full one thousand years. The thousand-eyed Śakra got frightened at their activities. He came down to the Gandhamādana mountain by riding his elephant and tried to allure the two sages by offering to grant the best boon to them. As the latter could not be moved from their meditation, Śakra took to his magic power (mohinī māyā) and created wolves, lions and tigers and then rain, wind and fire for terrifying them. Finding that none of his attempts proved effective to the sages who were meditating on Ādi-śakti Mahāvidyā as well as on the Vāg-bīja, Kāma-bīja and Māyā-bīja, Śakra (also called Indra) returned to heaven and sent Kāma (Cupid) with Rati, Vasanta (Spring), and the Apsarases such as Rambhā and Tilottamā to divert the sages (—chap. 5). Vasanta first made his appearance in the mountain, with the result that Āmra, Vakula, Tilaka, Kiṃśuka, Madhuka and other trees and creepers were in full bloom, cuckoos gave out their sweet notes from tree-tops, the gentle southern breeze began to blow, and all creatures were smitten with passionate love for their beloved. Next, Kāma, with Rati and his five arrows fully prepared, took his abode in Vadarikāśrama, and Rambhā, Tilottamā and other Apsarases began to sing sweet songs. The sudden appearance of the spring season in all its splendour did not fail to attract the notice of the sages, but the latter, though astonished, could easily discover the machination of Indra

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behind all these unexpected happenings. As soon as the sages looked at the well-dressed nymphs, who were 8050 in number,[793] the latter bowed down to them, stood in their front, and sang love-exciting songs. The sages, however, were not moved. Nārāyaṇa calmly received the nymphs as guests. In order to show the power of his penance he struck his thigh with his palm and created a perfectly beautiful female who was called Urvaśī due to her birth from Nārāyaṇa's thigh (uru) and was looked upon with wonder by the nymphs sent by Śakra. Next, for service of these nymphs Nārāyaṇa brought into being the same number of extremely beautiful females, who put the celestial nymphs to confusion. Being struck with wonder to see the power of penance the celestial nymphs eulogised the sages, admitting their own folly and giving out that they had come there not to serve them but to accomplish the work of Śatakratu. The sages were pleased at their eulogy. They asked the nymphs to return to heaven, taking Urvaśī as a present from them to Maghavat (Indra). But the nymphs refused to go to heaven and wanted to have Nārāyaṇa as their husband. They earnestly requested Nārāyaṇa to send Urvaśī and the other females created by him to heaven and to allow 1650 of them to remain there to serve him and his brother. But Nārāyaṇa did not like to spoil his fame and austerities by giving indulgence to sexual passion (—chap. 6). He refused to have them as wives and intended to ward them off by taking to anger. Being, however, prevented by Nara from doing so (—chap. 7), Nārāyaṇa attained tranquillity of mind, explained the impossibility of what they wanted from him, and assured them that he would become their husband in the 28th Dvāpara when he would be born again for the accomplishment of the work of gods and the nymphs would be born as daughters of different kings. Feeling relieved at the words of Nārāyaṇa the nymphs returned to heaven and informed Indra of the whole situation. Indra was highly pleased with the sage and praised him at the sight of Urvaśī (—chap. 17).

[793] Dbh IV. 6.28.

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In the summary of the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa given above, the following points are to be specially noted:

(i) In his second attempt to divert the sages by terrorising them Śakra is said to have created wolves, lions and tigers by means of his magic power,[794] there being no mention of deer anywhere in the whole story.

(ii) There is nothing in the Devī-bhāgavata which may indicate that the wild beasts created by Śakra were 'subdued' by the sages.

(iii) Cuckoos are said to have given out sweet notes from tree-tops with the appearance of Vasanta in the Gandhamādana mountain.

(iv) Kāma is said to have taken his position in Vadarikāśrama with Rati and his five arrows, there being no mention of Kāma's bow.

(v) Nymphs, and no Gandharvas, are said to have been sent with Kāma to divert the sages.

(vi) Nārāyaṇa is said to have created not only Urvaśī but also a large number of beautiful females for attending upon the celestial nymphs sent by Śakra.

(vii) The nymphs from heaven, and not Urvaśī, are said to have eulogised the sages, and there is nothing in the whole story to indicate that Urvaśī bowed down or in any way paid respect to the sages before leaving for heaven.

(viii) There is no mention of the presence either of any sages (other than Nara and Nārāyaṇa) or of Brahmā and other gods and goddesses in the hermitage.

The said Deogarh relief, on the other hand, has the following peculiarities:

(i-ii) It contains the figure of a single lion crouching indifferently[795] with its front legs crossed in a pose of non-

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[794] The relevant verses of the Devī-bhāgavata are the following:

tato vai mohinīṃ māyāṃ cakāra bhayadāṃ vṛṣaḥ //
vṛkān siṃhāṃś ca vyāghrāṃś ca samutpādy-ābibhīṣayat /
varṣaṃ vātaṃ tathā vahniṃ samutpādya punaḥ punaḥ //
bhīṣayāmāsa tau śakro māyāṃ kṛtvā vimohinīm /

Devī-bhāgavata IV. 5.25b-27a.

[795] It is to be noted that the face of the lion is turned away from the deer and his eyes are closed.

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violence and also those of three deer lying at ease with an air of complete safety and tameness very near to the lion, to which they form a very favourite food. The presence of these two kinds of animals very near to each other without the least expression of violence in the one or fear in the others, clearly gives out the spirit of Ahiṃsā (non-violence) prevailing all around the two sages. It cannot be taken to indicate the submission of ferocious beasts sent by Śakra, because in that case the presence of a single ferocious beast (viz., lion) and three timid and innocent animals (viz., deer) lying unconcerned near it, cannot be explained satisfactorily.

(iii) There is no figure of any bird in the relief.

(iv) The male and female figures hovering to the right of Nārāyaṇa (the four-handed sage) must be those of Kāma and Rati. But Kāma has in his hand the stringless rod of the flowery bow (which indicates his absolute powerlessness), whereas according to the Devī-bhāgavata Kāma appeared in Vadarikāśrama with Rati and his five arrows.

(v) Of the two human figures hovering to the left of Nara (the two-handed sage) the male one is rather obscure and may be that of Vasanta. It is more probable that this male figure is that of a Gandharva carrying some musical instrument (Vasanta being represented in the relief by vernal beauty noticeable in the trees); and the female one, reclining beside him and showing signs of utter helplessness and disappointment, must be that of a celestial nymph who not only failed to tempt the sages but was discomfited by Urvaśī's matchless beauty. These two seem to have been meant for representing the multitude of Gandharvas and Apsarases who came from heaven to divert the sages.

(vi) The female figure hovering between the two sages must be that of Urvaśī, but beside her there are no figures of any other females who might represent those created by Nārāyaṇa for attending upon the celestial nymphs sent by Indra.

(vii) It is Urvaśī (and not the celestial nymphs, as said in the Devī-bhāgavata story) who pays respect to Nārāyaṇa with folded palms.

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(viii) The two human figures standing behind Nara and Nārāyaṇa are undoubtedly those of two sages meant for representing the large number of sages who used to come to Vadarikāśrama to visit Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

From the above-mentioned peculiarities of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story of the Devī-bhāgavata on the one hand and the Deogarh relief on the other, it will be evident that the story has more points of difference from the relief than those of agreement with it. So, it can never be taken to be the source of the relief. As a matter of fact, this story comes from a very late period and is a definitely later version, with certain striking innovations and mention of Ādi-śakti and Tantric Bījas, than that found in Vāmana-p., chaps. 6-7, with which the Devī-bhāgavata has a good number of verses in common. As the present Vāmana-p. cannot be dated earlier than 700 A.D., the Devī-bhāgavata must have been written later than at least 750 A.D.

It is difficult to say at present what exactly formed the basis of the Deogarh relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa. The story of the Vāmana-p. to which we have already referred, does not mention any wild animals or sages (other than Nara and Nārāyaṇa) being present in the hermitage, nor does it say that Kandarpa (Cupid) was accompanied by Rati or that Rambhā, whom Śatakratu sent with Kandarpa and Mādhava (Spring) to disturb Nara and Nārāyaṇa, had with her any other Apsaras or Gandharva. There is also no mention of Urvaśī's paying respect to her creator before leaving for heaven.

A story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa is also found in the Skanda-p., Revā-khaṇḍa, chaps. 192-193. Although this story mentions 'lions, tigers and other wild beasts as leaving off their ferocity and moving about in the mountain with deer'[796] it contains a number of other peculiarities which go definitely against its being the source of the relief.

Accounts of the penance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa as occurring in the Mahābhārata, Viṣṇudharmottara, and some

[796] siṃha-vyāghrādayaḥ saumyāś ceruḥ saha mṛgair girau / 192. 15a.

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other works, do not meet all the points in the relief. So, it is probable that the sculptor of the relief used some early Purāṇic or epic story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, which is now lost to us; or he derived his ideas from various sources then available to him, one of these sources being the Mahābhārata.

As regards the provenance of the Devī-bhāgavata, there are several indications which appear to connect this work with Bengal. These are as follows:

(1) The Devī-bhāgavata contains a number of words and expressions which are clearly based on their parallels in Bengali, viz.,

(a) some un-Sanskritic idioms such as

'...dūṣaṇaṃ kasya dīyate'—Dbh I.17.24 (—cf. the colloquial Bengali expression— 'कार दोष दिव' — 'whom shall I blame?'—note the use of the sixth case-ending in 'कार'),

'...te sphoṭayiṣyāmi mūrdhānaṃ'—Dbh IV.9.18 (—cf. Bengali— 'तोर माथा फाटाव' — 'I shall break your head'),

'...taṃ vaśaṃ kuru'—Dbh IV.12.21 (—cf. Bengali —'ताके वश कर' —'win over him'),

'nāhaṃ gṛhaṃ kariṣyāmi'—Dbh I.15.1 (—cf. Bengali —'आमि घर करव ना'—'I shall not marry,' or 'I shall not become a house-holder'),

'māna-cūrṇaṃ kariṣyāmi tava...'—Dbh IX.29.30 (—cf. Bengali— 'तोमार मान चूर्ण करिव' —'I shall crush your pride');

(b) the word 'nikaṭa' used generally with the seventh case-ending in the sense of 'to' or 'near'—

jātau pramuditau kāmaṃ *nikaṭe* gamanāya ca

—Dbh III.4.4. (cf. Bengali— 'निकटे गमन करिवार जन्य ....'),

yakṣasya *nikaṭe* gatvā praṣṭavyaṃ kas tvam ity api

—Dbh XII.8.23 (cf. Bengali— 'यक्षेर निकटे याइया ... ...');

(c) the word '*nā*' (meaning 'not') used with the root 'kṛ' in the sense of refusing—

kathaṃ karomi nā-kāraṃ...—Dbh VII.20.3 (cf. the colloquial Bengali expression—"'ना' करि केमन करिया"—"how can I refuse?");

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(d) the word '*ai*' (meaning 'yonder' or 'there') used in shouting out of fear—

ai ai iti bhayārtena dṛṣṭvā vyāghrādikaṃ vane
—Dbh III. 9. 43;

(e) the word '*he*' used in place of 'bhoḥ'—

he nirlajje he sakāme svāmi-garvaṃ karoṣi kim
—Dbh IX. 6. 29,

dattaḥ samucitaḥ śāpo mahyaṃ mattāya he prabho
—Dbh IX. 40. 45;

(f) the word 'svīkāra' used in the sense of 'consent' or 'promise'—

brahmaṇo vacanaṃ śrutvā jñāneśo jñānināṃ varaḥ /
gaṅgā-toyaṃ kare kṛtvā *svīkāraṃ* ca cakāra saḥ //
... ...
veda-sāraṃ kariṣyāmi pratijñā-pālanāya ca //
—Dbh IX. 12. 72-74,

brahmaṇo vacanaṃ śrutvā svīcakāra ca sasmitā
—Dbh IX. 13.119,

tulasīṃ svakare kṛtvā svīkāraṃ yo na rakṣati
—Dbh IX. 24.26,

śālagrāma-śilāṃ dhṛtvā svīkāraṃ yo na pālayet
—Dbh IX. 24. 90,

rājā cakāra svīkāraṃ pūjārthaṃ ca priyavrataḥ
—Dbh IX. 46. 42;

(g) the words 'prathame' and 'pare' (with the seventh case-ending) in the sense of 'at first' and 'afterwards' respectively—

kena vā pūjitā loke prathame kaiś ca vā pare
—Dbh IX. 26.2,

brahmaṇā veda-jananī prathame pūjitā mune
—Dbh IX. 26.3,

prathame pūjitā sā ca śaṃkareṇa parātparā
—Dbh IX. 47. 7,

prathame pūjitā devī śivena ... ...
—Dbh IX. 47.33,

prathame pūjitā sā ca kṛṣṇena ... —Dbh IX. 48. 22;

(h) peculiar ungrammatical compounds still used in Bengal—

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sā ca *bhūmiṣṭha-kālena* jñānayuktā babhūva ha—Dbh IX. 16. 4 (the Benares ed. wrongly reads 'bhūyiṣṭha-'), veda-dhvaniṃ cakāra sā *jāta-mātreṇa* kanyakā—Dbh IX. 16.5, *jāta-mātreṇa* susnātā jagāma tapase vanam—Dbh IX. 16. 6, vipro *daivajñajīvī* ca *vaidyajīvī* cikitsakaḥ / ... ... yāti narakaṃ ghoraṃ ... ... / —Dbh IX. 35. 55, ... *svāmi-garvaṃ* karoṣi kim / adhikaṃ svāmi-saubhāgyaṃ vijñāpayitum icchasi // —Dbh IX. 6. 29;

(i) the word 'dvārā (used at the end of a compound) in the sense of 'with' or 'by'—

tāṃ vārtāṃ preṣayāmāsa dūta-dvārāmarāvatīm
—Dbh XI. 15.51.

[It is to be noted that although many of the instances given above occur in Skandha IX, which, as we have already seen, consists mostly of chapters derived from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the present Brahma-vaivarta, there are a few which have been taken from other Skandhas.]

(2) The Devī-bhāgavata regards '*kṣ*' as a separate 'varṇa' like 'a', 'ā' etc.—

In Dbh III. 30. 37 the letters of the alphabet have been said to begin with 'a' and end in '*kṣ*' (a-kārādi-kṣa-kārāntaiḥ svarair varṇaiś ca yojitaiḥ / asaṃkhyeyāni nāmāni ... //); and in Dbh XII. 6. 10-154 Devī's one thousand and eight names have been arranged alphabetically from 'a' to '*kṣ*'.

(3) The Devī-bhāgavata mentions the Padmāvatī (modern Padmā) as a holy river in many of its verses, and gives a long story to show that this river (Padmāvatī) is a part of Lakṣmī come down to the earth and is therefore as sacred as the Gaṅgā.[797]

(4) It praises 'Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala' (in Kāmarūpa) as the best holy place.[798]

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[797] See Dbh IX, chaps. 6-8; 13. 3; 50. 48.

[798] Dbh VII. 38. 15-18—

śrīmat-tripurabhairavyāḥ kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍalam /
bhūmaṇḍale kṣetra-ratnaṃ mahāmāyādhivāsitam //
nātaḥ parataraṃ sthānaṃ kvacid asti dharātale /
pratimāsaṃ bhaved devī yatra sākṣād rajasvalā //
tatratyā devatāḥ sarvāḥ parvatātmakatāṃ gatāḥ /
parvateṣu vasanty eva mahatyo devatā api //

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(5) It mentions the word 'puṅgī' several times and takes it to mean those unchaste women who are guilty of adultery for the seventh or eighth time.[799]

[It is to be noted that the word 'puṅgī' is very popularly used in Eastern Bengal in the expressions 'पुङ्गीर भाइ' (brother of a 'puṅgī') and 'पुङ्गीर पुत' (son of a 'puṅgī'), which are applied there as terms of rustic abuse.]

(6) Just like the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p. (which are undoubtedly works of Bengal) the Devī-bhāgavata refers to and describes the story of Rāma's worship of Durgā for killing Rāvaṇa.[800]

(7) The story of Chāyā-Sītā, as given in Dbh IX. 16. 30ff., resembles, in idea, the story of Chāyā-Satī occurring in Mahābhāgavata, chaps. 11-12.

(8) Like the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p., the Devī-bhāgavata contains a story of Gaṅgā's origin from the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā liquefied by Śiva's song about Kṛṣṇa (śrī-kṛṣṇa-saṃgīta).[801]

(9) In describing, in Devī-bhāgavata XI. 18, the results of bathing Devī with various articles during her special worship, the author of the Devī-bhāgavata mentions 'pauṇḍr-ekṣu-rasa' saying: "One, who bathes Maheśānī with a hundred pitchers full of juice of sugarcanes growing in Pauṇḍra, is not born again."[802]

It is to be noted that in the Devī-bhāgavata there is no mention of sugarcanes growing in any other place.

(10) Like the Mahābhāgavata, Bṛhaddharma-p. and other works of Bengal, the Devī-bhāgavata speaks of the

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tatratyā pṛthivī sarvā devī-rūpā smṛtā budhaiḥ /
nātaḥ parataraṃ sthānaṃ kāmākyā-yoni-maṇḍalāt //

[799] Dbh IX. 35.5-10 (. . . . . veśyā ca pañcame ṣaṣṭhe puṅgī ca saptame 'ṣṭame / . . . . .) and 26.

The word 'puṅgī' (as used in such abusive expressions of Eastern Bengal as 'पुङ्गीर भाइ' and 'पुङ्गीर पुत') may have originally been derived from the word 'phuṅgi' used in Chittagong and the neighbouring districts of East Bengal to mean Buddhist monks, who came to be looked down upon by the Hindus in later days.

[800] Dbh III, chaps. 27-30. See also Dbh IX. 1. 146.

[801] Dbh IX. 12, verses 18 and 45f.

[802] Dbh XI. 18. 7.

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creation of *siddha-pīṭhas* by the fall of Satī's limbs severed by Viṣṇu and of Śiva's making Dakṣa goat-faced.[803]

(11) Goddess Maṅgala-caṇḍī has been praised as one of the forms of Devī and her worship advocated in Devī-bhāgavata IX. 1. 83ff. and IX. 47.1-37.

[Maṅgala-caṇḍī figured as a prominent deity in Mediaeval Bengal, so much so that a good number of poetical works called Caṇḍī-maṅgala-kāvya was written there on her origin and exploits.]

(12) The observance of the 'five *parvans*,' viz., Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī, Rāma-navamī, Śiva-rātri, Ekādaśī and Ravi-vāra, has been highly praised in Dbh IX. 34. 46-47, and these 'five *parvans*', are particularly observed in Bengal even at the present day.

(13) A study of the Mahābhāgavata, Bṛhaddharma-p. and other works of Bengal shows that the people of this province had a very low opinion about Kīkaṭa (Magadha). In the Devī-bhāgavata also Kikaṭa is referred to as an unholy country.[804]

Against the above evidences may be adduced a few others which tend to show that the Devī-bhāgavata was written outside Bengal. These evidences are as follows:

(1) Mss of the Devī-bhāgavata are very rare in Bengal. The great majority of the Mss of this work, hitherto discovered, was found in provinces other than Bengal.

(2) Unlike the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p., the Devī-bhāgavata says that Rāma performed the 'Nava-rātra-vrata'. The procedure of this Vrata, as given in this work,[805] agrees with that followed in Western and Southern

[803] Dbh VII. 30.

In Bhāgavata-p. IV. 2. 22-23 and 7.3 Dakṣa has been mentioned as 'goat-faced' (vasta-mukha, aja-mukha). But in this work the reason for such change of Dakṣa's face has been given as Nandikeśvara's curse, and there is no mention of the creation of 'Siddha-pīṭhas.'

[804] Dbh IV. 8. 28—tathā malina-cittānāṃ gaṅgāpi kīkaṭādhikā; XI. 13.20—kikaṭeṣv api deśeṣu ....

[805] Dbh III. 26ff.; V. 34.

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India but is quite different from the method of Durgā-pūjā described in the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p. and followed in present-day Bengal.

(3) Though, like the works of Bengal, the Devī-bhāgavata (VII. 30) speaks of the creation of '*siddha-pīṭhas*' by the fall of Satī's limbs, it gives the number of these pīṭhas as 108 and not 51, as traditional in Bengal and Assam. Moreover, of these 108 *siddha-pīṭhas* it is only 'Puṇḍravardhana' which is situated in Bengal, the rest belonging mostly to the western part of Northern India. The list of these 108 holy places, which the Devī-bhāgavata calls 'siddha pīṭhas', has been taken from the Matsya (or the Padma-p.) and not from any work of Bengal.

(4) None of those scholars who supported the claim of the Devī-bhāgavata to be the real Bhāgavata-p., belonged to Bengal. Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Durjana-mukha-capeṭikā, was an inhabitant of Benares. Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha, who wrote the commentary Tilaka on the Devī-bhāgavata, was a non-Bengali. So also was Gaṅgā-dhara, who, in his commentary on the Dharma-saṃhitā of the Śiva-p., quotes, from the 'Padma-p.', a line which includes the Devī-bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas. The Śivārcana-dīpikā, which draws upon the Devī-bhāgavata, is a non-Bengal work.

(5) Most of the holy places and rivers, mentioned in the Devī-bhāgavata, belong to Northern India. Except Puṇḍravardhana, Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala and the river Padmāvatī, none of the holy places and rivers of Bengal have been mentioned in this work.

(6) According to Devī-bhāgavata VIII. 24. 36ff., Devī is to be worshipped in a Madhūka tree on the Śukla-tṛtīyā Tithi of every month from Caitra; and Devī-bhāgavata III. 20. 56 refers to the decoration of the bride with a 'madhūka-mālā' at the time of marriage. The 'Bubūla' tree, mentioned in Devī-bhāgavata VI. 27. 10, is unknown in Bengal.

Further, the Devī-bhāgavata praises Benares as the best

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place of residence for a Devī-worshipper[806] and says that king Subāhu first worshipped Durgā at Benares and that it was from this place that the worship of this deity spread out among the members of different castes in different parts of India.[807]

From all the evidences adduced above we may conclude that the author of the Devī-bhāgavata was a Smārta Śākta Brahmin of Bengal and that he migrated to Benares (probably because it was the best place of residence for a Devī-worshipper), lived there for a long time, and then wrote the Devī-bhāgavata. The repeated mention and praise of Puṣkara in the Devī-bhāgavata need not be taken to go against the above conclusion. The reason for such mention and praise is as follows. The author of the Devī-bhāgavata tried to popularise the Vedas as authorities in all matters as well as to infuse Śākta ideas into the followers of the Śrauta and Smārta religions. So, he deified *gāyatrī*, the soul of the Vedas, and made her a partial incarnation of Devī and the Śakti of Brahmā. Consequently, he had also to praise Puṣkara, which was sacred to Brahmā.

The author of the Devī-bhāgavata seems to have been a well-read scholar. He mentions the Sāma-veda (Dbh XI. 20. 49), Yajurveda (Dbh XI. 19.13), Atharva-veda (Dbh VI. 2. 33), 'Jāvāla-śruti' (Dbh XI. 5. 18), Mahābhārata,[808] Kāma-śāstra,[809] 'Bārhaspatya-praṇīta Śāstra' (Dbh I. 11. 57), 'Śaiva-śāstra',[810] 'Śakti-tantras' (Dbh VII. 40. 12), and the Dharma-śāstras of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others (Dbh I. 4. 16; IV. 21. 12). He utilises the contents of the Kena-upaniṣad[811] and the Caṇḍī[812] and plagiarises verses

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[806] Dbh VII. 38. 32b-33a—
athavā sarva-kṣetrāṇi kāśyāṃ santi nagottama /
tatra nityaṃ vasen nityaṃ devī-bhakta-parāyaṇaḥ //

[807] Dbh III. 25. 41-44.

[808] Dbh XI. 20. 20; II. 11. 61; II. 12. 53.

[809] Dbh I. 11. 32; V. 11. 21 and 47; so on.

[810] Dbh VII. 32. 10—
vimarśa iti tāṃ prāhuḥ śaiva-śāstra-viśāradāḥ /
avidyām itare prāhur veda-tattvārtha-cintakāḥ //

[811] Dbh XII. 8 (containing the story of Umā Haimavatī).

[812] See footnote 764 above.

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from the Śvetāśavatara, Muṇḍaka, Mahānārāyaṇīya and other Upaniṣads[813] as well as from the Bhagavad-gītā,[814] the Matsya (or the Padma-p.),[815] the Kūrma-p.,[816] the Śaiva-śāstras and the Śakti-tantras. He must have studied the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras,[817] the Vedāṅgas (such as Śikṣā, Kalpa etc.)[818] and Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, from which he quotes the rule 'vṛddhir ād aic' (Pāṇini 1. 1. 1).[819] In poetics also our author was widely read. He speaks of 'Rasa' (especially Śṛṅgāra) in many places of his work and refers to 'the experts in the works on poetics' (rasa-grantha-vicakṣaṇa).[820] Following the rhetoricians he defines 'Rasa' thus: kavibhiḥ kathitaṃ śāstre sthāyī bhāvo rasaḥ smṛtaḥ (Dbh. IV. 17. 12), and says that Rati is the *sthāyī bhāva* of Śṛṅgāra-rasa (Dbh IV. 17. 11). He enumerates the Rasas as nine, actually mentions the Śṛṅgāra, Vīra, Hāsa (i.e. Hāsya), Raudra, Adbhuta and Śānti Rasas, reckons the Śṛṅgāra and the 'Śānti' as chief of all,[821] and speaks of 'Rasābhāsa',[822] 'Hāva,' 'Vakrokti',[823] etc.

Skandha I of the Devī-bhāgavata contains some proverbial lines, viz., 'jātasya hi dhruvo mṛtyur dhruvaṃ janma

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[813] Dbh VII. 29. 10b-11 = Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad 1. 3a.
„ VII. 34. 34 = „ 3. 20.
„ VII. 36. 2-14 = Muṇḍaka-upaniṣad II. 2. 1-11.
„ VII. 31. 45 = Mahānārāyaṇīya-upaniṣad 6. 3.
etc. etc.

[814] See Dbh III. 13. 42b; VII. 34, verses 2, 32-33 and 35; VII. 39. 10 and 22b-23a; and so on.

[815] See footnote 683 above.

[816] See footnote 775 above.

[817] Cf. Dbh XI. 20. 10—athāto dharma-jijñāsā athāto brahma ity api.

[818] Dbh XI. 20. 9.

[819] Dbh XI. 20. 8.

[820] Dbh V. 11. 28.

[821] Dbh V. 9. 54—śṛṅgāra-vīra-hāsāḍhyā raudr-ādbhuta-rasānvitā. Dbh V. 24. 7; 27. 56-57a; 27. 60b-61a.—For the texts of these verses see footnote 770 above. See also Dbh V. 30. 18 (for mention of Raudra Rasa) and V. 10. 22 (śṛṅgāre tad viruddhaṃ hi rasa-bhaṅgād bibhemy aham).

[822] Dbh V. 23. 33-34—

upāyau dvau prayoktavyau kāntāsu suvicakṣaṇaiḥ /
sāma-dānāv iti prāhuḥ śṛṅgāra-rasa-kovidāḥ //
bhede prayujyamāne 'pi rasābhāsaś ca jāyate /
nigrahe rasa-bhaṅgaḥ syāt tasmāt tau dūṣitau budhaiḥ //

[823] Dbh V. 11. 20—

hāvo 'yaṃ mānināṃ vai taṃ vetti rasa-vittamaḥ /
vakroktir eṣā kāminyāḥ priyaṃ prati parāyaṇam //

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mṛtasya ca' (Dbh I. 5. 98), 'aputrasya gatir nāsti svargo naiva ca naiva ca' (Dbh I. 4. 15 and I. 14. 29), 'jalūkeva sadā nārī rudhiraṃ pibatīti vai' (Dbh I. 15.18), etc.; and Skandha IX (which must have been written in Bengal) informs us that Daivajñas, Gaṇakas, Vaidyas, Devalas and Rajakas were looked down upon, Asi-jīvins (professional fighters), Masī-jīvins (scribes) and Dhāvakas (washermen) were regarded as sinners, selling of daughters (kanyā-vikraya) was considered as a grave social crime, eating of fish was decried, and Brahmins were strictly prohibited from rendering service to Śūdras by officiating as priests, carrying their dead bodies, cooking their food, and so on. Females wore an upper and an under garment, used bracelets made of conch-shells and decorated their cheeks with lines of sandalpaste and drops of safron and their nails with red lac (alaktaka).

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Chapter II

THE NON-SECTARIAN UPAPURĀṆAS

Hinduism is certainly to be extolled for its exceptional catholicity and spirit of religious syncretism, but sectarian rivalry has, from early times, formed a dark blot on its reputation. We sometimes read of the different sectaries reviling each other and belittling each other's deity and even hear of kings who were guilty of perpetrating religious persecution on the people. Thus, the Māgha-māhātmya[1], as preserved in the Bengal Mss,[2] records a story of Citrasena,[3] a Kṣatriya king of 'Drāviḍa viṣaya', according to which Citrasena ruled over a tract of land lying on the coast of the southern ocean and attained great fame by his performance of Vedic rites and munificence to Brahmins. Once he met some extra-Vedic (veda-bāhya) pāṣaṇḍa Śaivas who had matted hair and besmeared their bodies with ashes. These Śaivas, who were undoubtedly Āgamic, denounced the Vedas and the caste system, excited anti-Vaiṣṇava feelings in Citrasena, and initiated him to their own faith. At the instigation of these Śaivas Citrasena prohibited the worship of Viṣṇu in his realm, ordered his officers to persecute the Vaiṣṇavas, and had the images of Viṣṇu thrown into the ocean. As a result of such tyranny some of his subjects turned Śaivas and others left the country bag and baggage. Equally violent attitude is shown by the Liṅga-p. (I. 107. 41-42) when it declares:

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[1] It claims to be a part of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-p.

[2-3] See Dacca University Mss No. 931 (fols. 44ff., chaps. 10ff.), No. 2332 (fols. 22b ff., chaps. 10 ff.), and No. 2675 (fols. 32b ff., chaps. 21ff.).

In some places of these Mss the name of Citrasena has been given as 'Citra' or 'Mitrasena.'

In the AnSS ed. of the Padma-p. (Uttara-khaṇḍa, chap. 250, verses 1ff.) the story of Citrasena (who is named there simply as 'Citra') is given in a concise form.

The Cola king Kulottuṅga I started persecution against the Vaiṣṇavas in 1098 A.D.; and Kulottuṅga II, who reigned about 1140 A.D., is said to have uprooted the image of the god Govindarāja (of the Viṣṇu temple at Cidambaram) and thrown it into the sea.

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"śrutvā nindāṃ bhavasyātha tatkṣaṇād eva saṃtyajet /
sva-dehaṃ taṃ nihatyāśu śiva-lokaṃ sa gacchati //
yo vā cotpāṭayej jihvāṃ śiva-nindā-ratasya tu /
triḥ-sapta-kulam uddhṛtya śiva-lokaṃ sa gacchati //"

"That [man], who, after hearing the dispraise of Bhava, at once forsakes his own body after murdering the censurer, passes to the region of Śiva.

"Or, one, who tears out the tongue of a habituated censurer of Śiva, goes to the region of Śiva after delivering twentyone generations."

It is hardly necessary to say that these excesses were due, on the one hand, to the growing importance of personalised deities or deified persons and their exclusive devotional worship as the best means of attaining final release, and, on the other, to the hazy conception of the principles of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta as related to the origin and nature of these deities and a lack of capacity for bringing about a perfect compromise between these principles and the mental discipline required for the practice of unswerving devotion (aikāntikī or avyabhicāriṇī bhakti) for the realisation of the Self. Fortunately, references to such sectarian excesses are not of frequent occurrence in the Purāṇic literature, but it can hardly be denied that in spite of high idealism inspired by the Upaniṣads there were many cases of regrettable outburst of practical narrowness in religious outlook, so much so that these concerned many of our best thinkers and prompted them to devise means for the eradication of these social evils. It was most probably for some such reason that the daily worship of the group of the five deities Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā, which is popularly known as 'pañcāyatana-pūjā', was started at a fairly early date, firmly established on a Vedāntic basis, and popularised with great zeal. Tradition adds the credit of inventing this new system of worship very often to Śaṃkarācārya and sometimes to Kumārila-bhaṭṭa,[4] but a study of the Purāṇic works

[4] Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II, pp. 716-7. Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 179-180.

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shows that even earlier than the introduction of the pañcāyatana-pūjā the worship of a particular deity had to be attended with that of other prominent deities also. For instance, Kūrma-p. II. 18, which is to be dated about the beginning of the eighth century A.D., says that after bath a Brahmin is to worship Brahmā, Śaṃkara, Sūrya, Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) and other favourite deities with the citation of their respective Mantras and the offer of flowers, leaves and water.[5] In Matsya-p., chaps. 266, 52 and 58, which must be dated earlier than 650 A.D., we are told that in erecting an image of any of the deities such as Nandi-mahākāla, Bhṛṅgiriṭi, Guha, Devī, Vināyaka, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Rudra, Śakra, Jayanta, Lokapālas, Apsarases, Gandharvas, Guhyakas, etc., the erector is to think of the rest as surrounding the principal deity,[6] that in worshipping Śiva with the offer of cows, land, gold, clothes, scents, garlands etc. one is to look upon this deity as identical with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Arka (the Sun), the Rudras and the Vasus,[7] that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mārtaṇḍa (the Sun), Vṛṣa-vāhana (Śiva), the eight Vasus, the eleven Gaṇādhipas, the Lokapālas, the Pitṛs, the Mātṛs, and others are to be regarded as the manifestations (vibhūtayaḥ) of Vāsudeva,[8] that the four principal

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[5] niṣpīḍya snāna-vastraṃ tu samācamya ca vāg-yataḥ /
svair mantrair arcayed devān puṣpaiḥ patrair athāmbubhiḥ //
brahmāṇaṃ śaṃkaraṃ sūryaṃ tathaiva madhusūdanam /
anyāṃś cābhimatān devān bhaktyā cākrodhano naraḥ //
Kūr. II. 18. 90-91.

[6] sthāpayed yaṃ tu deveśaṃ taṃ pradhānaṃ prakalpayet /
tasya pārśva-sthitān anyān saṃsmaret parivāritaḥ //
gaṇaṃ nandi-mahākālaṃ vṛṣaṃ bhṛṅgiriṭiṃ guham /
devīṃ vināyakaṃ caiva viṣṇuṃ brahmāṇam eva ca //
rudraṃ śakraṃ jayantaṃ ca lokapālān samantataḥ /
tathaiv-āpsarasaḥ sarvā gandharva-gaṇa-guhyakān //
yo yatra sthāpyate devas tasya tān paritaḥ smaret //
Mat. 266. 41-44a.

[7] go-bhū-hiraṇya-vāsobhir gandha-māly-odakena ca /
pūjayed brahma-viṣṇv-arka-rudra-vasv-ātmakaṃ śivam //
Mat. 52. 19.

[8] vāsudevo jagan-mūrtis tasya saṃbhūtayo hy amī //
brahmā viṣṇuś ca bhagavān mārtaṇḍo vṛṣa-vāhanaḥ /
aṣṭau ca vasavas tadvad ekādaśa gaṇādhipāḥ /
lokapālādhipāś caiva pitaro mātaras tathā //

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deities, viz., Brahmā, Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Śiva, are to be worshipped without making any distinction between them,[9] and that in consecrating a pool one is to place Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Vināyaka, Kamalā and Ambikā on the alter.[10] From these and similar other statements made in the Purāṇas it is evident that the attempt to create a sense of unity and the spirit of religious toleration among the sects worshipping different deities had begun much earlier than Śaṃkarācārya and Kumārila-bhaṭṭa. That in early times the difference between the various Purāṇic gods was much less than in later days, is shown by the names of the four Saṃhitās of the Kūrma-p., which are given in Kūrma-p. I. 1. 21-23 as Brāhmī, Bhāgavatī, Saurī and Vaiṣṇavī and are thus connected with the four deities Brahmā, Bhagavatī, Sūrya and Viṣṇu respectively.[11] That a similar naming of parts was also made in the earlier form of the present Bhaviṣya-p. is shown not only by this Purāṇa itself which claims to have consisted of five Parvans named Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga[12] but also by the Nāradīya-p. (I.

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imā vibhūtayaḥ proktāś carācara-samanvitāḥ /
brahmādyāś caturo mūlam avyakt-ādhipatiḥ smṛtaḥ //
Mat. 52. 20c-22.

[9] brahmaṇā cātha sūryeṇa viṣṇun-ātha śivena vā /
abhedāt pūjitena syāt pūjitaṃ sa-carācaram //
Mat. 52. 23.

[10] vedyāś copari .... /
....
brahmāṇaṃ ca śivaṃ viṣṇuṃ tatraiva sthāpayed budhaḥ //
vināyakaṃ ca vinyasya kamalām ambikāṃ tathā /
śānty-arthaṃ sarva-lokānāṃ bhūta-grāmaṃ nyaset tataḥ //
Mat. 58. 23-27.

[11] The contents of these four Saṃhitās, as given in Nāradīya-p. I. 106. 1-22, show that the Brāhmī Saṃhitā, as known to this Purāṇa, consisted of 6000 verses and was exactly the same as the extant Kūrma-p., that the Bhāgavatī Saṃhitā, which was termed 'Pañca-padī' for its five Pādas or parts, contained 4000 verses and dealt, separately in these five parts, with the means of livelihood of the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and the mixed castes, that the Saurī Saṃhitā had an extent of 2000 verses and consisted of six parts dealing with the 'six acts' (ṣaṭ-karma), viz., vaśīkaraṇa, māraṇa, uccāṭana, etc., and that the Vaiṣṇavī Saṃhitā consisted of 5000 verses and four Pādas dealing with mokṣa-dharma for the twice-born people.

The above contents of the four Saṃhitās point definitely to a late age and do not appear to represent the Kūrma-p. in its original form.

[12] See Bhav. I. 2. 2-3.

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100), which differs from the Bhaviṣya only in that it names the 'Tvāṣṭra' Parvan as 'Saura'. According to Nāradīya-p. I. 105 the Vāmana-p. consisted of two parts, of which the second was divided into four Saṃhitās, of which the first was associated with Kṛṣṇa and his worshippers, the second with Devī and her incarnations, the third with the Sun-god, and the fourth with Gaṇeśa. From the nature of these and similar other Purāṇas it is evident that a broad and liberal outlook characterised a number of the early Purāṇas which did not attach themselves to any particular sect but inculcated with equal zeal the worship of the different deities of the Hindu pantheon. These works aimed chiefly at creating harmony among the rival sects and organising them mainly against the heresies by infusing their ideas, rites and practices with Brahmanical elements. The tradition of catholicity, set up by these mostly lost Purāṇas, has found appreciative expression in many places, but of the extant Purāṇic works it is only the Bhaviṣyottara and the Bṛhaddharma-p. which are found to carry this tradition into practice. In order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of these works we shall examine and analyse them below.

1. *The Bhaviṣyottara.*

Though the Mss[13] of the 'Bhaviṣyottara', which have

[13] For Mss of the Bhaviṣyottara see—

(1) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 33-36.

[No. 76.—This is a Devanāgarī Ms beginning from Bhav. IV (Uttara-parvan). 1.4 and containing, among others, the following chapters which are not found in the Uttara-parvan of the printed Bhaviṣya:

Chaps. 166 (on *guḍa-dhenu-dāna*), 167 (on *kṣīra-dhenu-dāna*), 168 (on *dadhi-dhenu-dāna*), 169 (on *madhu-dhenu-dāna*), 170 (on *śarkarā-dhenu-dāna*), 171 (on *phala-dhenu-dāna*), 172 (on *kārpāsa-dhenu-dāna*), 173 (on *navanīta-dhenu-dāna*), 174 (on *rasa-dhenu-dāna*), and 175 (on gaṇeśa-durgā-viṣṇu-gaṅgā-stuti-varṇana).

On the other hand, the following chapters of the printed Uttara-parvan do not occur in this Ms:

Chaps. 24 (on Rambhā-vrata to be observed in a different way), 50 (on Kamalā-saptamī-vrata), 51 (on Śubha-saptamī-vrata), 52 (on Snapana-saptamī-vrata), 64 (on Āśā-daśamī-vrata), 75 (on Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata), 144-150 (on Gaṇa-nātha-śānti, *nakṣatra-homa*, Aparādha-śata-vrata, Kāñcanapurī-vrata, *kanyā-pradāna*, Brāhmaṇa-śuśrūṣā, and *vṛṣa-dāna*), 206 (on Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-

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been discovered up to the present time, are all found to exist independently and are not attached as parts to the Mss

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vrata), 207 (on Kṛṣṇa's start for Dvārakā), and 208 (list of contents, and conclusion).

It is to be noted that chaps. 166, 170, 172 and 175 of this Ms occur neither in the printed Uttara-parvan nor in the Ms noticed by R. L. Mitra.]

(2) Mitra, Notices, VIII, pp. 36-39.

[No. 2582.—This is a Nāgara Ms dated Sm. 1620. It begins from verse 5 of Bhav. IV. 1; and its colophon runs as follows: iti bhaviṣyottare dāna-dharme sarvva-śāstroddhṛte sarvva-dānāni samāptaḥ (? sarva-dāna-niyamaḥ samāptaḥ).

The following chapters of this Ms are not found in the printed Uttara-parvan:

Chaps. 38 (on Sāṇḍilya-vrata), 49 (on Somāṣṭamī-vrata), 117 (on *kṣīra-dhenu-dāna*=chap. 167 of Aufrecht's Ms), 118 (on *dadhi-dhenu-dāna*=chap. 168 of Aufrecht's Ms), 119 (on *madhu-dhenu-dāna*=chap. 169 of Aufrecht's Ms), 121 (on *phala-dhenu-dāna*=chap. 171 of Aufrecht's Ms), 122 (on *navanīta-dhenu-dāna*=chap. 173 of Aufrecht's Ms), 123 (on *rasa-dhenu-dāna*=chap. 174 of Aufrecht's Ms), 126 (on *kṛṣṇa-go-dāna*), 130 (on *aśva-dāna*), 131 (on *kartavya-nirṇaya*), 132 (on *pretatva-parihāraka-dāna-vidhi*), 133 (on *śrāddha-tattva-nirṇaya*), 134 (on *śrāddha-vidhi*), 135 (on Brāhma-vivāhādi-lakṣaṇa), 173 (on the names of *vratas*), 174 (on Matsya-purāṇokta-tila-pātra-dāna), 175-177 (on Ṛṣi-pañcamī-vrata).

On the other hand, the following chapters of the printed Uttara-parvan do not occur in this Ms:

Chaps. 9 (on Aśoka-vrata), 11-12 (on Kokilā-vrata and Bṛhat-tapo-vrata), 14 (on Yama-dvitīyā-vrata), 16-18 (on Madhūka-tṛtīyā-vrata, Meghapālī-tṛtīyā-vrata, and Rambhā-tṛtīyā-vrata), 56 (on (Dūrvāṣṭamī-vrata), 60 (on Bilva-navamī-vrata), 65 (on Tāraka-dvādaśī-vrata), 70 (on Govinda-śayanotthāpana-dvādaśī-vrata), 73 (on Malla-dvādaśī-vrata), 76 (on Vijaya-śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata), 79 (on Akhaṇḍa-dvādaśī-vrata), 87-88 (on Abādhaka-vrata and Mandāra-nimb-ārka-karavīra-vrata), 95-97 (on Śravaṇikā-vrata, *naktopavāsa-vidhāna*, and Śiva-caturdaśī-vrata), 101 (on Yugādi-tithi-vrata), 109 (on Śiva-nakṣatra-puruṣa-vrata), 112 (on Vṛntāka-vrata), 114-115 (on Śanaiścara-vrata and Āditya-dina-nakta-vidhi), 119 (on Abhinava-candrārghya-vrata), 125 (on *candr-āditya-grahaṇa-snāna*), 128-129 (on *vṛkṣodyāpana* and Deva-pūjā-phala-vrata), 133 (on *āndolaka-vidhi*), 137 (on *śrāvaṇa-pūrṇimā-rakṣā-bandhana-vidhi*), 139-140 (on Mahendra-dhvaja-mahotsava and Dīpālikotsava), 144-150 (on Gaṇanātha-śānti, *nakṣatra-homa*, Aparādha-śata-vrata, Kāñcanapurī-vrata, *kanyā-pradāna*, Brāhmaṇa-śuśrūṣā and *vṛṣa-dāna*), 153-154 (on *jala-dhenu-dāna* and *ghṛta-dhenu-dāna*), 158 (on *ubhaya-mukhī-go-dāna*), 161 (on *kapilā-dāna*), 162-163 (on *mahiṣī-dāna* and *avi-dāna*), 167 (on *āpāka-dāna*), 182 (on *sapta-sāgara-dāna*), 186 (on *hiraṇyāśva-dāna*), 194 (on *varāha-dāna*), 202 (on *ratnācala-dāna*), 206 (on Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-vrata), 207 (on Kṛṣṇa's start for Dvārakā), 208 (on the list of contents, and conclusion).

It should be mentioned here that chaps. 38, 49, 126, 130-135 and 173-177 of this Ms occur neither in the printed Uttara-parvan nor in Aufrecht's Ms described above.]

(3) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1255-56.

[Nos. 3450-51 (Mss Nos. 2562 and 1328 respectively).—The former of these two Mss is written in Devanāgarī characters and ends with chap. 207 of the printed Uttara-parvan. It contains chap. 206 (on Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-vrata) of the Uttara-parvan.]

(4) Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, pp. 134-7, No. 468.

[In this Ms the work styles itself 'Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa' and consists of 199

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of the Bhaviṣya-p., the 'Bhaviṣyottara' has not yet been printed separately with its real title but is found to form the fourth part, named Uttara-parvan, of the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition of the Bhaviṣya-p. That this Uttara-parvan

chapters, of which chaps. 11 (on Nara-vrata), 38 (Mahātapaḥ-saptamī-vrata), 50 (Umā-saptamī-vrata), and 158-162 (on Ardhodaya-vrata, Gurvaṣṭamī-vrata, etc.) do not occur in the printed Uttara-parvan. On the other hand, chaps. 9-10, 13-17, 112, and 159-160 of the printed Uttara-parvan are not found in this Ms.]

(5) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 151.

(6) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 207.

(7) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 304.

(8) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 190.

(9) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6897-6899, Nos. 10037-38.

The Ms of the Bhaviṣyottara - Pūrvabhāga, as described by H. P. Shastri in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 443-446 (No. 3752), shows that it contains a work which is of late origin and quite different from the Bhaviṣyottara preserved in the Mss mentioned above.

For the short texts (on *stotra*, *dāna*, *māhātmya*, *vrata*, *vrata-kathā*, *pūjā*, etc.), claiming to be parts of the Bhaviṣyottara, see

(i) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1256-58, Nos. 3452-56.

(a) No. 3452—Sūrya-sahasra-nāma-stotra.

(b) Nos. 3453-55—Āditya-hṛdaya-stotra.

(c) No. 3456—Ṣoḍaśa-cola-caritra.

(ii) H. P. Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 446-487, Nos. 3753-3815 (Matsyadeśāntargata-tīrtha-māhātmya, Svapnādhyāya, Tulasī-vivāha, Ananta-vrata, Ananta-vrata-kathā, Haritālikā-vrata-kathā, Ṛṣi-pañcamī-vrata-kathā, Budhāṣṭamī-vrata, Yama-dvitīyā, Maṅgalā-gaurī-vratodyāpana, Maṅgala-vrata, Viṣṇu-pañcaka-vrata, Amuktābharaṇa-vrata, Daśāphala-vrata, Śivāmuṣṭi-vrata, Somavatī-amāvāsyā-vrata, Vattiśī-pūrṇimā, Daśaratha-lalitā-vrata, Gaja-gaurī-vrata and kathā, Vāmana-jayantī-vratodyāpana, Go-trirātri-vrata and kathā, Janmāṣṭamī-vrata and kathā, Vara-lakṣmī-vrata-kathā, Mahālakṣmī-vrata-kathā, Annapūrṇā-vrata-kathā, Holikā-vrata-kathā, Vaṭa-sāvitrī-vrata-kathā, Indrākṣī-stotra, Āditya-hṛdaya-stotra, Gaṇeśa-stotra, Sūrya-sahasra-nāma-stotra).

(iii) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. ii, pp. 948-954, Nos. 6689-6705 (Ananta-vrata, Aśvattha-vivāha, Āditya-hṛdaya-stotra, Ṛṣi-pañcamī-vrata-kathā, Kamalācala-māhātmya, Ghṛta-snāneśvara-māhātmya, Cola-vaṃśāvalī, Daśāphala-vrata-kalpa, Bhāgavata-māhātmya, Vara-lakṣmī-vrata-kalpa, Kedāra-vrata-kalpa, Ananta-padmanābha-vrata, Śāligrāma-stotra, Sarasvatī-pūjā, Siddhi-vināyaka-vrata-kalpa, Haritālaka-vrata-kathā).

(iv) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 146 (Mukuteśvara-māhātmya) and p. 148 (Saṅgameśvara-māhātmya).

(v) Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., pp. 81-82 (Āditya-hṛdaya).

(vi) Stein, Jammu Cat., pp. 207-8 (Acalā-saptamī-vrata, Ananta-vrata, Ṛṣi-pañcamī-vrata, Gaṇeśa-caturthī-vrata, Candana-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata, Janmāṣṭamī-vrata, Dhāraṇa-pāraṇa-vrata, Bhāvi-rāja-nirūpaṇa, Bhīmasena-kathā, Mala-māsa-vrata, Mahālakṣmī-vrata, Vaṭa-sāvitrī-vrata, Haritālikā-vrata).

(vii) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6899-6922, Nos. 10039-59 (Agniśvara-māhātmya, Alakāpurī-māhātmya, Jñānāṅkurapura-māhātmya, Paṭṭīśvara-māhātmya, Parāśara-kṣetra-māhātmya, Puṣpavana-māhātmya, Bṛhadīśvara-māhātmya, Brahma-pura-māhātmya, Bhūmīśvara-māhātmya, Veṅkaṭagiri-māhātmya, Veṅkaṭeśvara-rahasya, Śaktivana-māhātmya, Śiva-bhakta-māhātmya, Śiva-bhakti-māhātmya—Pūrva-bhāga, and Śiva-bhakti-māhātmya—Uttara-bhāga).

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is the same as the 'Bhaviṣyottara' known to and drawn upon by the Smṛti-writers of different climes and ages, is shown definitely by the facts that this 'Uttara-parvan' calls itself 'Bhaviṣyottara' in more places than one,[14] that it agrees very closely with the extant Mss of the 'Bhaviṣyottara',[15] that the large majority of the verses ascribed by the Smṛti-writers to the 'Bhaviṣyottara' occurs in the present Uttara-parvan,[16] and that in none of the Mss of the Bhaviṣya-p. there is even a single mention of any 'Uttara-parvan' as forming a part of the Bhaviṣya-p., which, in its Brāhma-parvan, is said to have consisted of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga.[17] So, we have often referred to the Uttara-parvan (of the Bhaviṣya-p.) under the title 'Bhaviṣyottara' and have used it in these pages for our analysis of the Bhaviṣyottara-p.

By way of explaining why he did not utilise the contents

Some of these texts once did occur in the Bhaviṣyottara. For instance, in his Catur-varga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 303-8 Hemādri quotes from the 'Bhaviṣyottara' a whole chapter on Go-trirātri-vrata, but at present this chapter does not occur in the Bhaviṣyottara but exists in separate Mss (for which see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 471-2, Nos. 3792-93).

[14] Bhav. IV. 2. 7 (bhaviṣyottaram etat te kathayāmi yudhiṣṭhira); 207. 4 (bhaviṣyottaram etat te kathitaṃ pāṇḍu-nandana); 207. 10 (khyātaṃ bhaviṣyottara-nāmadheyaṃ mayā purāṇaṃ tava sauhṛdena).

For the title 'Bhaviṣyottara' see also the colophons of the Mss of the Bhaviṣyottara described by Eggeling (Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1255), R. L. Mitra (Notices, VIII, p. 37), Weber (Berlin Cat. of 1853, No. 468, p. 137), P. P. S. Sastri (Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6897-99), Stein (Jammu Cat., p. 207), and others.

It is only in the chapter-colophons of the so-called Uttara-parvan of the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Bhaviṣya-p. that there is no mention of the title 'Bhaviṣyottara'. These colophons run thus: iti śrībhaviṣye mahāpurāṇe uttara-parvaṇi.....adhyāyaḥ.

[15] See footnote 13 above.

[16] A complete list of these verses will be given at the end of the final Volume of this work.

[17] Bhav. I. 2. 1-3. See also Nāradīya-p. I. 100. 5-11.

For Mss of the Bhaviṣya-p. see H. P. Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 424-430 (No. 3738, which consists of five Parvans—Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga; No. 3739; and No. 3740, which is divided into two parts—Pūrva and Upari, the former part consisting of the Brāhma and Vaiṣṇava Parvans and the latter containing the Madhyama-tantra), and Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Second Series, Vol. II, No. 151 (same as ASB Cat., V, No. 3740); Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1254 (No. 3447); Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 30-33 (No. 75); Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 94-96 (No. 176, which speaks of three parts—Vaiṣṇava, Śiva and Śakti, gives the lives of Jīva Gosvāmin and other followers of Caitanya, and thus resembles the Pratisarga-parvan of our printed Bhaviṣya-p.).

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of some of the Purāṇic works in his Dānasāgara, Vallālasena says regarding the 'Bhaviṣyottara':

"bhaviṣyottaram ācāra-prasiddham avirodhi ca /
prāmāṇya-jñāpak-ādṛṣṭer granthād asmāt pṛthak kṛtam //"[18]

"Though the Bhaviṣyottara is famous for its customary laws (or, is popularly followed) and is not contradictory [to good customs], it is avoided in this work *for want of* [*sufficient*] *evidence to prove its authority*."

As a matter of fact, the name of the 'Bhaviṣyottara' is not included in any of the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas known to us. But this exclusion has not stood in the way of its recognition as an authoritative work. Although, like Vallālasena, Lakṣmīdhara also does not utilise its contents in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, evidently for the same reason, most of the remaining Smṛti-writers of prominence (such as Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Madanapāla, Śūlapāṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Anantabhaṭṭa, Gadādhara and others) are found to draw profusely upon this work without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity and authority.

In spite of its exclusion from the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas the Bhaviṣyottara (which, as we have already said, has been printed as the Uttara-parvan of the Veṅkaṭ. edition of the Bhaviṣya-p.) calls itself a distinct 'Purāṇa named Bhaviṣyottara'.[19] The Smṛti-writers also regard it as a Purāṇic work. For instance, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Anantabhaṭṭa and Mitra-miśra call it a 'Purāṇa',[20] and according to Narasiṃha Vājapeyin it is an Upapurāṇa and a part of the Bhaviṣya-p.[21] In most of

[18] Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verse No. 61).

[19] Bhav. IV. 207.10—khyātaṃ bhaviṣyottara-nāmadheyaṃ mayā purāṇaṃ tava sauhṛdena.

[20] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 604; Kāla-nirṇaya, p. 137— bhaviṣyottara-purāṇokte ratha-saptāmī-vrate.....; Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, p. 514— atra iti-kartavyatā-viśeṣo bhaviṣottara-purāṇe.....; Vīramitrodaya, Āhnika-prakāśa, p. 432— ata eva bhaviṣyottara-purāṇe—aharahaḥ kriyate yat tu tan nityam iti kīrtyate /.....//

[21] Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19.

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the short texts on *vrata, pūjā, māhātmya* etc., which attach themselves to the Bhaviṣyottara for authority, this work is called a 'Purāṇa',[22] and in some of these texts it is even called a 'Mahāpurāṇa'[23] and an 'Ādi Mahāpurāṇa'.[24]

Though from the title of the Bhaviṣyottara-p. we are tempted to suppose that it is a continuation of the Bhaviṣya-p. and though Narasiṃha Vājapeyin expressly calls it a part of the latter,[25] the present Bhaviṣyottara does not attach itself to the Bhaviṣya-p. for authority.[26] Its distinct character is further established by the facts that most of the Nibandha-writers draw as profusely upon the 'Bhaviṣyottara' by naming it independently as upon the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' and that none of the verses, ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' or 'Bhaviṣya' by the comparatively early commentators and Nibandha-writers except Hemādri and the author of the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, is found in the Uttara-parvan, although it is full of various Smṛti materials. The few cases, in which the verses ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa are found in the Bhaviṣyottara or *vice versa*, must be due to the confusion, made either by the authors of these works or by the scribes, between the titles of the 'Bhaviṣya' and the 'Bhaviṣyottara' (of which the latter work was probably taken by them to be a part of the former). For instance, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 432-4 and 1031-33 and II. i, pp. 537-543 and Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, fols. 13a-14a, 15b-16b and 17a-18b long extracts (which really belong to the Bhaviṣyottara, in which Kṛṣṇa speaks to Yudhiṣṭhira) have been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.'; on the other hand, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 604-5, 669-671 and 705-717 and II. ii,

[22] For these texts see footnote 13 above.

[23] P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6905, 6909, 6910, 6916. Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. ii, p. 951.

[24] Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1258.

[25] Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19— bhaviṣyottaraṃ bhaviṣyapurāṇasy-aikadeśaḥ.

[26] The chapter-colophons (viz., iti śrībhaviṣye mahāpurāṇe uttara-parvaṇi..... adhyāyaḥ) of the Uttara-parvan of the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Bhaviṣya-p., in which the Bhaviṣyottara has been called the 'Uttara-parvan' of the 'Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa', cannot be supported by any of the Mss of the 'Bhaviṣyottara'.

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pp. 526-7, verses, which really belong to the Bhaviṣya-p., have been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣyottara'.[27] In the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, a metrical line has been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in one place (viz., fol. 2b) and to the 'Bhaviṣyottara' in another (viz., fol. 56a).

The present Bhaviṣyottara begins with salutations to Gaṇapati, Vāgadhidevatā (goddess of speech), Vāsudeva, Śiva, Parameṣṭhin (Brahmā) and Bhānu (the Sun) and says that once Vyāsa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Māṇḍavya and other sages came to see Yudhiṣṭhira after he had ascended the throne. Yudhiṣṭhira, with Kṛṣṇa and Dhaumya as well as his own brothers in his train, received the sages with due respect. When the sages took their seats, Yudhiṣṭhira, who deemed himself guilty of causing the death of his own kinsmen, asked Vyāsa to narrate to him, in a general way (aviśeṣataḥ), the essence of the entire Dharma (-śāstra),[28] so that he might expiate the sin he had committed. He also added that none but Vyāsa and Kṛṣṇa was able to give him proper instructions in this respect. Vyāsa referred him to Kṛṣṇa and departed for his own hermitage. (-Chap. 1). Yudhiṣṭhira then requested Kṛṣṇa to speak on the origin of the universe, the geography of the earth, the final destruction of the world, the causes of worldly prosperity, and so on. In answer to these questions Kṛṣṇa spoke out the 'Bhaviṣyottara' (-purāṇa), the contents of which, Kṛṣṇa said, had already been narrated by 'the lord of Luminaries' (i.e. the Sun) to the sage Yājñavalkya, when the latter asked the former about futurity.

[27] In Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, p. 189 and II. ii, p. 210 and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 381-2 and 604-5 some verses have been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣyottara', but these verses are found not in the Uttara-parvan but in the Brāhma-parvan of the printed Bhaviṣya-p. On the other hand, the verses, which have been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 663, 671 and 673, are found not in the Brāhma-parvan but in the Uttara-parvan. We may explain these cases by saying that either these Smṛti-writers made mistakes in naming the sources of the verses mentioned above, or the 'Bhaviṣyottara', known to these Smṛti-writers, had these verses borrowed from the Bhaviṣya-p. (We shall see hereinafter that the present Bhaviṣyottara has incorporated a good number of chapters of the Bhaviṣya-p.).

[28] Bhav. IV. 1. 20b—mamādya dhar a-sarvasvaṃ prajñā-dīpena darśaya.

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Consequently, the contents of the Bhaviṣyottara are as follows.

Chap. 2 (verses 7ff.)—Unity of the three gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, who are distinguished from one another only due to their different names and functions.[29] The four Pādas (viz., Prakriyā, Anuṣaṅga, Upodghāta and Upasaṃhāra) and the five characteristics (viz., *sarga*, *prati-sarga*, etc.) of the Purāṇas. Description of the origin of the world mostly according to the principles of Sāṃkhya philosophy, and Āditya's appearance in it as Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and Rudra under the influence of the three *guṇas;* origin of the nine Brahmās (Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras and others) as well as of Dakṣa and Prasūti from Prajāpati; Dakṣa's sons and sixty daughters. The temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva on the three peaks of the mountain Meru; the *kula-parvatas* of Jambu-dvīpa; the names of the seven *dvīpas* and of the seven oceans surrounding them; the names of the fourteen *lokas* (worlds) and the residents of these *lokas*. The names of different Manus. The gods in the Vaivasvata Manvantara. The four kinds of dissolution (laya).

Chap. 3.—Description of the nature of Viṣṇu-māyā which deludes the world, and Kṛṣṇa's narration, in this connection, of the story of Viṣṇu's assumption of the form of a Brahmin named Yajñaśarmā, his coming down, with Nārada, to the city of Vaidiśa on the Vetravatī, where he blessed a resourceful Vaiśya farmer named Sīrabhadra with a long and prosperous life and a large number of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, his meeting, in the village Veṇikā on the Bhāgīrathī, with a poor but highly hospitable Brahmin agriculturist named Gosvāmin, who was tired out by the work of cultivation and pressed hard by a 'methi' (a post for binding cattle with) and other agricultural implements and whom he blessed to be relieved of his farming, because, he said, a ploughman acquires in a day the same amount of sin as that earned by a fisherman in

[29] brahmā viṣṇur vṛṣāṅkaś ca trayo devāḥ satāṃ matāḥ /
ṇāma-bhedaiḥ kriyā-bhedair bhidyante nātmanā svayam //
Bhav. IV. 2, 9b-10a.

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a year, his arrival, with Nārada, at Kānyakubja and bath in a beautiful lake, Nārada's transformation into an extremely charming lady immediately after his bath, the marriage of this beautiful lady with king Tāladhvaja, her bringing forth of a pumpkin from which fifty powerful sons were born, her mourning for the sudden destruction of these sons and their descendants, Viṣṇu's appearing in the form of a Brahmin and explaining the nature of Viṣṇu-māyā, and Nārada's regaining his previous form.

Chap. 4.—Karma-vipāka (the results of actions, with a grim description of the manifold troubles of life from birth to death).—Birth of creatures (—stages in the development of the child in the mother's womb till delivery; sufferings undergone by the child in the womb; impurity of the body; the child's retention of the power of remembrance of the events of the previous birth, while residing in the mother's womb); troubles in childhood, youth etc.; insignificance of the pleasures arising from enjoyment of women; inevitability of death.

Chap. 5.—Different kinds of sins which lead one to hell. Classification of sins into *mānasa*, *vācika* and *kāyika*. Classification of sinners into (a) *mahāpātakins* (such as those who kill Brahmins, drink wine, and do similar other acts), (b) *brahmaghnas* (such as those who refuse to give anything to a poor needy Brahmin after calling him with a promise—verse 11; those who, being proud of their learning, do not show proper respect to Brahmins in a meeting—verse 12; those who create obstruction to those hungry or thirsty Brahmins who are eager for food or drink—verse 14; those who make false reports of other's faults to the king—verse 17; those who misappropriate the landed property already dedicated to gods, Brahmins or cows—verse 18; and so on), (c) *pātakins* (such as those who do not marry their marriageable daughters to proper persons—verse 14), (d) *upapātakins* (such as those who sell their wives or children—verse 34; those who do not pay their debts, and those who accept interests on food materials lent out to others—verse 36; teachers who accept remuneration, and students who read

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with such teachers—verse 38; and so on), and (e) other greater sinners—pāpatarāḥ—who go to hell (such as those who fight unfairly; the manufacturers of bows, arrows and other weapons, as well as the dealers in these things—verse 53; those who do not support their wives, children and other dependants with maintenance—verses 55-56; those twice-born men who enjoy Śūdra women or smell wine intentionally—verse 48; those kings who are bad rulers—verses 67-71; and so on).

Chap. 6.—The ways in which the donors of different articles (such as shoes, umbrellas, clothes, bed, gardens, temples, poor-houses,[30] lamps, asylums, medicine, land, food etc.) proceed comfortably to the region of Yama and thence to heaven. Praise of *anna-dāna* (gift of food). The paths by which the sinners go to Yama's residence. Description of hells as well as of the sufferings of the sinners there.

Chaps. 7-126, 129-130, 132-140, 146-147 and 206.—Praise of donations (dāna) and vows (vrata) as the only means of attaining happiness, power, peace and prosperity and getting rid of the sufferings in hells. Description and praise of various kinds of *vratas* which are to be observed on different lunar days from Pratipad and in which various deities, viz., Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Kārttikeya, Vināyaka and other gods and goddesses, are to be worshipped. (These *vratas* have been arranged in the Uttara-parvan in the order of the Tithis on which they are to be observed). Description and praise of various kinds of festivals, such as Nīrājana-dvādaśī (chap. 71), Phālguna-pūrṇimotsava (chap. 132), Āndolaka-mahotsava (chap. 133), the Sun's Ratha-yātrā (chap. 134), Madana-mahotsava (chap. 135), Bhūtamātrutsava (chap. 136), Mahānavamī (chap. 138), Mahendra-dhvaja-mahotsava (chap. 139), and Dīpālikā (chap. 140). Methods and praise of various kinds

[30] Bhav. IV. 6. 10—

devāyatana-kartā ca yatīnām āśramasya ca /
anātha-maṇḍapānāṃ ca krīḍan yāti gṛhottamaiḥ //

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of bath, viz., *māgha-snāna* (bath in the month of Māgha), *nitya-snāna*, rudra-snāna (a special kind of bath meant chiefly for progeny), and grahaṇa-snāna (bath during eclipses).

Chaps. 127-128.—Methods and benefits of dedicating wells, pools and tanks and of planting trees for the good of others.

Chap. 131.—Dedication of bulls especially for the good of the departed forefathers.

Chaps. 141-145.—Methods of performing *ayuta-homa*, *lakṣa-homa*, *koṭi-homa*, *mahāśānti* and *nakṣatra-homa* for the pacification of planets. Methods of pacifying Vināyaka for allaying impediments and getting rid of evils indicated by bad dreams.

Chap. 148.—Praise of giving one's own daughter or a helpless girl in marriage to a worthy bridegroom either of the same caste as that of the girl or of a higher one, without accepting any money from the bridegroom.

Chap. 149.—Praise of Brahmins as the highest gods on earth as well as in heaven. They are said to be the makers and unmakers of gods and non-gods, and the sources of origin of the universe.[31]

Chaps. 150-204.—Methods and praise of making various kinds of donation, viz., gifts of cows, bulls, female buffaloes, sheep etc. and of cows made of gold, gems, sesamum, water, ghee, salt, etc.; gifts of ploughs fitted with bulls, and of houses, food, utensils, maid-servants,[32] and manuscripts of the Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa etc. after having them copied by scribes; donation of hillocks made of gold,

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[31] Bhav. IV. 149. 2-3—

adevaṃ daivataṃ kuryuḥ kuryur devam adaivatam /
.....
brāhmaṇebhyaḥ samutpannā devāḥ pūrvam iti smṛtiḥ /
brāhmaṇebhyo jagat sarvaṃ tasmāt pūjyatamā dvijāḥ //

(For praise of Brahmins see also chap. 69, in which verse 25 runs as follows:

brāhmaṇāś caiva gāvaś ca kulam ekaṃ dvidhā kṛtam /
ekatra mantrās tiṣṭhanti havir anyatra tiṣṭhati //).

[32] The Bhaviṣyottara emphasises the necessity of maid-servants for comfort and cleanliness and says (in verse 8) that the house which lacks gold, maid-servants, sufficient food and ghee as well as milk is a veritable hell.

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silver, gems, rice, salt, sesamum, sugar etc.; bigger donations, such as those of *tulā-puruṣa*, *hiraṇya-garbha*, *brahmāṇḍa*, *hiraṇyāśva-ratha*, *hema-hasti-ratha* etc.; donation of one's own iron statue after decorating it with proper ornaments and furnishing it with various articles; and so on.

Chap. 205.—Good manners, customs and usages. (Of the numerous prescriptions and prohibitions the following are noteworthy: One, who wants a long life, should not see one's image in a mirror at night; one may dine at the house of a goldsmith but must never believe him or make friends with him; one should not take food from a dish placed on a stool; while taking one's meal one should eat mild things first, pungent things in the middle, and liquid things at the end; one should not take fried rice and barley at daytime and curd and barley meal—saktu—at night; one, who wants freedom from disease, should sleep with the head turned preferably towards the east or towards the south; one should maintain in one's house pigeons, parrots and sārikās but not cockroaches, because the presence of the first three brings in wealth, whereas the last are creative of evils).[33]

Chaps. 207-8.—Kṛṣṇa's departure for Dvārakā. Enumeration of the topics dealt with in the Bhaviṣyottara. Conclusion.

The above contents of the Bhaviṣyottara show clearly that it is practically a work on vows (vrata), festivals and donations and has almost nothing of the five characteristics of the 'Purāṇa'. The vows dealt with in this work are various and numerous, some being Vaiṣṇava, some Śaiva, some Śākta, some Gāṇapatya, some Saura, and so on. There is also a good number of vows in which lesser deities like Sarasvatī, Kārttikeya, Yama, Varuṇa, Budha, Nakṣatras, and the Earth,[34] and even trees, grass and animals,[35] are

[33] See Bhav. IV. 205. 91b-93a, 109-112, 122, and 143b-144a.

[34] See Bhav. IV. 35 (Sārasvata-vrata), 42 (Kārttikeya-pūjā-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata), 89 (Yama-darśana-trayodaśī-vrata), 91 (Pālī-vrata); 54 (Budhāṣṭamī-vrata), 65 (Tāraka-dvādaśī-vrata), and 105 (Viśoka-pūrṇimā-vrata). In the Tilaka-vrata (chap. 8) the figure of a man is to be painted on the ground to represent the year and then worshipped.

In connection with the worship of Kārttikeya (in the Kārttikeya-pūjā-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata) the Bhaviṣyottara says;

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to be worshipped, but there is not a single *vrata* which requires the worship of Brahmā as the principal deity. Among the Vaiṣṇava *vratas* there are some which seem to be Pāñcarātra and some appear to be Bhāgavata. This distinction seems to be indicated by the Mūla-mantras mentioned in connection with them. For instance, in the Govinda-śayan-otthāpana-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 70), Sukṛta-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 82), Dharaṇī-vrata (chap. 83) and Kāma-dāna-veśyā-vrata (chap. 111) the Mūla-mantra 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' is directed to be used, but in the Bhīṣma-pañcaka-vrata (chap. 72), Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 75) and Śanaiścara-vrata (chap. 114) the Mūla-mantra to be used is 'oṃ namo vāsudevāya' or 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'. The Saura Vratas, on the other hand, differ in their media of worship of the Sun-god. Thus, in the Viśoka-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata and the Kamala-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata the medium of worship is a golden lotus (kāñcana padma, haima-padma);[36] in the Kalyāṇa-saptamī-vrata and the Śarkarā-saptamī-vrata, as described in Bhav. IV. 48 and 49 respectively, the figure of an eight-petalled lotus has to be painted on the ground with powdered rice dried in the sun or with saffron for the worship of the Sun-god in the different petals and the pericarp with

"kārttikeyād ṛte nānyo rājñāṃ pūjyaḥ pravakṣyate //
saṃgrāmaṃ gacchamāno yaḥ pūjayet kṛttikā-sutam /
sa sarvaṃ jayate vīro yathendro dānavān raṇe //"
(Bhav. IV. 42. 24b-25).

"No [deity] other than Kārttikeya is said to deserve worship by kings.

"That hero who, when going out for war, worships the son of the Kṛttikās, conquers all, just as Indra defeats the Dānavas in war."

[35] For instance, in the Aśoka-vrata, Karavīra-vrata and Madhūka-vrata the respective trees (Aśoka, Karavīra and Madhūka) are to be worshipped (chaps. 9, 10 and 16); in the Dūrvāṣṭamī-vrata Dūrvā grass has to be worshipped (chap. 56); in the Kokilā-vrata the form of a female cuckoo is to be made with powdered sesamum, furnished with eyes of gems and wings of gold, placed on a copper dish, duly worshipped, and then given to a Brahmin (chap. 11); in the Go-vatsa-dvādaśī-vrata a cow is to be regarded as Gaurī herself and worshipped (chap. 69); in the Mandāra-nimb-ārka-karavīra-vrata Śveta-mandāra, Nimba, Śveta-arka, and Rakta-karavīra plants are to be worshipped (chap. 88); and so on.

[36] See Bhav. IV. 38. 6—

kṛtvā tu kāñcanaṃ padmam arko 'yam iti pūjayet /
karavīreṇa raktena rakta-vastra-yugena ca //

Bhav. IV. 39. 2 (ṣaṣṭhīm upoṣya kamalaṃ kārayitvā sukāñcanam), and 10 (śarkarā-kalaśaṃ dadyāddhaima-padma-phalānvitam).

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the mention of his different names; and in the Mandāra-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata an image of a male, made of gold and furnished with a golden lotus in one of its hands, is to be placed on an eight-petalled lotus made with black sesamum, and the Sun-god is to be worshipped in the eight petals with Mandāra flowers with the mention of his eight names (Bhāskara, Sūrya, Arka, Aryaman, Vasu-dhātṛ, Caṇḍa-bhānu, Pūṣan and Ānanda) and in the pericarp as Puruṣa (Bhav. IV. 40).

Though there are a few *vratas* in which sectarian spirit is noticeable,[37] there are many which are free from all kinds of narrowness and in which more deities than one are to be worshipped or respected. For instance, in the Aviyoga-vrata Hari-and-Lakṣmī, Hara-and-Gaurī, Brahmā-and-Sāvitrī, and Ravi-and-Rājñī are to be worshipped in a *maṇḍala* (chap. 68); and in the Nīrājana-dvādaśī, as described in chap. 71, first Hari and then Lakṣmī, Brahmā, Caṇḍikā, Āditya, Śaṃkara, Gaurī, Gaṇeśa, Nāgas, planets, cows, buffaloes etc. are to be lustrated.

The powers of these *vratas* have been shown by means of stories, some of which are based on those of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas,[38] but most of which are later fabrications. In these fabricated stories even, the central figures are in most cases some renowned princes or princesses of the epics or the Purāṇas [viz., Nahuṣa, Ila, Sagara, Aja, Dilīpa, Yayāti, Haihaya, Kārtavīryārjuna, Kuśadhvaja (of Mithilā), Sītā, Sāvitrī, Damayantī and others] or some ancient sages or their wives. The fabricators of these stories have, in many cases, cared very little for the limits of possibility. For instance, in chap. 13 the story of a Vaiśya is given in connection with the Bhadropavāsa-vrata. It is said that this Vaiśya was reborn as the son of Sañjaya, king of Kuśāvatī, and his spittle, stool, urine etc.

[37] Viz., Bṛhat-tapo-vrata (chap. 12), Umā-maheśvara-vrata (chap. 23), and Rambhā-tṛtīyā-vrata (chap. 24), all of which are Śaiva. In these *vratas* the devotees of Śiva are given preference.

[38] Viz., the stories of Vinatā and Kadrū and of Jaratkāru in chap. 36; the story of the abduction of Tārā by Soma in chap. 99; the story of Sāvitrī in chap. 102; the story of the birth of Agastya, and his exploits, viz., his consumption of the demon Vātāpi, his drinking of all the waters of the oceans, etc.; and so on.

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turned into gold as soon as these fell on the ground. So he was named Svarṇaṣṭhīvī. He was later on killed by the robbers from the Deccan but was revived by Nārada. Among the other stories of interest the following may be mentioned: Nārada and Parvata's mutual curse for the former's marrying the daughter of king Saṃjaya of Kuśāvatī with the promise that he would cause to be born to the king a son whose spittle, stool and urine would turn into gold (chap. 13); indifference of Indumatī, a harlot of Magadha, to her sinful life, her approach to Vasiṣṭha for religious instructions, and the latter's advice to her about the observance of the Acalā-saptamī-vrata (chap. 53); Datta[39] Ātreya's practice of Yoga in his hermitage on the Vindhya mountain, his saving of the gods from the hands of Śumbha, Jambha and other Daityas, and his granting of four boons to Kārtavīryārjuna, who, consequently, became extremely powerful, performed numerous sacrifices at Māhiṣmatī, his capital, and introduced the Anaghāṣṭamī-vrata (chap. 58); and Indra and other gods' defeat in a war with the demon Raktāsura and coming down to the city of Karacchatrā (?) for seeking the shelter of Devī Bhagavatī, who, as a virgin deity having twenty hands and a lion as her mount, resided there with Cāmuṇḍā and the nine Durgās named Mahālakṣmī, Nandā, Kṣemaṃkarī, Śivadūtī, Mahātuṇḍā, Bhrāmarī, Candramaṇḍalā, Revatī and Harasiddhi,[40] and who saved the gods by killing the demons and snatching away their flags for the gods (chap. 61—Dhvaja-navamī-vrata).

An examination of the *vratas* dealt with in the Bhaviṣyottara shows that though some of these *vratas* and worships might have a popular origin, many of them are the productions of the fertile brains of the Brahmins who are rightly

[39] He was also called Anagha.—Bhav. IV. 58. 2b-3a (datto nāma mahāyogī viṣṇor aṃśo mahītale / dvitīyo nāma loke 'sminn anaghaś ceti viśrutaḥ //).

[40] For the names and description of these deities see Bhav. IV. 61. 9-21.

The names 'Mahātuṇḍā' and 'Candramaṇḍalā' occur in verses 17b and 19b respectively, but in verse 10a these two names have been given as 'Mahāruṇḍā' and 'Caṇḍramaṅgalā'.

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called 'the makers and unmakers of gods and non-gods'. In some cases the Brahmins support popular *vratas* by fabricating relevant stories, but there are numerous cases in which they are found to take the advantage of Purāṇic stories for the creation of new *vratas*.[41]

Though these *vratas* might be observed by all without distinction of caste or sex, they were meant mainly for women,[42] probably because it was through women, or rather mothers, that the teachings of the epics and the Purāṇas could be successfully spread among the people. It seems that the *vratas* were multiplied and encouraged by the Brahmins not only to counteract the influence of Buddhism and Jainism[43] on the varṇāśrama-dharma, but also to facilitate the distribution of wealth especially among those who were engaged in intellectual pursuits,[44] to make the mothers painstaking and fit for giving birth to healthy children,[45] to raise the moral standard of the people, and to make the family and the social life more enjoyable.[46]

Among the festivals described in the Bhaviṣyottara there are a few which were to be observed in the spring season, viz., Phālguna-pūrṇimotsava (chap. 132), Āndolaka-mahotsava (chap. 133) and Madana-mahotsava (chap. 135). During

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[41] See, for instance, the Hara-kālī-tṛtīyā-vrata, which is based on the following story: Kālī, daughter of Dakṣa, was married to Śiva. Once, being mortified at the mention of her dark complexion by Śiva, she burnt herself in a fire and was reborn to Himālaya as Gaurī. (Chap. 20).

[42] See, for instance, Bhav. IV. 29. 1b-2a—

ānantarya-vrataṃ brūhi..... /
hitāya sarva-bhūtānāṃ lalanānāṃ viśeṣataḥ //

[43] Jainism is indirectly described as 'vrata-bhūyiṣṭha' in Devī-p. 13. 10.

[44] All the *vratas* are to be followed by gifts to Brahmins and the poor. Sometimes these gifts are very costly.

[45] Various kinds of austerities were to be observed in the *vratas*. (See, for instance, chaps. 11, 26 and 70). So, the performers of these *vratas* had little opportunity to give themselves up to luxury and to have a fatty and ease-loving body.

[46] Festivities, interdining, songs, dance etc. formed parts of some of the *vratas*. See, for instance, the Bṛhat-tapo-vrata, Bhadropavāsa-vrata, Yama-dvitīyā-vrata, Śrīpañcamī-vrata, Dūrvāṣṭamī-vrata, Anaghāṣṭamī-vrata and Araṇya-dvādaśī-vrata, in which the devotees were to dine with their friends and relatives as well as employees and guests. (See Bhav. IV, chaps. 12-14, 37, 56, 58 and 66).

Bhav. IV. 58.68 refers to music and dancing by experts; and in the Devī-vratas (such as Dhvaja-navamī and Ulkā-navamī) virgin girls are to be fed (see, for instance, Bhav. IV. 61.51 and 62.6).

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the Phālguna-pūrṇimotsava, which was also called Holikā and which was to be observed in every town and village[47] at the close of the winter,[48] a cottage was to be constructed with posts and straws and burnt. Children were to rush out of their houses with pieces of wood in hand, go thrice round the fire, shout, laugh and sing. It was believed that these acts of children brought about the destruction of the female goblin (rākṣasī) Ḍhauṇḍhā (also called Aḍāḍā). In order to explain who this goblin was and why she was defeated by turbulent children, the Bhaviṣyottara gives the following story. During the reign of king Raghu a goblin named Ḍhauṇḍhā began to give trouble to children, although his subjects were otherwise very happy. Being informed of this trouble Raghu asked Vasiṣṭha as to who this goblin was and how she could be got rid of. Vasiṣṭha said that this Ḍhauṇḍhā worwhipped Śiva and received from him a boon that none but unruly children could overpower her. He then described the method in which this Ḍhauṇḍhā could be killed. (It may be mentioned here that the goblin Ḍhauṇḍhā is nothing but the personified spirit of the winter season which troubles children with diseases and of which the latter get rid at the advent of spring). During the Āndolaka-mahotsava, which was enjoyed equally by men and women, a swing was to be set up at the side of a tank, and the image of the deity to be worshipped was placed in it and swung. People threw dusts of saffron and took part in water-sports which they considered to be due to the influence of Cupid.[49] In the Madana-mahotsava, Madana was to be worshipped in temples, and wives were to worship their husbands by identifying them with Cupid. The worshippers were to pass the night without sleep, have feasts, present scented betels, and see dances and dramatic and other performances. Besides these spring-festivals mentioned above, the Bhaviṣyottara describes a few more which seem to have been widely observed. Of these, the most interesting

[47] Cf. Bhav. IV. 132. 1b— utsavo jāyate loke grāme grāme pure pure.
[48] Cf. Bhav. IV. 132. 24b— śīta-kālo viniṣkrāntaḥ prātar grīṣmo bhaviṣyati.
[49] Bhav. IV. 133. 55-56.

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one is that of Bhūta-mātā ('mother of evil spirits', also called Bhrāṭṛ-bhāṇḍā) who is said to have originated from Pārvatī's urine. The image of Bhūta-mātā, who had a very ugly and hideous look[50] and was believed to be a form of Bhagavatī herself, was to be worshipped under an old tree, in order that no trouble could be caused to children by evil spirits. While taking the image to the tree, people were to make various interesting demonstrations[51] such as those of taking a murderer to the place of execution for impaling him, and of a cruel Śabara with jet-black complexion and blood-shot eyes. This Bhūta-mātrutsava, which must have had a popular origin, was to be observed in every town and village, and during this festival people were to behave like wild men, sing, laugh and dance at random, distort their faces and cover their bodies with mud. The Nīrājana-dvādaśī (chap. 71) was a festival to be observed by kings. The Mahā-navamī-vrata (or Durgotsava—chap. 138) was to be performed in every house, especially in royal palaces. Even the Mlecchas and others are said to have celebrated it. During this festival the worshipper was to pass the night, on the Aṣṭamī Tithi, by hearing songs and seeing dances and theatrical performances. On the Navamī Tithi he was to worship the virgin Vindhyavāsinī with the offer of 100, 50 or 25 buffaloes and sheep and of pitchers full of wine. After the worship had been over, the image was to be taken out in a procession in which the king himself and his army were to take part. The Mahendra-dhvaja-mahotsava (chap. 139) also was a state festival, in which all people took part. This festival was to be observed for nine or seven days, and during it people were to amuse themselves by witnessing dramatic performances, wrestling competitions, etc. and by

[50] For description of this Bhūta-mātā see Bhav. IV. 136.10-14—

.....nārī nirdāritodarā /
kṛṣṇā karāla-vadanā piṅgākṣā mukta-mūrdhajā //
kapāla-mālābharaṇā baddha-piṇḍordhva-piṇḍakā /
khaṭvāṅga-kaṅkāladharā mudrāṅkita-karā śivā //
vyāghra-carmāmbara-dharā raṇat-kiṅkiṇī-mekhalā /
ḍamaḍ-ḍamaḍ-ḍamarukā phūtkārāpūritāmbarā // etc. etc.

[51] For description of these demonstrations see Bhav. IV. 136. 26ff.

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gambling to their heart's content. During the Dīpālikotsava (chap. 140) lamps were to be lighted in the evening in every house and monastery, in the temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Siddhārtha-Buddha, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhairava and others, in gardens, in stables, and so on. In the following evening the king was to make a declaration permitting his subjects, both male and female, to enjoy themselves according to their own choice. Consequently, people decorated their houses as well as their own persons and enjoyed the pleasures of gambling, drinking, etc.

From what has been said above it is evident that the present Bhaviṣyottara is not a work of any particular sect. It is for this reason that at the beginning of chap. 8 we find Yudhiṣṭhira to request Kṛṣṇa to speak on the Vratas relating to Brahmā, Īśa (i.e. Śiva), Keśava, Gaurī, Gaṇapati, Durgā, Sūrya, Agni, Soma and others. As a matter of fact, the present Bhaviṣyottara deals with the *vratas* on almost all these deities.

Though the Bhaviṣyottara tries to pass as an independent Purāṇa, it has got little which it can claim as its own. In the final colophon of R. L. Mitra's Ms the Bhaviṣyottara is described as 'sarva-śāstroddhṛta' (collected from the entire *śāstra*).[52] As a matter of fact, it is a loose collection of chapters taken from different sources, and its indebtedness to some of these sources has been clearly admitted in several places. For instance, in chap. 1, verse 20 Yudhiṣṭhira requests Vyāsa to narrate to him the essence of the entire Dharma (-śāstra), and in chap. 8, verses 1-2 he requests Kṛṣṇa to speak to him on *vratas* relating to Brahmā, Īśa, Keśava, Gaurī, Gaṇapati, Durgā, Sūrya, Agni, Soma and others which are found in other works;[53] being requested by Yudhiṣṭhira to describe an easy method of attaining the proximity of Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa promises, in chap. 8, to tell

[52] See footnote 13 above.

[53] brahmeśa-keśavādīnāṃ gaurī-gaṇapates tathā /
durgā-sūryāgni-somānāṃ vratāni madhusūdana //
śāstrāntareṣu dṛṣṭāni tava buddhi-gatāni ca /
tāni sarvāṇi me deva vada devaki-nandana //

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him what the Earth did in ancient times, when she lay immersed in water;[54] the eighty-five *vratas*, dealt with in chap. 121, are said to have been 'collected from the Bhaviṣya, Mātsya, Mārtaṇḍa and Vārāha Purāṇas'[55] (and as a matter of fact, most of these *vratas* have been taken *verbatim* at least from Matsya-p., chap. 101); in chap. 128 (on *vṛkṣodyāpana-vidhi*) Kṛṣṇa is said to have described after Caraka, Atri and the Purāṇas the sacraments of the trees to be planted by the dedicator;[56] in chap. 131 the method of dedication of bulls, especially for the good of one's departed forefathers, is said to have been described after Garga;[57] the method of *tila-dhenu-dāna*, as given in chap. 152, is said to have been described by the Boar (Varāha) in ancient times;[58] being requested by Yudhiṣṭhira, in chap. 161, to speak on the method and results of *kapilā-dāna*, Kṛṣṇa reproduces the speech of Vinatāśva, in which the latter reported to his royal patron (whose name is not given in the Bhaviṣyottara) the interlocation between the Boar and the Earth on this topic;[59] regarding

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[54] Bhav. IV. 83. 6-7 (...dharaṇyā yat kṛtaṃ pūrvaṃ majjantyā vasudhā-tale /...).

[55] kṛṣṇa uvāca—

śṛṇu bhārata vakṣyāmi pañcāśīti-vratāni ca /
noktāni yāni kasyāpi munibhir dharma-darśibhiḥ //
bhaviṣya-matsya-mārtaṇḍa-purāṇeṣu ca varṇitam /
vārāhaṃ caiva saṃgṛhya kathyante tāni pāṇḍava //
Bhav. IV. 121. 1-2.

[56] jāta-karmādikās tasya yāḥ kriyāḥ kila buddhiman /
carak-ātri-purāṇoktās tāḥ śṛṇuṣva yudhiṣṭhira //
Bhav. IV. 128. 18.

[57] yad uvāca purā gargo gokule 'nagha-pāṇḍava /
tat te 'haṃ ca pravakṣyāmi vidhiṃ garga-pracoditam //
Bhav. IV. 131. 3b-4a.

ity uktaṃ garga-muninā vidhānaṃ vṛṣa-mokṣaṇe //
Bhav. IV. 131. 13a.

[58] tila-dhenuṃ pravakṣyāmi śṛṇu pārthiva-sattama /
vārāheṇa purā proktāṃ mahāpātaka-nāśinīm //
Bhav. IV. 152. 5.

The Bodleian Ms reads 'varāheṇa' for 'vārāheṇa'.—See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 35a.

[59] yudhiṣṭhira uvāca—

kapilā-dāna-māhātmyaṃ kathayasva jagatpate /
puṇyaṃ yat sarva-dānānāṃ sarva-pātaka-nāśanam //

śrīkṛṣṇa uvāca—

tat te 'haṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi vinatāśvena yat purā /
kathitaṃ kapilā-dānaṃ tac chṛṇuṣva mahāmate //

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the method and results of '*ādi-varāha-dāna*' Kṛṣṇa says in chap. 194, "I shall speak to you, Oh Yudhiṣṭhira, on the donation of Ādi-varāha which was described to the Earth by myself in the form of the Boar";[60] being requested by Yudhiṣṭhira, in chap. 195, to speak on the praise of donations Kṛṣṇa proposes to report what Rudra said to Nārada in ancient times and the Fish said to Manu.[61] From these references it is evident that the present Bhaviṣyottara utilised the contents of the Matsya-p., Bhaviṣya-p., Mārtaṇḍa-p., Varāha-p. as well as the works of Atri, Garga and others. (It should be mentioned here that in the Matsya-p. the Fish speaks to Manu and reports to the latter, in chaps. 83-92, what Rudra said to Nārada on the different kinds of gifts, and in the Varāha-p. the Boar speaks to the Earth). A comparison between this Bhaviṣyottara, on the one hand, and the Matsya-p., Bhaviṣya-p. etc., on the other, shows how extensively the former has incorporated the chapters and verses of the latter. The chapters common to some of these Purāṇas are the following:

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vinatāśva uvāca—
ataḥ paraṃ mahārāj-obhayamukhyāḥ samāsataḥ /
vidhānaṃ yad varāheṇa dharaṇyai kathitaṃ purā //
tad ahaṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi nava-puṇya-phalaṃ ca yat //
dharaṇy uvāca—
yat tvayā kapilā nāma pūrvam utpāditā prabho /
.....etad icchāmy ahaṃ śrotuṃ vistarān madhusūdana //
varāha uvāca—
śṛṇuṣva bhadre tattvena pavitrāṃ pāpa-nāśinīm /
etc. etc.—Bhav. IV. 161. 1ff.
See also Bhav. IV. 161. 80b-81—
idaṃ rahasyaṃ rājendra varāha-mukha-nirgatam /
dharaṇyai kathitaṃ pūrvaṃ sarva-pāpa-praṇāśanam //

[60] ādi-varāha-dānaṃ te kathayāmi yudhiṣṭhira /
dharaṇyai yat purā proktaṃ varāha-vapuṣā mayā //
Bhav. IV. 194. 1.

[61] yudhiṣṭhira uvāca—
bhagavañ chrotum icchāmi dāna-māhātmyam uttamam /
yad akṣayaṃ pare loke devarṣi-gaṇa-pūjitam //
śrīkṛṣṇa uvāca—
rudreṇa yat purā proktaṃ nāradāya mahātmane /
matsyena manave tadvat tac chṛṇuṣva kurūdvaha //
Bhav. IV. 195. 1-2.

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I

Bhaviṣyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV),		Matsya-p.	
Chap.	25 (Saubhāgyāṣṭaka-tṛtīyā-vrata)	Chap.	60
,,	26 (Ananta-tṛtīyā-vrata and Rasa-kalyāṇinī-vrata)	Chaps.	62-63
,,	27 (Ārdrānandakarī-tṛtīyā-vrata)	Chap.	64
,,	35 (Sārasvata-vrata)	,,	66
,,	48 (Kalyāṇa-saptamī-vrata)	,,	74
,,	49 (Śarkarā-saptamī-vrata)	,,	77
,,	50 (Kamalā-saptamī-vrata)	,,	78
,,	51 (Śubha-saptamī-vrata)	,,	80
,,	52 (Snapana-saptamī-vrata)	,,	68
,,	84 (Viśoka-dvādaśī-vrata)	Chaps.	81-82
,,	85 (Vibhūti-dvādaśī-vrata)	,,	99-100
,,	86 (Madana-dvādaśī-vrata)	Chap.	7 (verses 8ff.)
,,	97 (Śiva-caturdaśī-vrata)	,,	95
,,	98 (Phala-tyāga-caturdaśī-vrata)	,,	96
,,	108 (Nakṣatra-puruṣa-vrata)	,,	54 (cf.)
,,	111 (Kāma-dāna-veśyā-vrata)	,,	70
,,	115 (Āditya-dina-nakta-vidhi)	,,	97
,,	116 (Saṃkrānty-udyāpana)	,,	98
,,	121 (Vrata-pañcāśīti)	,,	101
,,	125 (Candrāditya-grahaṇa-snāna)	,,	67
,,	141 (Ayuta-homa-vidhi and Lakṣa-homa-vidhi)	,,	93 (verses 1-118)
,,	157 (Ratna-dhenu-dāna)	,,	288
,,	159 (Go-sahasra-dāna)	,,	278
,,	165 (Sauvarṇa-pṛthivī-dāna)	,,	284
,,	166 (Hala-paṅkti-dāna)	,,	283 (cf.)
Chaps.	176-178 (Tulā-puruṣa-dāna, Hiraṇya-garbha-dāna, Brahmāṇḍa-dāna, Kalpa-vṛkṣa-dāna)	Chaps.	274-277
Chap.	182 (Sapta-sagarā-dāna)	Chap.	287
,,	183 (Mahābhūta-ghaṭa-dāna)	,,	289

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Bhaviṣyottara		Matsya-p.
Chap.	186 (Hiraṇyāśva-dāna)	Chap. 280
,,	187 (Hiraṇyāśva-ratha-dāna)	,, 281
,,	188 (Kṛṣṇājina-dāna)	,, 206
,,	189 (Hema-hasti-ratha-dāna)	,, 282
,,	190 (Viśva-cakra-dāna)	,, 285
Chaps.	195-204 (Dhānyācala-, Lavaṇācala-, Guḍācala-, Hemācala-, Tilācala-, Kārpāsācala-, Ghṛtācala-, Ratnācala-, Raupyācala-, and Śarkarācala-dāna)	Chaps. 83-92
Chap.	206 (Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-vrata) etc.	Chap. 57 etc.

II

Bhaviṣyottara		Bhaviṣya-p.
	The chapter on Puṣpa-dvitīyā-vrata, though not found in the Bhaviṣyottara at present, has been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣyottara' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 381-2	I. 19 (Puṣpa-dvitīyā-vrata)
Chap.	15 (Aśūnya-śayana-vrata)	I. 20
Chap.	31 (Aṅgāraka-caturthī-vrata)	I. 31
,,	36 (Nāga-pañcamī-vrata, containing the stories of Vinatā and Kadrū and of Jaratkāru)	I. 32
,,	43 (Vijaya-saptamī-vrata) etc.	I. 81 etc.

III

Bhaviṣyottara		Varāha-p.
Chap.	83 (Dharaṇī-vrata, in which the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are worshipped)	Chaps. 39 (verses 15ff.)-50
,,	161 (Kapilā-dāna)	Chap. 111

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IV

	Bhaviṣyottara	Viṣṇudharmottara
Chap.	152 (Tila-dhenu-dāna)	III. 308
,,	153 (Jala-dhenu-dāna)	III. 309
,,	154 (Ghṛta-dhenu-dāna)	III. 307

(It is, however, not known definitely whether the Bhaviṣyottara derived chaps. 152-154 from the Viṣṇudharmottara or from some other source).

According to Weber's Ms, chaps. 146 (on Aparādha-śata-vrata), 147 (on Kāñcanapurī-vrata), and 161 (on Kapilā-dāna-māhātmya) were derived from the Brahma-p., Garuḍa-p. and Ādi-vārāha-p. respectively.[62] Bhaviṣyottara, chaps. 32 and 144 consist mostly of verses taken from the Gaṇapati-kalpa-prakaraṇa of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (Ācārādhyāya). Verses 7-8a, 10b and 12a of Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 140 are found ascribed to the 'Laiṅga' in Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (fol. 69). So, at least chap. 140 might have been derived from the Liṅga-p. In his Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 44-45 Raghunandana quotes from chap. 55 of the present Bhaviṣyottara a few verses which, he says, were common to the Garuḍa-p. and the Bhaviṣyottara. Hence chap. 55 of the present Bhaviṣyottara seems to have been taken from the 'Garuḍa-p.', which must be the earlier one. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 1079 Hemādri quotes an extract which he found common to the Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa, Brahma-vaivarta, Brahma-purāṇa, Vāyu-purāṇa, Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa and Bhaviṣyottara, and on p. 1095 he ascribes an extract to Yama, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇudharmottara, Brahma-vaivarta, Bhaviṣyottara and Kūrma-purāṇa. Hence it is probable that the Bhaviṣyottara incorporated verses of many more Purāṇas than those already mentioned. In Weber's Ms the sources of some of the chapters have been named.

The Mārtaṇḍa-p., mentioned in Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 121, must be different from the present Saura-p., because not even a single of the numerous *vratas* described in the

[62] Weber, Berlin Cat., No. 468, p. 136.

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Bhaviṣyottara is found in the latter. This Mārtaṇḍa-p., was most probably the same as the Āditya-p. or the earlier Saura-p. But as none of these two last-mentioned Purāṇas is now found to exist in Mss, we cannot be sure about the identification of the Mārtaṇḍa-p.

We do not know which works of Atri and Garga have been utilised in Bhaviṣyottara, chaps. 128 and 131 respectively.

The Bhaviṣyottara has borrowed chapters from different sources not without any alteration. The chapters derived from the Matsya-p. have, in most cases, been developed with relevant stories concocted for glorifying the vows or donations dealt with in those chapters. Reverse is the case with regard to the chapters now traced in the present Varāha-p. These chapters have been shortened by the elimination of the stories.

Though Bhaviṣyottara, chaps. 83 and 161 have their parallels in the Varāha-p., we have reasons to feel inclined to believe that these chapters were taken from the earlier Varāha-p. which is now extinct. These reasons are as follows: (1) The eighty-five *vratas* described in Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 121 are said to have been 'collected from the Bhaviṣya, Matsya, Mārtaṇḍa and Vārāha Purāṇas', but not a single of these *vratas* is found in the present Varāha-p. (2) The method of *tila-dhenu-dāna*, as given in chap. 152, is said to have been described by the Boar in ancient times, but the present Varāha-p. has a chapter on *tila-dhenu-dāna* which is quite different from chap. 152 of the Bhaviṣyottara. (The Bhaviṣyottara, used by Aparārka, contained a chapter on *tila-dhenu-dāna* which was quite different from the present chapter on the same topic and in which Vinītāśva spoke to a king.—See Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, p. 306). (3) The method and results of *ādi-varāha-dāna*, as found in chap. 194, are said to have been described originally by the Boar; but no chapter on *ādi-varāha-dāna* is found in the present Varāha-p. (4) In Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 161 Vinatāśva reports to a king the interlocution between the Boar and the Earth on *kapilā-dāna*. Vinītāśva,

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as speaking to a king, is also found in the sections on *tila-dhenu-dāna* and *śarkarā-dhenu-dāna*, ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣyottara' in Aparārka's commentary, pp. 306 and 312-3 respectively. But in Varāha-p., chap. 111 (which corresponds to Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 161) one Hotṛ is the speaker. This Hotṛ is introduced in Varāha-p. 99. 75 ff. as speaking to his royal patron Vinītāśva. Now, as Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 161 has its parallel in Varāha-p, chap. 111 and as the verses on *śarkarā-dhenu-dāna*, ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣyottara' in Aparārka's commentary, pp. 312-3, are found in Varāha-p., chap. 103 (in which Hotṛ is the speaker, and not Vinītāśva), it is highly probable that Vinītāśva was the speaker in the earlier Varāha-p., that the Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-kh., chap. 31, verses 105ff.) borrowed some portions of this earlier Varaha-p. and changed the position of Vinītāśva to a king to whom his priest spoke on the different kinds of donations, and that the present Varāha-p. borrowed these portions from the Padma-p. and developed these borrowed portions with further additions[63]. We have already said elsewhere that chaps. 99-112 of the present Varāha-p. seem to have been added later[64]. So, we may hold that the present Varāha-p. derived its chap. 111 not direct from the earlier Varāha-p. but through the Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-kh.).

As regards Varāha-p., chaps. 39 (verses 15ff.)-50, which agree with Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 83 and which were added to the present Varāha-p. at the time of its composition, or rather compilation[65], we may suppose that they were taken direct from the earlier Varāha-p., from which verses must have been retained in the present Varāha[66]. It is, however, more probable that Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 83 was taken at a later date from the present Varāha-p., because in Mitra and Aufrecht's Mss of the Bhaviṣyottara we find a few chapters[67] which have been taken from the present Varāha-p.

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[63] For the probable indebtedness of the present Varāha-p. to the Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-kh.), see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 101.

[64] Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 101.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[66] See Vol. I, pp. 237-8.

[67] For these chapters see *infra*.

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As the Bhaviṣyottara is a loose collection of chapters derived from various sources, it is very difficult to find out the spurious portions. However, a comparison of the printed Uttara-parvan with Mitra and Aufrecht's Mss of the Bhaviṣyottara shows that *chaps. 144-150 and 206-208* of the Uttara-parvan occur neither in Aufrecht's Ms nor in that noticed by Mitra. These chapters are also not drawn upon by any of the Nibandha-writers. Even Hemādri, who draws profusely upon almost all the chapters of the present Bhaviṣyottara, is silent about them. Hence these chapters *must have been added in later times*. The spurious character of chap. 206 (on Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-vrata) is also proved definitely by its position as well as by the speaker Nārada who begins to speak without any introduction.

Chaps. 166-174 of Aufrecht's Ms deal with the donations of cows symbolically represented by molasses, milk, curd, honey, sugar, fruits, cotton, butter and juice of sugarcanes. These chapters do not occur in the printed Uttara-parvan. Of these, chaps. 167-169, 171 and 173-174 are respectively the same as chaps. 117-119 and 121-123 of Mitra's Ms. It is highly probable that these chapters were derived at a later date from the present Varāha-p. in which chaps. 101-107 and 109 deal with the same topics. Chap. 175 (dealing with 'gaṇeśa-durgā-viṣṇu-gaṅgā-stuti-varṇana') of Aufrecht's Ms occurs neither in the printed Uttara-parvan nor in Mitra's Ms. Similarly, chaps. 173-177 (dealing with the enumeration of the names of *vratas* etc., and the description of the methods of giving a pot full of sesamum and performing the Ṛṣi-pañcamī-vrata) of Mitra's Ms are found neither in the printed Uttara-parvan nor in Aufrecht's Ms. There are also a few more chapters (viz.. 38—on Sāṇḍilya-saptamī-vrata, 49—on Somāṣṭamī-vrata, 126—on *kṛṣṇa-go-dāna*, and 130-135—on *aśva-dāna, kartavya-nirṇaya, śrāddha*, and *brāhmādi-vivāha-lakṣaṇa*) in this Ms which are peculiar to itself. Of these chapters, all, except those on *śrāddha*, seem to be later additions. Verses on śrāddha are found quoted from the 'Bhaviṣyottara' in some of the Nibandhas, especially in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi.

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We shall now proceed to determine the date of composition of the present Bhaviṣyottara.

It has already been said that the present Bhaviṣyottara has been drawn upon profusely by the Nibandha-writers of different parts of India. Of these, Anantabhaṭṭa quotes almost all the verses of chaps. 124 and 142 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta I, Gadādhara quotes verses from chaps. 18, 24, 55, 70, 72, 94, 117, 122, 138-140 and 172 in his Kālasāra, Raghunandana from chaps. 18, 36, 55, 56, 70, 76, 94, 138, 139 and 141 in his Smṛti-tattva and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, Govindānanda from chaps. 36, 55, 70, 94, 102 and 118 in his Varṣa-kaumudī, Vācaspati-miśra from chaps. 15, 54, 55, 70, 102 and 103 in his Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya from chap. 138 in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, Śūlapāṇi from chap. 55 in his Tithi-viveka, from chap. 102 in his Vrata-kāla-viveka, and from chaps. 141(?) and 138 in his Durgotsava-viveka, Mādhavācārya from chap. 100 in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti and from chaps. 8, 40, 55, 99 and 117 in his Kāla-nirṇaya, Caṇḍeśvara from chap. 55 in his Tithi-nirṇaya, Hemādri from chaps. 8-10, 13-21, 23, 24, 28-30, 37-42, 44-45, 53, 54, 57-67, 69, 72-76, 87-90, 93, 94, 96, 99-103, 111, 113, 114, 119, 121, 130, 132, 135-138, 154, 155, 160, 162, 163, 166, 167, 170, 172, 173, 181, 184, 185, 190, 191, 193-199 etc. in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Aparārka from chaps. 130, 155, 160, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 181, 184 and 192 in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, and Jīmūtavāhana from chaps. 55, 75, 118, 138 and 139 in his Kāla-viveka[68]. In his Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 44-45 Raghunandana quotes from chap. 55 of the present Bhaviṣyottara a few verses which, he says, were quoted in the Rājamārtaṇḍa and the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi (garuḍa-bhaviṣyottara-vacanāni rājamārtaṇḍa-kṛtyacintāmaṇi-dhṛtāni..). The Saṃvatsara-pradīpa has a large number of verses from chaps. 15, 42, 46, 54-56, 70, 94, 102 and 140[69]. Vallālasena, though not quoting any verse from this work, mentions it

[68-69] Complete lists of these verses will be given in the final Volume of the present work.

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in his Dānasāgara and testifies to the fact that it attained the position of an authoritative work in his time[70]. Hence the present Bhaviṣyottara must be dated earlier than 900 A.D. As this work is remarkably free from Tantric influence[71], it should be dated not later than 800 A.D., because from an examination of other Purāṇic works we have found that Tantric influence began to be imbibed appreciably by the Purāṇas from about 800 A.D.[72].

Again, the Bhaviṣyottara mentions the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa[73], knows the names of the zodiacal signs (rāśi)[74] and the week-days[75], and gives the list of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations (including Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin) in more places than one[76]. (From an examination of the different lists of Viṣṇu's incarnations we have seen that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu from about 550 A.D.[77]). In Bhav. IV. 8. 1-2 Yudhiṣṭhira requests Kṛṣṇa to speak on the *vratas* relating to Brahmā, Īśa, Keśava, Gaurī and others, but in the present Bhaviṣyottara there is not even a single *vrata* in which Brahmā figures as the principal deity. On the other hand, he is found to occupy a secondary position in many of the vows and donations. So, at the time of compilation of the present

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[70] Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verse 61)—bhaviṣyottaram ācāra-prasiddham avirodhi ca / prāmāṇya-jñāpak-ādṛṣṭer granthād asmāt pṛthak kṛtam //

[71] The *mantras* to be used in worships connected with vows, donations etc. are, in all cases, Vedic or Purāṇic or both. In a few cases the use of the sectarian *mantras* such as 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' and 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya', has also been prescribed, but in no case there is even a single mention of any Tantric *mantra*. Performance of *nyāsas* has been prescribed only in one place, viz., in Bhav. IV. 83. 14, but we have already said that this chapter (83) might have been taken at a later date from the present Varāha-p.

[72] Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 260-261.

[73] Bhav. IV. 58. 63 (pradyumnādi-putra-vargaṃ harivaṃśe yathoditam); 74. 47 (harivaṃśādikaṃ sarvaṃ...../sauparṇikam athākhyānaṃ bhāratākhyānam eva ca//); 140.71 (rāmāyaṇam iva subhagaṃ....); 174. 15 (purāṇaṃ bhāratam vāpi rāmāyaṇam athāpi vā).

[74] Bhav. IV. 55. 15-16; 70. 4; 118. 56b-57a; 122. 20; 125. 2; 138. 13; and so on.

[75] Bhav. IV. 30. 5; 32. 12; 59. 2; 75. 4; 89. 25; 103. 28; 111. 49; 113. 2; 115. 3-4; 170. 21; and so on.

[76] Bhav. IV. 63. 23 (this list excludes Paraśurāma but includes Rāma i.e. Balarāma); chap. 83; 190. 6b-7a. See also Bhav. IV. 85. 10 (daśāvatāra-rūpāṇi.....); and 76. 44 (in which all of the ten incarnations, except Buddha and Kalkin, have been mentioned).

[77] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 41-42.

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Bhaviṣyottara Brahmā seems to have been thrown into the background. Bhav. IV. 4. 95b-97a (yasya yāvad bhaved āyur dehināṃ pūrva-karmabhiḥ / tasyārddhamānuṣo (? -ārddham āyuṣo) rātrir harate mṛtyu-rūpiṇī // bāla-bhāvena mohena vārdhakye jarayā tathā / varṣāṇāṃ viṃśatir yāti dharma-kāmārtha-varjitā //) seem to be based on Bhartṛhari's Subhāṣita-triśatī 3. 49 (āyur varṣa-śataṃ nṛṇāṃ parimitaṃ rātrau tadardhaṃ gatam etc.); and Bhav. IV. 4. 121 (arthasy-opārjane duḥkham arjitasyāpi rakṣaṇe / āye duḥkhaṃ vyaye duḥkham arthebhyaś ca kutaḥ sukham //) was most probably taken from the Pañcatantra (I. 163)[78]. We have already seen that the Bhaviṣyottara not only mentions the Matsya-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p. as sources of some of its chapters but derives a large number of chapters from these two Purāṇas[79]. Hence the date of compilation of the present Bhaviṣyottara cannot be placed earlier than 700 A.D.

Thus the date of this Purāṇa falls between 700 *and* 800 *A.D. It is highly probable that it was compiled towards the end of the* 8*th century A.D.* The catholic spirit, which this Purāṇa entertains regarding the different deities, and the secondary position to which it lowers Brahmā, tend to support this date, because it was at this time that Śaṃkarācārya began his activities and the pañcāyatana-pūjā was gaining ground.

The present Bhaviṣyottara has not only gained by incorporating new chapters but has also sustained loss. For instance, this work does not contain any chapter on Ekādaśī-vrata, although in chap. 8 (verses 1-3) Yudhiṣṭhira requests Kṛṣṇa to describe the *vratas* of different gods in the order of the Tithis (beginning with the Pratipad—pratipat-krameṇa) on which these are to be observed. That the Bhaviṣyottara once contained one or more chapters on Ekādaśī-vrata is proved by the fact that Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Govindānanda and others quote a large number of

[78] As we have not yet been able to trace Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 4 in any other work, it seems to have been written by the compiler himself.

[79] For dates of the Matsya-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p. see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 26ff. and 167 ff.

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verses on Ekādaśī-vrata from the 'Bhaviṣyottara'. Besides these, there is mention of Mahālakṣmī-vrata, Haritālikā-vrata, Somavārānvita-amāvāsyā-vrata, Ravi-roṭā-vrata, Dharma-karma-vrata, Saptama-dhūlikā-vrata, and Nāga-pañcamī-vrata (of a different type) in Rudradhara Upādhyāya's Varṣa-kṛtya, of Ratha-saptamī-vrata and Phala-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata in Mādhavācārya's Kāla-nirṇaya (pp. 137 and 190), and of *galantikā-dāna*, *maṇikā-dāna*, Jaya-pañcamī-vrata, Sūrya-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata, Kṛṣṇa-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata, Tapaś-caraṇa-vrata, Amuktābharaṇa-saptamī-vrata, Ratha-saptamī-vrata, Vaiśākha-navamī-vrata, Vaitaraṇī-vrata, Ubhaya-dvādaśī-vrata, Guhyaka-dvādaśī-vrata, Caturdaśī-vrata, Santānada-vrata, Go-trirātri-vrata, Jāti-trirātri-vrata, Kaumudī-mahotsava, Sadā-vrata, Sukha-vrata, Caṇḍikā-vrata, Tripura-sūdana-vrata, Nandāditya-vrata etc. in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi. But no chapter on these vows and donations occurs in the present Bhaviṣyottara, some of them being found to occur in separate Mss.

Except chap. 112 (on Vṛntāka-vrata) and a few lines here and there, the whole of the present Bhaviṣyottara is written in verse.

2. *The Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa.*

This work,[80] which richly deserves careful study for the

[80] Only two editions of this Upapurāṇa have hitherto been printed, viz., the Vaṅga-vāsī edition printed in Bengali characters and the ASB ed. printed in Devanāgarī. These two editions differ in readings in numerous cases. Their corresponding chapters are the following:

Vaṅga. ed.	ASB ed.
Pūrva-khaṇḍa, chaps. 1-30	= chaps. 1-30 (called Pūrva-khaṇḍa).
Madhya-khaṇḍa, chaps. 1-30	= chaps. 31-60 (called Madhya-khaṇḍa).
Uttara-khaṇḍa, chaps. 1-14	= Uttara-khaṇḍa, chaps. 1-14.
,, chaps. 15-21	= ×

Though both these editions show numerous signs of careless editing, we have preferred the Vaṅga. ed. mainly for two reasons, viz., (i) the ASB ed. does not contain the last seven chapters (i.e. chaps. 15-21) of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅga. ed., and (ii) it does not number the chapters of its Pūrva-khaṇḍa and Madhya-khaṇḍa separately.

Chaps. 15-21 of the Uttara-kh. of the Vaṅga. ed., which are wanting in the ASB ed., must not be taken as spurious. They occur in almost all the Mss of the Bṛhad-dharma-p. Moreover, the final chapter of the ASB ed. (which is the same as chap. 14

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reconstruction of the social and religious history of Bengal, calls itself a 'Dharma-saṃjñita' or 'Dharma-nāmaka' Purāṇa in three of its verses (viz., I. 1. 12 and 22, and III. 21. 1) and is thus liable to be confused with the Dharma-p.,[81] which is a quite different work. But its real title is 'Bṛhaddharma-p.', and this title occurs in all its chapter-colophons as well as in many of its verses[82].

Though the Bṛhaddharma-p. calls itself an Upapurāṇa and claims the highest position among the Upapurāṇic works[83], it is included in no list of eighteen Upapurāṇas except that contained in chap. 25 of its Pūrva-kh. Yet, we

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of the Uttara-kh. of the Vaṅga. ed.) clearly shows that it is not the concluding chapter of this Upapurāṇa. It does not contain a single word on the praise of this work, nor does it mention Sūta who is the main reporter. On the whole, this chapter (14) shows no sign of conclusion of the work.

For Mss of this work, see

(*i*) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1226-9, No. 3402 (Ms No. 1313a).

[This is a complete Ms written in 'modern Devanāgarī' script. Its contents are the same as those of the Vaṅga. ed.]

(*ii*) Dacca University Mss Nos. 319, 4199 and 4649.

[All these Mss are complete and are written in Bengali characters, and the number of their chapters and their contents are the same as those of the Vaṅga. ed. Of these, Ms No. 319 consists of fols. 1-164 and is dated Śaka 1763, and the chapters of its first two Khaṇḍas are numbered continuously; No. 4199 consists of fols. 1-239 and appears to be much older than the preceding Ms; and Ms No. 4649 consists of fols. 1-347 and must be the oldest of these three.]

(*iii*) Mitra, Notices, I, pp. 235-6, No. 414.

[This is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script.]

(*iv*) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 781-4, Nos. 4123-7 (Mss Nos. 4590, 2537, 4406, 4464 and 4505 respectively).

[All these Mss are written in Bengali characters. Of these, No. 4127 is complete and contains all the seven concluding chapters of the Vaṅga. ed., and No. 4126, which is incomplete, contains only three of these seven chapters.]

(*v*) Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., p. 116 (Ms No. 309).

[This is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script and dated 1212 Vaṅgābda.]

(*vi*) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 205.

[This Ms is written in Devanāgarī script and dated 1801 Vikrama Era.]

[81] For Mss of this Dharma-p., which also is an Upapurāṇa, see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 777-781, Nos. 4121-2 (Mss Nos. 3309 and 3657 respectively); Roth, Tübingen Cat., 13; Mitra, Notices, VI, pp. 244-7, No. 2182; Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 217; and so on.

This work is found incorporated in the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa of the Padma-p. as published by the Ānandāśrama Press (Poona), Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay) and Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta). More detailed information about this Upapurāṇa will be given later in course of our analysis of this work.

[82] Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 25. 26, and 30. 50; III. 20. 17 and 24; III. 21. 1 and 11.

[83] *Ibid.*, I. 30. 49-50; III. 20. 17 and 20; III. 21. 6.

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should not neglect this work for reasons which we shall see hereinafter.

The present Bṛhaddharma-p. consists of three Khaṇḍas or parts, viz., Pūrva, Madhya and Uttara. The Pūrva-khaṇḍa begins with the *gāyatrī* adapted to Viṣṇu and states in its introductory chapter that once Sūta, 'son of Romaharṣaṇa', came to the Naimiṣa forest where Śaunaka and some other sages were engaged in performing a long-continued sacrifice. At the sight of Sūta the sages asked him why he came there, what holy discourses he had heard from Vyāsa 'born of the son of Śaktri', and who were Vyāsa's audience. In reply to their question, Sūta said that being requested by Jāvāli at Vadarikāśrama to speak on topics relating to *dharma* and *artha*, Vyāsa spoke out to Sūta and other sages the 'holy Purāṇa named Dharma' (puṇyaṃ purāṇaṃ dharma-saṃjñitam) which was characterised by the following topics:

Description of varṇāśrama-dharma; praise of *dharma*, and its nature in the different ages; enumeration of *gurus;* eulogy of parents; enumeration and praise of holy places; praise of different gods and their worship; benefits of performing religious ceremonies on particular Tithis; enumeration of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas; glorification of cows and Brahmins; dialogue between Śuka and Jaimini on creation etc.; stories on the glorification of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa; description of luminaries; glorification of the Ganges; summary of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa; various relevant stories. Next, at their request to narrate this 'Dharma-nāmaka Purāṇa' (purāṇaṃ dharma-nāmakam), Sūta saluted Vyāsa and reproduced what Vyāsa had said to Jāvāli at Vadarikāśrama on the above-mentioned topics.

Thus the subject-matters of the Bṛhaddharma-p. have been introduced. As a matter of fact, the Bṛhaddharma-p. deals with all the above-mentioned topics, and this will be evident from the following analysis of its contents[84].

[84] We shall see hereinafter that the Bṛhaddharma-p. is a work of Bengal and reflects the condition of Hindu religion and society in this province in the days of its author. So, the contents of this work have been given a bit elaborately in the following pages.

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Pūrva-khaṇḍa.

Chap. I—Praise of *dharma*, and the necessity of its practice. Advice to people not to forsake their own *dharma* even under great difficulties. The four constituents of *dharma*, viz., *satya*, *dayā*, *śānti* and *ahiṃsā*.

Chap. 2—Qualities to be classed under each of the categories *satya*, *dayā*, *śānti* and *ahiṃsā*. Relatives (viz., mother, father, elder brother, paternal grandfather, father-in-law, maternal uncle, maternal grandfather, paternal uncle, elder sister, father's sister, mother's sister, and wives of paternal grandfather and others) who can be called *gurus*. Eulogy of father and mother (pitṛ-stava, mātṛ-stava), who are given the highest position among the *gurus*. Manifold benefits of implicit obedience and service to parents.

Chap. 3.—Story of a fowler who attained knowledge of distant things and events by rendering whole-hearted service to his parents and who referred a Brahmin named Kṛtabodha to another pious fowler named Tulādhāra at Benares for instructions on *dharma* after reproaching him (i.e. Kṛtabodha) for practising austerities by forsaking his old parents and young wife at home and for feeling proud of being able to burn, by means of his angry glance, a crane which passed stool on his body. Story of Tulādhāra who, being inspired by the sight of a bird's attainment of a divine body as a result of giving water to its dying father, rendered respectful service to his parents and attained divine knowledge. Tulādhāra's instructions to Kṛtabodha to return home, serve his parents, and do the duties of a householder.

Chap. 4—Praise of a spiritual preceptor (i.e. Tāntrika *guru*), who is to be regarded as superior even to parents and who should preferably be a householder belonging to the Brahmin caste. Acceptance of *mantras* by generations from the members of a single family[85]. Respect to be shown to a

[85] tasmād guror vaṃśa-jātaṃ vayo'lpam api paṇḍitam/
guruṃ kuryāt tu dīkṣāyām avicārya guroḥ kulam// (Verse 10).

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spiritual preceptor by drinking the water with which the feet of the preceptor are washed, by regarding him as the same as the Tantra and the deity,[86] and by various other acts. Permission to women to be *gurus*[87]. Strict secrecy to be observed with respect to one's *guru*, Tantra and *mantra*[88]. Three births of Brahmins, viz., śaukra (i.e. natural birth from the parents), sāvitra (i.e. investiture with the sacred thread), and daikṣa (i.e. initiation to Tantric worship); and two births of women and Śūdras, viz., śaukra and daikṣa[89]. Bad effects of distinguishing between the spiritual guide (guru), the (relavent) Tantra and the deity to be worshipped (devatā) and also between Gaṅgā, Durgā, Hari and Īśa[90]. Religious and household duties of an ideal wife. Duties of a widow.

Chap. 5.—Being requested by Jāvāli to speak on tīrthas Vyāsa says that tīrthas exist in various forms, viz., speech, water, land, body, limbs, time, trees, places resorted to by gods, places where there are images of gods, and so on. He then reports in chaps. 5-30 the interlocution between Devī and her attendants Jayā and Vijayā. This interlocution was made on the following topics:

Praise of Gaṅgā (the Ganges) as the best of all tīrthas. Jayā and Vijayā's eulogy of Gaṅgā (gaṅgā-stava), who is described as moon-white, four-handed, three-eyed, dressed in white garments, seated on a shark, and holding a lotus and a golden pitcher of nectar in two of her hands and assuring safety and conferment of boons with the other two[91]. Origin of all holy places from Gaṅgā. Eulogy of Gaṅgā by these holy places.

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[86] Cf. guruṃ tantraṃ devatāṃ ca bhedayan narakaṃ vrajet. (Verse 22a).

[87] striyas tu guru-saṃbandhād gurur apy ucyate dvija. (Verse 19b).

[88] gurus tantraś ca mantraś ca gopanīyaḥ prayatnataḥ/
prakāśāt siddhi-hāniḥ syād ity āha bhagavāñ chivaḥ// (Verse 20).

[89] śaukraṃ tathā ca sāvitraṃ daikṣaṃ ca janma saṃmatam/
janma-trayaṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ strī-śūdrāṇāṃ dvi-janmatā// (Verse 21).

[90] guruṃ tantraṃ devatāṃ ca bhedayan narakaṃ vrajet/
gaṅgā-durgā-hariśānāṃ bhedakṛn nārakī yathā// (Verse 22).

[91] dhyāye śive tvāṃ śaśi-śukla-varṇāṃ
caturbhujāṃ padmavarābhayāmṛtaiḥ/

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[In this chapter Gaṅgā is called *abheda-buddhi-rūpā, abheda-buddhimat-priyā, mahāmallā, kokāmukhī, viṣaharī, daśa-harā, hrīṃ-svarūpiṇī* etc. and is identified with Brahmāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Rudrāṇī and Kālī, the last being said to be fond of fish, meat and wine. She is also identified with the river Sītā on the east, Bhadrā on the north, Vaṃkṣu on the west, and Alakanandā on the south.]

Chap. 6.—Names of different holy places including Śītālaka (on the east), Alakālaka (on the south), Vaṃkṣu-bhadra (on the west), Bhadrottara (on the north), the four Gaṅgā-dvāras, Prayāga ('where the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī fall into the Ganges'), Vāsantaka-kṣetra, Vārāṇasī, the meeting place of the Gaṅgā with the Padmāvatī (i.e. the river Padmā of Bengal), Triveṇī (where the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī are separated from the Ganges), the Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṃgama (where the Ganges falls into the ocean by dividing herself into a thousand streams)[92], and the houses of Brahmins, the temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the seats of Devī (devī-pīṭhāḥ) situated on the banks of the Ganges.

Chap. 7.—Sanctity caused to a place by the presence of lotus-plants, Tulasī plants and Bilva trees. Story of the origin of the Tulasī plants at Vṛndāvana from the dead body of Vṛndā (wife of Dharmadeva residing on the Kailāsa mountain), who became a Rākṣasī as a result of her husbands' curse and died by fasting for a week and listening all the while to the names of Hari sung by the Brahmins. Praise

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yuktāṃ ca śukle makare vasantīṃ
trilocanāṃ deva-nutām alaṃkṛtām//
namaḥ śivāyai śāntāyai gaṅgāyai te namo namaḥ/
namo makara-vāsinyai koṭi-candra-ruce namaḥ//
caturbhujāyai padmena vareṇāpy abhayena ca/
pīyūṣa-pūrṇa-kanaka-ghaṭena ca virājitām//
sarvālaṃkāra-bhūṣāḍhyāṃ trinetrāṃ daivatair nutām/
smitāsyāṃ gaura-vasanāṃ sthira-nūpura-śiñjinīm// (Verses 44-47).
(See also Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 12. 21-22, and 19. 11-12).

[92] tato 'pi kathitaṃ tīrthaṃ padmāvatyāḥ samāgamaḥ /
triveṇī nāma tīrthaṃ ca pṛthagbhūte ca yatra vai//
sarasvatī ca yamunā prayāga-phala-dāyakam/
gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgaś ca tīrthaṃ paramakaṃ matam//
yatra dhārā-sahasreṇa gaṅgā sāgaragā bhavet/ (Verses 33-35a).

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of the Tulasī plants, in every leaf of which the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' is said to remain.

Chap. 8.—First origin of the Tulasī plant on the Kārttikī Amāvāsyā. Description of Tulasī as a youthful goddess adorned with various kinds of ornaments and a vermilion-red garland and having a dark-blue complexion (śyāmāṅgī), a beautiful face covered with swarms of bees, and two hands, in which there are a conch-shell and a lotus[93]. Results of worshipping Viṣṇu with Tulasī-leaves during the different months of the year. Praise of the Tulasī plant and of service rendered to it.

Chap. 9.—Going to narrate the story of the origin of the Bilva tree Devī speaks on the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the respect shown to each other by these two gods on their way to each other's residence.

[In this connection the following regions have been mentioned as being situated one above the other, viz., Brahma-loka, Śiva-loka, Vaikuṇṭha, Durgā-loka and Goloka, the highest position being said to be occupied by the last-mentioned one. Of Durgā-loka and Goloka it has been said that on earth 'the former exists under the name of Kāmarūpa which is the best of all places', and the latter is known by the name of Vṛndāvana[94].]

Chap. 10.—Viṣṇu's confession to Lakṣmī that Śiva is not only dearest to him but is identical with himself. Names of flowers with which Śiva is to be worshipped. Lakṣmī's worship of Śiva with a thousand lotuses, of which two, being found missing, were going to be replaced with her own breasts. Origin of the Bilva tree from that breast of Lakṣmī which was severed by her and offered to the Śiva-liṅga, Lakṣmī's eulogy of Śiva.

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[93] śyāmāṅgī cāru-vadanā dvi-bhujā smita-bhāṣiṇī/
śaṅkha-padma-karā śveta-vasanā yuvatī satī//
nānālaṃkāra-bhūṣāḍhyā sindūrāruṇa-mālikā/
madhupair gandha-saṃmugdhair ālīḍha-vadanāmbujā// (Verses 5-6).

[94] durgā-lokas tataś cordhvaṃ yatra sarvāḥ striyaḥ śubhāḥ//
yaḥ pṛthivyāṃ kāmarūpa iti deśottamaḥ sakhi/
tata ūrdhvaṃ ca goloko lasat-tejomayaḥ paraḥ//
yaḥ pṛthivyāṃ samākhyāto nāmnā vṛndāvanābhidhaḥ/ (Verses 5b-7a).

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Chap. 11.—Origin of the Bilva-tree on the Vaiśākha-śukla-tṛtīyā. Praise of the Bilva tree and of service rendered to it. Benefits of worshipping Śiva with Bilva-leaves. Holiness of Haridrā-nagara[95] (where Śiva resides as Vaidya-nātha), Kāmarūpa, Kāśī and Kāñcīpura in consequence of the presence of Bilva trees there.

Chap. 12.—Origin of four Āmalakī trees, on Māgha-sitaikādaśī, from the four clear drops of tears (amalāni kāni) fallen from the eyes of the joyous Devī and Lakṣmī who wanted to worship Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively with things selected by themselves (sva-kalpitena dravyeṇa). Praise of Āmalakī trees, and the results of using their leaves in the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Chap. 13.—Names of holy places, viz., Prabhāsa, Pṛthūdaka, Vindusaras, Brahmatīrtha ('where the Sarasvatī flows towards the east'), and Naimiṣāraṇya. Story of the origin of the Vaiṣṇava holy place Naimiṣāraṇya from the disappearance of the divine being named Nimiṣa who was born of Brahmā.

Chap. 14.—Names of holy mountains, rivers and places. The names of the holy places include the following:

Gokarṇa, which is called 'Śiva-sthala'; Kāmarūpa, which is situated on the bank of the Brahmanada and where Devī's female organ fell; 'the *pīṭha* named Maṅgalakoṣṭhaka[96] in the city (purī) of Ujjayinī where Devī dwells as Maṅgala-caṇḍī and grants boons to her worshippers'; the place where one's paternal blood-relations live[97]; Vaidyanātha; Vakreśvara, where there is the sacred river named Pāpaharā and which is said to have been dealt with elaborately in the

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[95] It is the same as modern Deoghar in Santal Parganas.

[96–97] ujjayinyāṃ tathā puryāṃ pīṭhaṃ maṅgalakoṣṭhakam/
śubhā maṅgalacaṇḍyākhyā yatrāhaṃ vara-dāyinī//
jñātayo bahavo yatra mataṃ tat tīrtham uttamam/ (Verses 14-15a).

The city of Ujjayinī, mentioned above, is the same as the ancient town of Ujānī which comprised the modern villages of Kogrām, Maṅgalkoṭ and Ārāl situated on the bank of the river Ajaya in Katwa subdivision in the district of Burdwan in Bengal. Ujānī, which is one of the fifty-one *pīṭhas*, is mentioned in Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Tantra-cūḍāmani, etc.

For further information about this holy place see Chap. I, footnote 125 above.

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'Brahmāṇḍākhya Purāṇa'; Śrīpuruṣottama situated on the side of the salt-ocean; and Kāmākhyā, which is one of the best tīrthas.

Chaps. 15-16.—Mention of various other tīrthas, viz., feet of a Brahmin, the back of a cow, the limbs of one's own wife, one's own eyes and the right ear, and so on.

Description of Kāla-tīrthas (i.e. tīrthas in the form of auspicious time), which are said to be Vaiṣṇava, Śākta Śaiva, Saura etc.—Identification of *kāla* (time) with Nārāyaṇa; division of *kāla* into *bhūta*, *bhaviṣyat* and *vartamāna*, as well as into *paramāṇu*, *kṣaṇa*, *daṇḍa* (sixty of which make one human day-and-night)[98], *ahorātra*, *tithi*, *pakṣa*, *māsa*, *ṛtu*, *ayana* and *saṃvatsara*; counting of *māsas* from Āśvina, and their classification into *saura* and *cāndra*[99]; description of four months, viz., Āṣāḍha, Kārttika, Māgha and Vaiśākha, as tīrthas[100]. Benefits of the performance of various pious acts during these four months and of residence at Kāśī in Vaiśākha, at Śrīpuruṣottama in Āṣāḍha, at Kāmarūpa in Kārttika, and at Prayāga in Māgha. Praise of death in these four months at Kāśī, Puruṣottama, Kāmarūpa and Prayāga, and especially in the Ganges. Description of various religious rites and ceremonies to be observed on particular Tithis in different months (especially in Vaiśākha, Kārttika and Māgha), viz., Akṣaya-tṛtīyā, Jahnu-saptamī, Nāga-pañcamī, Dyūta-pratipad, Bhrātṛ-dvitīyā, Raṭantī Caturdaśī, Śrī-pañcamī (in Māgha and Caitra), Mākarī Saptamī, Bhīṣmāṣṭamī, Śiva-caturdaśī, Mahāṣṭamī, Aśokāṣṭamī, Rāma-navamī, Damana-caturdaśī, Daśaharā, Mahājyaiṣṭhī, Āṣāḍha-kṛṣṇapañcamī (for *upākarman* of the Vājasaneyins), Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī, Śravaṇa-dvādaśī, and many others. Methods of worshipping Viṣṇu (under different forms and names), Gaṅgā, Sūrya, Nāgadevī, Śiva, Yama, *go* (cow), Lakṣmī, Mahākālī, Sarasvatī, Devī,

[98] daṇḍā manuṣya-mānena ṣaṣṭī rātriṃdivaṃ matam (I. 15. 10a).

[99] āśvinādyā matā māsāḥ saura-cāndra-pramāṇataḥ (I. 15. 15b).

[100] tatrāṣāḍhaḥ kārttikaś ca māgho vaiśākha eva ca/
tīrthāny uktāni māsā vai catvāro 'bhīṣṭa-dāyakāḥ// (I. 15. 17).

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Rāmacandra, Kāma, Umā, Indra-and-Śacī, and Agastya in different parts of the year.

Chap. 17.—Performance of śrāddha on the different Tithis in Āśvina-kṛṣṇapakṣa.

Chaps. 18-22.—Devī's brief narration of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa (up to Rāma's return to Ayodhyā from Laṅkā with Sītā) in order to explain the introduction of the autumnal worship of herself.

[This story contains some innovations such as Hanumat's talk at Laṅkā with Caṇḍikā (also called Kālī and described in a hymn as having two, four, six, eight, ten or eighteen hands), who protected Laṅkā but left for Kāmarūpa as soon as Hanumat set fire to Laṅkā, god's invocation of Caṇḍī on a Bilva tree according to Caṇḍī's advice, and Caṇḍī's consequent blessings on Rāma and description of the method of her own worship in the month of Āśvina.

The method of Devī-worship, as given in chap. 22, consists of the following operations: *bodhana* of Devī in a Bilva tree on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi[101]; worship of Devī in the Bilva tree up to Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī; bringing of Devī to the house constructed for her worship, on the Śukla-saptamī Tithi, and her worship; fasting, Devī-worship, performance of *homa*, sacrifice of animals, and keeping awake at night on on 'Mahāṣṭamī' Tithi; *saṃdhi-pūjā* at *aṣṭamī-navamī-saṃdhi;* performance of *homa*, Devī-worship, animal-sacrifice, and sitting up at night during the 'Mahānavamī' Tithi; and singing of amorous songs containing words denoting male and female generative organs and sexual intercourse, on the 'Vijayā Daśamī' Tithi[102]. The Bṛhaddharma-p. states that though this festival is to be continued for fifteen days, Devī should be specially worshipped on two days, viz., on the Mahāṣṭamī and the Mahānavamī Tithi, and that during this festival people should, without distinction of caste and

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[101] In Bṛhaddh. I. 22. 14 Brahmā says:

aiṃ rāvaṇasya vadhārthāya rāmasyānugrahāya ca /
akāle tu śive bodhas tava devyāḥ kṛto mayā //

[102]

bhaga-liṅgābhidhānaiś ca śṛṅgāra-vacanais tathā /
gānaṃ kāryaṃ bhojayec ca brāhmaṇāṃs toṣayet striyaḥ //
(I. 22. 33).

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sex, give up their usual works (such as teaching, study, trade, agriculture etc.), be liberal in spending money, and have brotherly feelings[103].]

Chap. 23.—Description of a few more religious rites and festivals, viz., worship of Lakṣmī during the Āśvina-paurṇamāsī; Dīpānvitā, to be performed on the Amāvāsyā following the Āśvina-paurṇamāsī; Rāsotsava (Rāsa festival) on the Kārttikī Paurṇamāsī; (holy) baths, donations, and funeral ceremonies to be performed during Ardhodaya-yoga (in the months of Agrahāyaṇa, Pauṣa and Māgha under particular *nakṣatras*); Govinda-dvādaśī-vrata (which is to be performed on the Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśī and in which Vāsudeva is to be worshipped under the names of Govinda, Nārāyaṇa etc. with the use of the twelve-syllabled *mantra*, the performance of *homa* twelve times, the offer of twelve kinds of flowers, twelve Tulasī-leaves and twelve kinds of offerings, and the citation of a hymn of twelve verses, and twelve Brahmins are to be fed with twelve kinds of palatable food); observances during the Phālguna-paurṇamāsī (called Manvantarā), Caitra-kṛṣṇa-trayodaśī (called Vāruṇī, Mahā-vāruṇī and Mahā-mahāvāruṇī under different conditions), and Caitra-śukla-tṛtīyā (called Manvantarā).

Story of Varuṇa's determination to worship Govinda on the Bhādra-dvādaśī Tithi, his fruitless search for 'Bhādrīyā Dvādaśī' all over the world, his consequent threat to Dvādaśī to flood 'the whole earth' every year on the Bhādra-dvādaśī Tithi[104], his meeting with Dvādaśī Devī (who is described as 'gaurāṅgī,' 'pīta-vasanā', 'dvi-bhujā' and 'śyāma-

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103 sarvasvair api me pūjā kartavyā tu dina-dvayam /
brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyo vaiśyaḥ śūdro vā bhakti-saṃyutaḥ //
tyaktvā viṣaya-karmāṇi hiṃsā-kalaha-matsarān /
svaccha-cittā apacaye lābha-buddhi-yutāḥ sadā //
nādhyāpanāṃ nādhyayanaṃ na yuddhaṃ kraya-vikrayau /
na cārgho na ca karṣādi kartavyaṃ tatra vai kvacit //
(I. 22. 30-32)

104 tithe dvādaśi re mūrkhe kiṃ na jānāsi māṃ api /
tvad-dine dharaṇīṃ sarvāṃ plāvaye prativatsaram /
yathā tvayi na pūjā syāddhareḥ sarveśvarasya hi //
(Verse 49).

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pṛṣṭhikā'[105]) in the bright half of Phālguna, and his worship of Govinda on that Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśī, with the result that the custom of the worship of Govinda on the Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī was changed thenceforward to that of his worship on the Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśī.

[In this chapter the methods of performing Lakṣmī-pūjā, Dīpānvitā and Rāsotsava have been described as follows:

In Lakṣmī-pūjā, Lakṣmī is to be worshipped at dusk (pradoṣa), and the worshippers are to fast at daytime, drink the water contained in cocoanuts after worshipping Lakṣmī, and avoid sleep at night.

During the Dīpānvitā lamps are to be lighted and goddess Kālī (also called Śyāmā and Mahākālī) is to be worshipped in an image at dead of night. The description of the goddess[106], as given in this chapter, shows that she has a dark complexion, dishevelled hair, a lolling tongue, heaving breasts, and four hands, in two of which she carries a sword and a severed head and with the other two she assures safety and the conferment of boon. She stands naked on Śiva who remains lying on his back like a dead body[107]. She has

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[105] Verse 51a.

[106] pūjayeyur mahākālīṃ śyāmāṃ cāru-caturbhujām /
varābhaya-karāṃ vāme dakṣiṇe 'si-nṛ-muṇḍakām //
saṃhāra-kāla-niviḍa-dhvānta-kāyāṃ digambarīm /
pāpa-koṭitara-dhvāntaṃ saṃharantīm ivojjvalām //
śava-rūpa-mahādeva-hṛdaye paramāsane /
tiṣṭhantīṃ mukta-keśīṃ ca lalaj-jihvāṃ hasan-mukhīm //
sravad-raktāṃ sṛkkaṇībhyāṃ dānavānāṃ bhayāvahām /
sattva-rūpāṃ sadā śuddhāṃ kevalāṃ niṣkalāṃ śivām //
pīnonnata-stanīṃ devīṃ nānā-bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣitām /
brahma-viṣṇv-indra-kālādi-praṇatāṃ kāla-rūpiṇīm //
yoginībhiḥ parivṛtāṃ nṛtyantībhir itastataḥ /
dadatībhiḥ pibantībhiḥ śoṇitaṃ madhu cāsavam //
(Verses 12-17).

[107] Going to explain why Śiva lies prostrate under the feet of Kālī, the Bṛhaddharma-p. says that when, at dead of night on a newmoon day, Kālī came down to the earth for killing the Asuras, the earth trembled under the weight of her feet, and consequently Śiva, as a corpse, held her on his bosom.

(rātrau niśītha-vyāptāyām amāvāsyām ihaiva tu /
pṛthvī-talaṃ samāyātā kālī dig-vasanāmbikā //
asurāṇāṃ vadhārthāya bhavāya ca suparvaṇām /
yathā cakampe pṛthivī tad-bhārāsahanena hi //

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a smiling face, and is engaged in drinking wine and blood, so much so that blood trickles from the ends of her lips. She is adorned with ornaments and is surrounded by Yoginīs who dance and drink blood and wine. During the worship of this goddess, which is to be performed 'either after the method followed (in worshipping Durgā) on the Mahāṣṭamī Tithi or according to the Tantric method' (mahāṣṭamī-vidhānena vidhināgamikena vā), the worshippers are to sing 'Mālasī songs'[108], and utter words expressive of male and female generative organs, animals are to be sacrificed, clothes, ornaments, *pāyasa* etc. are to be offered, and music, dancing etc. are to be held. In the following morning the image is to be immersed in water at the *brāhma muhūrta*,[109] and fees are to be paid to the priests for worshipping the goddess for four *praharas* (12 hours).

During the Rāsa festival[110], the devotee is to observe fast at daytime, and at nightfall worship Kṛṣṇa along with the gopīs. In this worship, juvenile Kṛṣṇa, having 'ujjvala bhāva' (ujjvalaṃ bhāvam āśritam) and eager to strip the gopīs of their garments out of passion,[111] is to be represented by as many images as there are images of the youthful and passionate (rasāḍhyā) gopīs, and all these images are to be placed alternately and arranged into a circle, so that every image of Kṛṣṇa may have an image of a gopī on each side. The images of Kṛṣṇa must be adorned with garlands (called

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tadā śivaḥ śavo bhūtvā tāṃ dadhāra trilocanām /
tadā sarve sthirībhūtāḥ kūrma-śeṣa-dharādayaḥ //
(Verses 6-8).

[108] mālasī-gāna-niratā bhaga-liṅgābhiśabdinaḥ /
jitendriyā jitāhārā jita-nidrā mahāśayāḥ //
pūyayeyur mahākālīṃ * * * // (Verses 11-12a).
Particular kinds of songs about goddess Kālī are popularly called 'Mālsī gān' (Mālasī gāna) in Bengal.

[109] The 'brāhma muhūrta' is the third of the four parts of the last quarter of the night.

'rātreś ca paścime yāme muhūrto yas tṛtīyakaḥ /
sa brāhmya iti vikhyāto vihitaḥ saṃprabodhane //'
(ascribed to Sumantu in 'Bhavadevīya-nirṇayāmṛta'.—See Smṛti-tattva I, p. 326).

[110] See verses 21-34.

[111] kāma-bhāvena śītkāra-vāsa-skhalana-lālasam. (Verse 27b).

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vanamālā), armlets, anklets, *tilaka* marks etc., dressed in yellow garments, and furnished with an amorous look. During this worship Brahmins are to be honoured with clothes, ornaments etc., and songs, music and dancing are to be enjoyed. After the payment of fees to the priests, the images are to be immersed in water on the following day with merriment, and Brahmins are to be fed.]

Chap. 24.—A few more days and occasions which may be regarded as *kāla-tīrtha*, viz., Varāha-dvādaśī in Mārgaśīrṣa-śukla-pakṣa, Ananta-caturdaśī in Bhādra-śukla-pakṣa, the day for the worship of Kārttikeya in the month of Kārttika, the time for study of the Purāṇas, and so on.

Chap. 25.—Brahmā's first creation of words (vācaḥ), letters and fifty-six languages and his subsequent authorship of grammatical works, philosophical treatises, Purāṇas etc. Classification of Purāṇas into Upapurāṇas and 'Mahat Purāṇas'. Names of the eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas': Brahma-p., Pādma, Brahmāṇḍa, Vaiṣṇava, Brahmavaivarta, *Mahābhāgavata*, Bhaviṣya, Gāruḍa, Laiṅga, Śaiva, Vārāha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Skānda, Kaurma, Matsya-purāṇa, Āgneya, Vāyavya and Śrī-bhāgavata[112]. Names of the

[112] The verses containing the list of eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas' are given in the Vaṅga. ed. (I. 25. 20-22b) as follows:

ādau brahma-purāṇaṃ ca pādmaṃ brahmāṇḍam eva ca /
vaiṣṇavaṃ brahma-vaivartaṃ nṛsiṃhaṃ ca tataḥ param //
bhaviṣyaṃ gāruḍaṃ laiṅgaṃ śaivaṃ vārāham eva ca /
mārkaṇḍeyaṃ tathā skāndaṃ kaurmaṃ mātsyaṃ purāṇakam //
tathāgneyaṃ ca vāyavyaṃ śrī-bhāgavatam eva ca /
evam aṣṭādaśaivāhuḥ purāṇāni mahānty uta //

It is to be noted that the reading 'nṛsiṃhaṃ ca tataḥ param' in the second line is erroneous, because the 'Nārasiṃha' has been included in the list of Upapurāṇas given in verses 23-27. (For this list see Vol. I, Chapter I, p. 10). As a matter of fact, this erroneous reading of the Vaṅga. ed. is found replaced by the correct reading 'mahābhāgavataṃ tathā' in the ASB ed. as well as in all the three Mss of the Bṛhaddharma-p. preserved in the Dacca University Library. (See Ms No. 319, fols. 43b-44a; Ms No. 4199, fols. 71b-72a; Ms No. 4649, fol. 96a-b). The India Office Ms (No. 1313a) also reads 'magābhāgavataṃ tathā' (see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1229). The words 'śrī-bhāgavatam eva ca / evam aṣṭādaśaivāhuḥ', occurring in the last two lines, are wanting in the ASB ed.

In the Dacca University Mss of the Bṛhaddharma-p. the following variations in readings are found in their lists of 'Mahat Purāṇas': 'liṅgaṃ' (for 'laiṅgaṃ' in line 3) in Ms No. 319; 'skandaṃ' (for 'skāndaṃ' in line 4) in Ms No. 319; 'matsyaṃ purāṇakam' (in line 4) in Ms No. 319 and 'matsya-purāṇakam' in Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649; 'mahāmate' (for 'mahānty uta' in line 6) in Ms No. 4199.

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eighteen Upapurāṇas[113] as well as of 'other Saṃhitās such as Mārīca, Kāpila etc. which are said to be equally authoritative in all matters concerning *dharma*'. Praise of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa as the first 'Mahākāvya' and as the source of all Kāvyas as well as of the Itihāsa, Purāṇas and Saṃhitās in which *dharma* has been dealt with. Vyāsa's composition of the Mahābhārata by taking the Rāmāyaṇa as the model. Brahmā's creation of grammars and the metres such as Jagatī, Anuṣṭubh etc. Origin of Sarasvatī, who is said to be richly adorned with various kinds of ornaments and to have a white complexion, three eyes, and four hands having *sudhā* (nectar), *vidyā* (book), *mudrā* and *akṣa-guṇa* in them.[114] Brahmā's advice to Sarasvatī to live in his four mouths as well as in those of poets. Sarasvatī's taking her residence in the mouth of Vālmīki as soon as the latter was overpowered with grief at the sight of the sad plight of a female bird whose male mate was killed by a fowler. Vālmīki's utterance of a *śloka*, and his composition, in the Tretā-yuga, of the 'Mahākāvya' called Rāmāyaṇa at Brahmā's advice. Brahmā's praise of poets as creators.[115]

Chap. 26.—Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa of seven Kāṇḍas—a code of the duties of the four castes and stages of life (varṇāśrama-dharma). Praise of the study of the entire Rāmāyaṇa or its different parts on different occasions (including the Śāradīya-mahāpūjā) and in different months. Names of all the Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa, except that of the second.

Chap. 27.—Brahmā requested Vālmīki to compose the Mahābhārata, but the latter refused to do so saying that

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[113] For the names see Vol. I, Chap. I, p. 10.

[114] See verses 39b-40—

tataḥ sarasvatī jātā śukla-varṇākṣarātmikā /
nānālaṃkāra-bhūṣāḍhyā trinetrā śaśi-maulinī /
caturbhujā sudhā-vidyā-mudrākṣaguṇa-dhāriṇī //

[115] Verses 81-83—

kavir brahmā kavir viṣṇuḥ kavir eva svayaṃ śivaḥ /
kavir vai dharma-vaktā ca kaviḥ sarva-rasaikavit //
na kaver varṇanaṃ mithyā kaviḥ sṛṣṭikaraḥ paraḥ /
sarvopary eva paśyanti kavayo 'nye na caiva hi //
kavīnāṃ vaśagā devā indr-opendra-yamādayaḥ /
kavīnāṃ vaśagā martyāḥ kavayo deva-gocarāḥ //

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the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas would be composed in the Dvāpara-yuga by Vyāsa, to whom he would give the seed of poetry. Brahmā mentioned the Rāmāyaṇa as consisting of seven Kāṇḍas and 25000 *ślokas*, and wished to know who, among the sages present in his assembly, was able to compose the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇic works. Nārada mentioned the name of Vyāsa, who, he said, was capable of doing this work. The other sages protested against Nārada's selection, and claimed to be authors of the Purāṇas. Brahmā, therefore, referred the sages to Janaka for decision of their dispute.

Chap. 28.—Janaka tested the capacities of the sages by asking them to describe the glory of the name of Bhagavat (god) and decided that none but Vyāsa should compose the Mahābhārata. He narrated to them what Vālmīki had already said to Brahmā regarding the composition of the Mahābhārata and the thirty-six Purāṇic works and advised them to have Vālmīki's opinion on this point.

Chap. 29.—The sages met Vālmīki on the bank of the Tamasā, narrated to him what Nārada and Janaka had said to them regarding their point of dispute, and requested him to make all of them poets. Vālmīki praised Nārāyaṇa as the highest god and said that it was Nārāyaṇa who created Vyāsa and destined him to become the author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Vālmīki added that Veda-vyāsa would write the Mahābhārata first of all, then Parāśara would become the author of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Vyāsa would then write the Mahāpurāṇas, and Vyāsa and some other sages would compose the Upapurāṇas, that all the *ślokas* of all the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas would be composed by Vyāsa, that the other sages would copy, reproduce or explain these verses, and that, of the twenty sages, viz., Manu, Atri and others,[116] some were to write Dharmaśāstras, some were to

[116] Verses 24-25—

manv-atri-viṣṇu-hārīta-yājñavalky-ośano-'ṅgirāḥ /
yamāpastamba-saṃvartāḥ kātyāyana-bṛhaspatī //
parāśara-vyāsa-śaṅkha-likhitā dakṣa-gautamau /
śātātapo vasiṣṭhaś ca dharma-śāstra-prayojakāḥ //

These two verses are the same as Yāj. I. 4-5.

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reproduce them, and some were to elucidate them, and the rest were to write different kinds of śāstras according to their own choice. Vālmīki then sent these sages off by saying that he would impart the seed of poetry to Vyāsa, so that they might become poets by Vyāsa's favour.

Chap. 30.—Being requested by Vyāsa to speak on the nature of the Mahābhārata and the benefits of studying and possessing it, Vālmīki referred to the origin and duties of the four castes as well as to his versification of the Rāmāyaṇa which Brahmā, after receiving it from Nārāyaṇa, had given to Vālmīki. He then advised Vyāsa to compose the Mahābhārata on the model of the Rāmāyaṇa, praised the possession and study of the Mahābhārata, enunciated the Mahābhārata-kavaca (armour in the form of the Mahābhārata), and assigned the Śrī-bhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p. to the highest position among the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas respectively.[117] Vālmīki requested Vyāsa to write the Purāṇas also. Vyāsa agreed and read the Rāmāyaṇa with Vālmīki. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas appeared in forms before Vālmīki and bowed down to him. Vyāsa saw these and then went to Vadarikāśrama with the sages.

Madhya-khaṇḍa

In this Khaṇḍa Vyāsa reports to Jāvāli what Śuka said to his pupil Jaimini. Its contents are as follows:

Chap. 1.—Origin of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva from Supreme Brahma when connected with Prakṛti of three *guṇas*, viz., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Prakṛti (also called Bhagavatī) tested the force of penance of these three gods by turning herself into a dead body. Śiva and Prakṛti's assumption of the forms of a *liṅga* and a triangular *yoni* respectively for the sake of creation. Prakṛti's assurance to Brahmā and Viṣṇu to be born as Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

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117 mahāpurāṇeṣu mune śrībhāgavatam uttamam /
bṛhaddharma-purāṇaṃ ca purāṇeṣv itareṣu ca //
Verses 49b-50a.

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Chap. 2.—Brahmā's residence in the great lotus issuing from Viṣṇu's navel, and his creation of the elements as well as of the bodies, in which Viṣṇu, having egoism under the influence of Prakṛti, dwelt as creatures. Classification of Prakṛti into Vidyā and Avidyā, the former consisting of Gaṅgā and others. Brahmā's creation of the ten mind-born sons, viz., Vasiṣṭha, Atri, Dakṣa and others. Origin of Śatarūpā and Svāyaṃbhuva Manu from the two parts of Brahmā's body, and of Kandarpa from Brahmā's heart (hṛt). Descendants of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu and Śatarūpā who took to sexual intercourse for multiplication of creation. Dakṣa's descendants, of whom Satī was given in marriage to Śaṃkara. Descendants of Dakṣa's daughters. Brahmā's passion for his mind-born daughter Saṃdhyā, and his rage against Cupid. Origin of the dreadful Mahārudra from Brahmā's rage. Division of this Mahārudra into eleven Rudras. Dakṣa's pacification of these Rudras by means of his Yogic power.

Chap. 3.—Being asked by Dakṣa to choose her husband from among the gods present, Satī was disappointed at not finding Śiva there. So, she placed the garland on the ground by pronouncing the *mantra* 'namaḥ śivāya'. Śiva suddenly appeared and accepted the garland. Dakṣa got enraged at Satī's conduct and denounced Śiva against Dadhīci's protest.

Chap. 4.—Śiva's appearance in Dakṣa's house in the form of an old beggar and denouncement of Śiva. Story of the transformation of Nīlakuntalā (a female attendant of Satī) into Śiva's bull. Śiva's boon to Nandin (a logician and attendant of Dakṣa) to become his own constant attendant.

Chap. 5.—Śiva's escape with Satī through the sky. Dakṣa's lament for Satī's bad choice of husband. Dadhīci's praise of Śiva. Dakṣa explained why he looked down upon Śiva.

Chap. 6.—Hearing from Nārada that Śiva would create disturbance in his city, Dakṣa determined to prevent Śiva, made arrangements for the performance of a sacrifice,

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and invited all the gods and goddesses except Śiva and Satī. Though uninvited, Satī wanted to attend the sacrifice, but Śiva tried to prevent her by referring to Dakṣa's attitude towards him.[118] Consequently, with a view to showing her own power of destroying Dakṣa's sacrifice Satī took the form of Śyāmā (also called Mahākālī) who had four hands, a dark complexion, shining eyes, heaving breasts and dishevelled locks, and was young and naked. Śiva got frightened and tried to escape. Satī assumed ten forms called Mahāvidyās in order to surround Śiva. Satī then narrated the story of the origin of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and explained her true self as the Mūla-prakṛti to the confounded Śiva. She named these ten Mahāvidyās as Kālī, Tārā, Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinna-mastā, Sundarī, Vagalāmukhī, Dhūmāvatī and Mātaṅgī,[119] and said that these Mahāvidyās confer on their devotees final release as well as other desires such as the power of *māraṇa*, *uccāṭana*, *kṣobhaṇa*, *mohana*, *drāvaṇa*, *jṛmbhaṇa* and *stambhana*. She then asked Śiva to speak out *mantras*, *tantras*, *kavacas* etc. for the worship of her own different forms (viz., Kālī, Tārā, etc.). She added that the Āgama and the Veda were her two splendid hands, with which she supported the three worlds.

Chap. 7.—After reassuming her previous form, Satī came to Dakṣa's house where her mother received her with great affection and narrated to her a dream in which she had seen some goblins killing Dakṣa and Satī saving him by assuming the form of Śyāmā. Satī then went to the place of sacrifice and urged her father to invite Śiva. Dakṣa refused to do so and reproached Satī. He decried Śiva and called him '*vasta*' (he-goat). Consequently, Dakṣa had the face and voice of a he-goat through Satī's curse. Satī then went to the Himalayas and quitted her body.

Chap. 8.—Hearing from Nārada about Satī's death, Śiva assumed the extremely dreadful form of Mahārudra, went to Dakṣa's sacrificial pandal, and asked for Satī. Being

[118] For an idea of the behaviour which a son-in-law expects in his father-in-law's house, see verses 24-32.

[119] Verses 125-126.

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refused and insulted by Dakṣa Śiva destroyed the sacrifice with the help of the eleven Rudras living in Dakṣa's house as well as of Vīrabhadra born from Śiva's sighs. Being pleased with the devotion of Dakṣa's wife Prasūti, Śiva revived Dakṣa, to whose headless body the head of a he-goat was already set by Nandin.

Chap. 9.—Dakṣa pleased Śiva with a long eulogy, in which he called himself 'paśu' and styled Śiva Kālī-pati, Nandin, Kālāgnirudrātman, Koṅka-veṅkaṭavāsaka etc. Being favoured by Śiva, he completed the sacrifice by allotting two shares of the sacrificial offerings to Śiva and Satī in accordance with the instructions of Brahmā and Viṣṇu who said, "Kālī and Śiva—these two are regarded as being composed of all the gods. People should not worship any other [god], after these two have been worshipped. Hence one should worship these two at the end, after worshipping all other gods....."[120]

Chap. 10.—Dakṣa, Prasūti and Śiva lamented for Satī (also called Kālī). After proceeding northward Śiva found Satī's dark body lying uncovered on its face, took it up on his head, and began his *tāṇḍava* dance, in great joy. Finding the whole world jeopardised by Śiva's dance, Viṣṇu, with his Sudarśana disc, cut Satī's body into pieces, which fell in different places and created *siddha-pīṭhas*. "The best tīrtha (tīrtha-cūḍāmaṇi) arose at the place where [Satī's] female organ fell. That [tīrtha] is situated on the bank of the [river called] Brahmanada and is a place of great *yoga*-practice. An account of this [place] can be known from the Kālī-purāṇa. None but Viṣṇu knows its glory."[121] When Śiva felt lighter at the removal of Satī's body, Nārada approached him, informed him how and why Viṣṇu cut Satī's body into pieces, and pointed out to him 'the *mahā*-

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[120] Verses 51b-54.

[121] Verses 37-38—

tīrtha-cūḍāmaṇis tatra yatra yoniḥ papāta ha /
tīre brahmanadākhyasya mahāyoga-sthalaṃ hi tat //
kālīpurāṇe vijñeyaṃ mune vivaraṇaṃ tataḥ /
māhātmyaṃ tasya deśasya viṣṇur jānāti nāparaḥ //

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pīṭhas such as Kāmarūpa etc.' which were created by the fall of Satī's limbs. At the sight of Satī's female organ at Kāmarūpa Śiva turned himself into a mountain and supported it. He also resorted, in the forms of *liṅgas*, to those places where Satī's limbs fell. Nārada then requested Śiva to remain at Kāmarūpa, and went to find out Satī. Brahmā, Indra and other gods went to Viṣṇu and eulogised him. They as well as Viṣṇu then came to see Śiva.

Chap. 11.—Brahmā and Viṣṇu met Śiva at Kāmarūpa and consoled him. They described themselves as well as Śiva as Paramātman and Satī as Mūla-prakṛti, and said that it was Mūla-prakṛti who vested them (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) with *guṇas* and that Satī resorted to Śiva in her fullness and to the other two in parts. Then, in order to find Satī at 'the *mahāpīṭha* named Kāmarūpa' without delay, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva eulogised Satī as 'cid-rūpiṇī', 'parama-sūkṣmatarā' etc. Consequently, Satī appeared before them first in a thousand enchanting female forms and then in one single body and cursed Brahmā to be subject to death again and again, Viṣṇu to remain asleep continually for four months every year, and Śiva to become poor and fond of cemeteries. Satī again granted boons to Brahmā to become a creator, and to Viṣṇu to establish the varṇāśrama-dharma and to be incarnate as Brahmacārin (during the Kṛta-yuga), Nārada (for writing many Tantras), Varāha (for killing Hiraṇyākṣa), Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Kapila (for the promulgation of Sāṃkhya-yoga), Dattātreya, Yajña (son of Ruci and Kṛti), Ṛṣabha, Pṛthu, Śaphara (for saving the Vedas), Kūrma, Dhanvantari (for preaching Āyurveda), Narasiṃha, Rāma (for killing Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa), Vāmana, Bhārgava-rāma, Vālmīki (for writing the Mahākāvya), Vyāsa (for writing Purāṇas etc.), Buddha (for deluding people), and Kṛṣṇa-and-Rāma (for killing Putanā, Kaṃsa and others, for upholding the Govardhana mountain, for fulfilling the desires of the gopīs eager for śṛṅgāra-rasa and for doing many other similar acts, which have been mentioned in the Bṛhaddharma-p). Next, Satī gave a list of the different names of Kṛṣṇa, spoke on the unity of Brahmā,

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Viṣṇu, Śiva and herself, and said that as she dwells in all females, no Śākta, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva should misbehave with them, that Śiva would speak out the Tantras and *mantras*, and that she would again resort to Śiva after being reborn to Himālaya as Umā and Gaṅgā. Śiva waited for Nārada at Kāmarūpa and practised austerities there.

Chap. 12.—At mid-day of Vaiśākha-śukla-tṛtīyā Satī was reborn as Gaṅgā to Himālaya's wife Menā. This Gaṅgā was seated on a shark (makara) and had three eyes, a white complexion and four hands carrying nectar and a lotus in two of them and assuring the conferment of boon and safety with the other two.[122] She revealed herself to Himālaya in a dream, requested him to hand her over to the gods who would come to take her to heaven, assured him that she was none but Satī reborn in a half and that Satī's other half also would be born to him as a daughter, and advised him to give this second daughter in marriage to Śiva. Accordingly, Himālaya gave Gaṅgā to those five gods who came to take her to heaven. As Gaṅgā did not take Menā's permission before going to heaven she was cursed by the latter to be compelled to come down to the earth as a river and to be known as Gaṅgā. Nārada informed Śiva of the whole matter regarding Gaṅgā and accompanied him to heaven.

Chap. 13.—Śiva met Gaṅgā in heaven and held on his head the garland offered by the latter. Śiva explained to the gods why he did so with regard to the garland and promised to hold Gaṅgā always on his head. Gaṅgā then promised to the gods to remain, with her invisible part, in Brahmā's *kamaṇḍalu* and then followed Śiva to Kailāsa with her formal part (mūrti-bhāgena).

Chap. 14.—After Śiva had gone to Kailāsa with Gaṅgā on his head, Nārada went to Vaikuṇṭha and saw Nārāyaṇa with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī at his sides. Nārāyaṇa (also called Hari, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa) learnt from Nārāda all about Gaṅgā but was unable to decide whether he himself should

[122] Verses 6, 21-23 and 75.

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go to Kailāsa to see Śiva and Satī or the latter should come to him. Nārada suggested that Śiva and Satī should come to Vaikuṇṭha. Nārāyaṇa then requested Nārada to sing a song, and, at the latter's request, spoke on the number and classification of *nādas* (sound) and *svara* with the mention of their respective places of origin. Nārāyaṇa further spoke on the names and classification of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* (in which Gauḍī is one of the Rāgiṇīs of 'Kāmada' Rāga, and the Rāga called Gauḍarāja is one of the attendants of Gāndhāra-rāga).[123] Thus instructed by Nārāyaṇa on the

[123] According to the Bṛhaddharma-p. there are six principal Rāgas, viz., Kāmada, Vasanta, Mallāra, Vibhāṣaka, Gāndhāra and Dīpaka. Each of these Rāgas has his wives, servant and maid-servants, as the following table will show :—

Name of the principal Rāga	Names of his wives	Names of his wives' maid-servants	Name of his own servant
I. Kāmada.	Māyūrī, Toṭikā, Gauḍī, Varāḍī, Vilolikā, Dhānāśrī.	Vāgīśvarī, Śāradī, Śyāmā, Vṛndāvanī, Vaijayantī, Jayantī.	Paraja.
II. Vasanta.	Kedārī, Kalyāṇī, Sindhurā, Suhayā, Aśvārūḍhā, Kārṇāṭī.	Śyāmakelī, Devakelī, Mālinī, Kāmakelikā, Sambhāvatī, Sambarā.	Hillola.
III. Mallāra.	Naṭī, Surahaṭṭī, Pāhiḍī, Cārurūpiṇī, Līlā, Jayajayantī.	Cakravākī, Candramukhī, Rasikā, Vilāsikā, Yāminī, Śyāmaghaṭikā.	
IV. Vibhāṣa.	Rāmakelī, Lalitā, Koḍarā, Kaumudī, Bhairavī, Śarvarī.	Taraṅgiṇī, Nāginī, Kiśorī, Hemabhūṣaṇā, Kallolinī, Bhīmanetrā.	Śyāmaghoṭaka.
V. Gāndhāra.	Śrī, Rūpavatī, Gaurī, Dhānasī, Maṅgalā, Gāndharvī.	Paṭamañjarī, Mañjīrā, Mahāpadmāvatī, Velāvalī (v.l. 'Velāvatī' in the Dacca University Mss), Bhūpālī, Gandhinī.	Gauḍarāja
VI. Dīpaka.	Uttarī, Pūrvikā, Gurjarī (v.l. 'Gujjarī' in the ASB ed., and 'Guñjarī' in the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649), Kāla-gurjarī (v.l. '-gujjarī' in the ASB ed. and '-guñjarī' in the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649), Goṇḍakarī, Mālā.	Dīpahastā, Dīpavarṇā, Dīpakarṇā, Pradīpikā, Dīpākṣī, Dīpavaktrā.	Pradīpanābha.

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science of music Nārada began to sing but marred the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs and was laughed at by Sarasvatī. Nārāyaṇa then encouraged the confused Nārada and showed him the different parts of Vaikuṇṭha. At a certain place Nārada found some deformed beings, whom he learned from Nārāyaṇa to be the Rāgas distortèd by himself. He then returned to Nārāyaṇa's assembly hall, and took his seat. Being remembered by Nārāyaṇa Śiva came there with Gaṅgā. Brahmā and other gods also attended the meeting. At the request of Nārāyaṇa Śiva first extolled the names of Kṛṣṇa (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) as the only means of attaining bliss and then sang Kṛṣṇa-nāma-māhātmya with the Gāndhāra-rāga, which consequently appeared in the assembly by assuming a form. At that very moment a female messenger (dūtikā) of Kṛṣṇa came in and began to sing the '*dhruva*' (i.e. a line of a song meant for being sung in a chorus) "keśava kamala-mukhī-mukha-kamalaṃ etc." (which is concerned with Kṛṣṇa's sport with his gopikā at Vṛndāvana). So, Śiva sang "surucira-hema-latānavalambā etc." When Śiva's song charmed all in the assembly and compelled the wife of the Gāndhāra-rāga also to present herself there, the dūtikā, already mentioned, took the form of Hari's beloved (priyā) and began another *dhruva* "rasikeśa keśava he/ rasa-sarasīm iva mām upayojaya rasamaya rasam iva he //". Hari was so much moved by the song that he turned into *rasa*, of which his own self was constituted (raso 'bhūd rasa-tādātmyāt). Finding that Hari, thus liquefied, flooded Vaikuṇṭha, Brahmā touched him with the *kamaṇḍalu* containing Gaṅgā. As a result of this touch, liquefied Hari entered into Gaṅgā and made her watery and sanctifying. Brahmā then returned with his *kamaṇḍalu* (containing Gaṅgā) to Brahmaloka; and Śiva and other gods repaired to their respective places of residence.

Chap. 15.—Bali, grandson of Prahlāda, attained supremacy and wrested the kingdom of heaven from Indra. Finding that Aditi began to practise penance for delivering Indra and other gods from the domination of Bali, the Daityas first tried to dissuade her but, being unsuccessful in their

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attempt, set fire to the forest in which Aditi was living. Hari saved Aditi and granted her a boon that he himself would be born to her as Vāmana for reinstalling Indra in his former position. As Aditi deemed herself quite incapable of carrying Hari in her womb, the latter encouraged her by saying that he constantly lived in those persons who were devoted to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Bhadrakālī and Caṇḍikā, read the Caṇḍī, and possessed various other qualifications which made them Bhāgavatas.

Chap. 16.—In due course, Viṣṇu was born to Aditi as Vāmana having a red complexion. After the ceremony of nāmakaraṇa[124] Bṛhaspati invested Vāmana with the sacred thread and taught him Vyākaraṇa, the six systems of philosophy (viz., Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Pātañjala, Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika), all the Smṛtis, Āgamas, Nigamas, Purāṇas and the six Vedāṅgas.

[In this chapter Aditi praises the new-born Vāmana with a hymn which resembles the Devī-stava of the Caṇḍī].

Chap. 17.—After taking leave of Bṛhaspati Vāmana went to Bali on the northern bank of the Narmadā and begged of him three steps (pāda) of land for practising penance there. Bali consented to grant his prayer, but Śukrācārya tried to dissuade him by divulging Vāmana's identity and mission. Bali was not to be deterred. He called his wife Vindhyāvalī and offered to Vāmana the land wanted by him. Consequently, Vāmana raised his foot made of *sattva-guṇa* into the sky, but Brahmā stopped its progress by pouring on it the water of Gaṅgā residing in his *kamaṇḍalu*. Vāmana then placed his third foot on Bali's head and sent him down to the region called Sutala, where Viṣṇu always remained at Bali's gate as Gadādhara.

Chapter 18.—After sending Bali to the nether world Vāmana vanished, but his sāttvika foot continued to remain in the sky with Gaṅgā resorting to it. Genealogy of Sagara. Story of the burning of 60,000 sons of Sagara by Kapila, the author of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy, in whose

[124] Among the names of Vāmana, Rakta is one.—See verse 44.

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hermitage the Nāgas tied the sacrificial horse of Sagara. Aṃśumān and others' unsuccessful attempt to bring Gaṅgā down to the earth for the deliverance of the burnt sons of Sagara.

Chap. 19.—Being requested by Bhagīratha, son of Dilīpa, to tell him how he could bring Gaṅgā down to the earth, Vasiṣṭha identified Gaṅgā with Supreme Brahma and described her as being seated on a shark, wearing ornaments, and having a smiling face, a white complexion, three eyes and four hands, in two of which she carried a lotus and a pitcher of nectar and with the other two she assured the conferment of boon and safety.[125] Vasiṣṭha then advised Bhagīratha to go to the Himalayas and practise austerities, and assured him that if he could succeed in his mission, people would worship him after worshipping Gaṅgā. In accordance with this advice Bhagīratha went to the Himalayas and began his austerities. Being alarmed at the sight of Bhagīratha's efforts gods eulogised Śiva, and the latter assured them of Bhagīratha's harmlessness. Śiva then insisted upon Gaṅgā to be kind enough to fulfil Bhagīratha's wish. Gaṅgā, though unwilling to go to the sinful earth, at last agreed to do so on condition that Śiva would hold her on his head when she would come down to the earth. Śiva was glad and assured her that any person, who would die in the Gaṅgā, would attain Śiva.

Chap. 20.—Gaṅgā's appearance before Bhagīratha, and the latter's eulogy of Gaṅgā with the mention of her thousand names,[126] of which more than 250, occurring at the end, have

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[125]Verses 11-12—

dhyeyā gaṅgā śveta-rūpā trinetrā varadā śivā /
abhayā padma-hastā ca pīyūṣa-ghaṭa-pāṇikā //
caturbhujā divya-rūpā vasantī makare śucau /
nānālaṃkāra-bhūṣāḍhyā sphurat-smera-mukhāmbujā //

[126] These names include the following: Nārāyaṇī, Durgā, Durgama-priyā, Durodarā, Śaṃkarī, Jaleśī, Sarasvatī, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Vṛkṣasthā, Vṛkṣa-sundarī, Varuṇa-jyeṣṭhā, Rāghavī, *Tantramayī*, Śiva-gānāmṛt-odbhavā, Mahākālī, *Mahāvidyā*, Digambarī, *Padmā, Padmāvatī*, Mahauṣadha-jalā, Pāpa-roga-cikitsikā, Vīra-sādhana-vāsinī, *Kula-vṛkṣa-sthitā*, Kaulī, Kālī, Tārā, Mātaṅgī, Dhūmāvatī, Chinnamastā, *Kāmākhyā*, Kṣīra-grāma-nivāsinī, Śyāmā, Mahākāvya-svarūpiṇī, *Haridrā-nagarasthā*, Vaidyanātha-priyā, *Vakreśvarapura-sthitā*, Tulasī-taru-saṃsthā, Bilva-vṛkṣa-nivāsā, Aśokā, Aśoka-vṛkṣa-

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been arranged according to the alphabetical order of their initial letters, viz., क to क्ष, अ to औ, and अं and अः. Praise of reciting this hymn on different occasions, especially after worshipping Gaṅgā according to the method of Durgā-pūjā or in the Āgamic method on the Daśaharā Tithi in the month of Jyaiṣṭha. Gaṅgā's consent to come down to the earth, and her granting of a boon to Bhagīratha that she would be known as Bhāgīrathī. Her advice to Bhagīratha to worship Śiva and to blow a conch-shell by mounting the summit of Sumeru, so that she might follow him.

Chap. 21.—Bhagīratha went to Sumeru, ascended its summit, and began to blow the conch-shell. Hearing the sound Gaṅgā came out of Viṣṇu's feet and rushed downwards. At Bhagīratha's prayer, Gaṅgā divided herself into four streams, viz., Sītā, Bhadrā, Vaṃkṣu and Alakanandā, of which the first three flowed through Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla and Kuruvarṣa respectively, and the fourth rushed towards the south and came out of the mount Meru through a passage made by Indra's elephant Airāvata which was terrified by Gaṅgā because it wanted to enjoy her. She then alighted on Śiva's head on the Himalayas but lost her way in his matted hair. Being allowed a passage by Śiva after full one year, Gaṅgā descended on earth on Jyaiṣṭha-śukla-daśamī.[127]

Chap. 22.—On the Himālaya Gaṅgā was divided into seven streams by the sound of the seven conch-shells of seven sages. Gaṅgā collected all these streams into one near Haridvāra and rushed towards the south-east. At Prayāga she joined the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī and flowed towards the east. By keeping Kāśī (Benares) to her left and flowing towards the north there, Gaṅgā again rushed eastward. On the way, being misled to a distance by the sound of Jahnu's conch-shell, Gaṅgā became enraged and intended to wash away Jahnu's hermitage. The sage understood Gaṅgā's motive and drank her up. At last being released through

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nilayā, Rambhā, Dāḍimī, Rakta-dantikā, Śaṃkarācārya-rūpiṇī, *Śaṃkarācārya-praṇatā, Śaṃkarācārya-saṃstutā*, Kālikā, Javaneśvarī, Phetkāriṇī, Phāṇṭākṛtālayā, Bheruṇḍā, Śarat-kanyā, and *Ṣaṭ-karma-pariṣevitā*.

[127] Verses 72-73.

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his thigh, Gaṅgā became known as Jāhnavī and proceeded on her way. Bhagīratha, who untiringly led Gaṅgā, found that his steeds were extremely tired. So, he halted on the way. In the meantime, Padmāvatī, daughter of Jahnu, wanted to see her sister Jāhnavī and sounded a conch-shell. On hearing its sound Gaṅgā advanced to a distance towards the south-east but was stopped by Bhagīratha. Gaṅgā understood her mistake and became angry with Padmāvatī. As a result of this anger Padmāvatī turned into a broad river, flowed towards the east, and met the eastern ocean.[128] Understanding that the ocean was near, Gaṅgā narrowed herself, took a southerly course, separated herself from the Ganges and the Yamunā, and flowed into the ocean.[129] She then reached the hermitage of Kapila in the nether world, liberated the sons of Sagara and became known as Bhogavatī.

Praise of Gaṅgā; and the results of listening to the above-mentioned story.

Chap. 23.—In course of time Satī's other half was born to Menakā as Umā. This Umā, who had a complexion like burnished gold, began to practise austerities for having Śiva as her husband. Being informed by Nārada of Umā's enterprise, Śiva saw Umā in the form of a Brahmin celibate (brahmacārin) and began to decry Śiva. Next, being earnestly requested by Umā, he praised Śiva and was at last known by Umā to be Śiva himself. He, then, left her with the assurance that she would have him as her husband. At Nārada's advice Himālaya sent Umā to serve Śiva, who was again absorbed in meditation. In order to excite passion in Śiva's mind Brahmā sent Kandarpa, but Śiva burnt him to ashes. Śiva besmeared his limbs with these ashes and

[128] Verse 37—

cukrodha padmāvatyai sā sā tat-krodhān nadī babhau /
sā ca padmāvatī devī vistīrṇa-salilā punaḥ /
pūrva-mukhaṃ yayau pūrvaṃ samudram api saṃgatā //

[129] Verses 38-39—

gaṅgā tu velāṃ saṃkṣipya gantuṃ samupacakrame /
babhūva dakṣiṇa-srotāḥ buddhvābdhi-nikaṭād iva //
gaṅgā-yamunayoḥ saṅgaṃ parityajya surāpagā /
rājānaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ kṛtvā saṃbibheda sarit-patim //

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felt attracted towards Umā. Consequently he married her and took her to Meru in the Ilāvṛta-varṣa. From Śiva's energy, which was thrown by Fire into the Śiva-kānana, was born Kārttikeya (also called Guha and Ṣaḍ-vaktra), who killed the demon Tāraka. Śiva returned with Umā to Kailāsa and spoke out to her the *mantras* and Tantras of all the gods.

Chap. 24.—Glorification of Gaṅgā. Names of the seven holy places which can give final release, viz., Ayodhyā (which is the town of Rāma and is situated on the tip of Rāma's bow), Mathurā (which rests on Kṛṣṇa's Sudarśana disc and is protected by Kṛṣṇa), Māyā (named Kāmarūpa, which rests on a Śiva-liṅga and is resorted to by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others), Kāśī (which rests on Śiva's trident), Kāñcī (which is twofold, viz., Śiva-kāñcī and Viṣṇu-kāñcī), Avantī (which rests on Hari's lotus and is the same as Śrī-puruṣottama situated on the sea-coast), and Dvāravatī (which is a town constructed by Kṛṣṇa in the sea and resting on Kṛṣṇa's conch-shell named Pāñcajanya). Praise of Gaṅgā as being equal in glory to these seven holy places together. Works (viz., making gifts, acceptance of gifts, telling of tales, etc.) to be avoided on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Extents of the 'tīra' (bank), 'garbha' (bed), 'tīra-kṣetra' and 'garbha-kṣetra' of the Gaṅgā.[130] Works to be done on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

Chap. 25.—Preliminaries (viz., bowing down to the spiritual preceptor and to Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sarasvatī, cows, Brahmins, chaste women, Bilva tree, Tulasī plant etc., smelling of Bilva leaves,[131] and so on) to be done by a person starting on a pilgrimage to the Gaṅgā (gaṅgā-yātrika). The hymn of Viṣṇu, which is to be cited by the pilgrim when he comes near the Gaṅgā. Praise of residing on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Works to be avoided there. Results of sinful acts done. Sinners who are carried by Gaṅgāpiśācas and are not allowed to die on the banks of

[130] Verses 45-47.

[131] Verse 7b—bilva-patram upāghrāya gaṅgā-yātrāṃ samācaret /

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the Gaṅgā. Śiva's attendants called Gaṅgā-bhairavas, who protect the Gaṅgā from pollution.

Chap. 26.—High praise of death in the Gaṅgā. Effects of coming in contact with those who live on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Story of a just but impious king named Kākakarṇa of Kīkaṭa, who, after death, was freed by a Gaṅgā-bhairava from the hands of two Yama-dūtas and sent to heaven, because he became sinless by living for some time with a merchant who used to bathe in the Gaṅgā. No distinction of caste with respect to the waters of the Gaṅgā.

Chap. 27.—Method of worshipping Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Ṣaṣṭhī, Manasā and others in the waters of the Gaṅgā with the offer of different articles and the performance of mudrās. Directions regarding the worship of Śiva according to the 'Tantric' method. Non-eatability of the *naivedya* offered to Śiva. Story of Brahmā's worship of Śiva and his curse to the latter that those who will eat the *naivedya* offered to Śiva, will become dogs. Praise of Śiva-worship.

Chap. 28.—Performance of śrāddha with sesamum, Tulasī leaves etc. on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Different kinds of food and work to be avoided before śrāddha. Obeisance to be made to Brahmins, cows, Tulasī plants, *khañjana* birds, red kites (śaṅkha-cilla) etc., if seen on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Results of constructing temples of Durgā and Viṣṇu there. Bad effects of leaving the Gaṅgā. Glorification of death in the Gaṅgā by means of a story which states that Brahmā, who was willing to learn the glory of Gaṅgā, found Śiva serving Gaṅgā at Kailāsa and met an eight-faced Brahmā, a sixteen-faced Brahmā, and four Viṣṇu-like divine beings, of whom one was a rat (unduru) in his previous birth, another a dog, and the remaining four were worms in a dead body lying in the Gaṅgā, and who attained their respective states by dying in this holy river.

Chap. 29.—Extent of a Manvantara. The fourteen Manus named as Svāyaṃbhuva, Svārociṣa, Auttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa, Śrāddhadeva, Sāvarṇi, Brahma-sāvarṇi, Viṣṇu-sāvarṇi, Rudra-sāvarṇi, Dharma-sāvarṇi,

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Veda-sāvarṇi and Indra-sāvarṇi. Names and extents of the four *yugas*.

Names of kings of the Solar dynasty successively from (Manu) Śrāddhadeva to Rāma, son of Daśaratha. These names, as given in verses 20-32, are as follows:

Śrāddhadeva (son of Sūrya), Ikṣvāku (whose brothers were Nṛga and others), Śaśāda, Puraṃjaya, Anenas, Pṛthu, Viśvagandhi, Candra, Yuvanāśva, Śrāvasta, Bṛhadaśva, Kuvalayāśva, Dṛḍhāśva, Haryaśva, Nikumbha, Bahulāśva, Kṛśāśva, Śyenajit, Yuvanāśva, Māndhātṛ, and Ambarīṣa (who was sonless); Yauvanāśva, Niṣadha, Bāhuka, Sagara, Asamañjas, Aṃśumat, Dilīpa, Bhagīratha, Bhīma, Satya, Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha, and Rāma (and his brothers Bharata, Śatrughna and Lakṣmaṇa).

Names of kings of the Lunar dynasty down to Kṛṣṇa. These names have been given in verses 33-60 as follows:

Purūravas (son of Budha and daughter's son of Śrāddhadeva), Āyus, Rantināra, Viyati, Kṛti, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Puru (who had four brothers, of whom Yadu was the most important), Janamejaya, Pracinvat, Manasyu, Cārupada, Sudyu, Bahugava, Saṃyāti, Ahaṃyāti, Raudrāśva, Ṛteyu, Rantināra, Sumati, Medhātithi, Duṣmanta, Bharata, Vitatha, Manyu, Bṛhatkṣatra, Hastin, Ajamīḍha, Nīla, Śānti, Suśānti, Puruja, Arka, Bharmyāśva, Mudgala, Divodāsa (whose daughter Ahalyā had, from Gautama, a son named Śatānanda), Mitrayu, Cyavana, Sudāsa, Saudāsa, Sahadeva, Somaka, Pṛṣata (who was one of the hundred sons of Somaka), Drupada, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, and Dhṛṣṭaketu (Pṛṣata and his descendants being known as Bhārmya Pāñcālakas); Ṛkṣa (another son of Ajamīḍha), Saṃvaraṇa, Kuru, Jahnu, Suratha, Vidūratha, Sārvabhauma, Jayatsena, Āyāvin, Ayutāyus, Akrodhana, Atithi, Ṛkṣa, Dilīpa, and Pratīpa, who had three sons Devāpi, Śāntanu and Bāhlīka, of whom the first left his father's kingdom and went to the forest; Bāhlīka, Somadatta, and Somadatta's descendants Bhūri, Bhūriśravas and Śala (?); Śāntanu, Vicitravīrya (whose uterine brother was Citrāṅgada born of Satyavatī and step-brother Bhīṣma born of Gaṅgā), Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Duryodhana

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(and his brothers); Pāṇḍu (another son of Vicitravīrya) had five sons Yudhiṣṭhira and others, of whom the third named Arjuna had the following descendants: Abhimanyu, Parīkṣit, and Janamejaya. Yadu (another son of Yayāti) had the following descendants: Nala, Kṛtavīrya, Arjuna (who had a thousand hands and whose memory leads to the recovery of lost things), Vṛṣṇi, Śaśabindu, Jyāmagha, Babhru, Bhoja, Sumitra, Śini, and Nighna, who had two sons named Satrājit and Prasena and in whose family were born Śūra, Vasudeva, and the latter's son Kṛṣṇa.

Chap. 30.—Glorification of Śiva and Śakti. Story of the birth of Gajānana. In spite of Śiva's indifference to the pleasures of conjugal life, Pārvatī expressed her strong desire for a son. Śiva was annoyed, and told Pārvatī that her son would be averse to marriage. Pārvatī was sorry. In order to divert Pārvatī Śiva placed a part of her red cloth on her lap out of fun, as if it were a child. Curiously enough, a male child was born of it. As soon as Śiva took this child on his lap, its head, being turned towards the north, dropped down to the ground. Śiva was perplexed. He was, however, directed by a voice from the air to join to its body the head of one who would be found lying with his head turned towards the north. Śiva ordered Nandin accordingly. Nandin brought the head of Indra's elephant Airāvata. Śiva revived the child by joining it to its body. A pen, a rosary of beads (japa-mālā), a tusk, a lotus, a tiger-skin, a sacred thread, and a rat (to serve as a *vāhana*) were given to the child by Sarasvatī, Brahmā, Indra, Padmāvatī, Śiva, Bṛhaspati and the Earth respectively. This child was named Lambodara, Gaṇādhipa, Gajānana, Heramba and Vighneśa.

Sages' eulogy of Gaṇeśa with the mention of his fifty names including Ekadanta, Lipīśvara, Śuklāsya, Mūṣikārohin, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Pañca-pāṇi, Pañca-vaktra, Sāmudra, Vārināṭha etc.

Uttara-Khaṇḍa

In this Khaṇḍa Sūta reports to Śaunaka and

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others what Vyāsa said to Jāvāli on varṇāśrama-dharma. The contents of this Khaṇḍa are as follows.

Chap. 1.—Origin of the four castes from Viṣṇu. Two ways of *dharma*, viz., Āgama (i.e. Tattva-mārga) and Nigama (i.e. Karma-mārga). Attainment of the status of the immediately higher caste by the faithful performance of the duties of the respective castes. Bad effects of doing the duties of the higher castes. The eight qualities of the mind (viz., anasūyā, dayā, kṣānti etc.) to be practised by all. Service to be rendered by the members of lower castes to those of the higher castes. Śūdras to be maintained by the higher castes. Surnames for the members of different castes, viz., 'Deva-śarman' for Brahmins, 'Rāya' and 'Varman' for Kṣatriyas, 'Dhana' (i.e. such words as are indicative of wealth) for Vaiśyas, 'Dāsa' for Śūdras, 'Devī' for women of Brahmin and Kṣatriya castes, and 'Dāsī' for women of Vaiśya and Śūdra castes.[132] Respect to be shown to Brahmins by the members of other castes. Sanskrit to be used by Brahmins in blessing.[133] Rules about making reverential salutations to males and females. A male should not face his younger brother's wife, son's wife, student's wife, and his own mother-in-law, nor should he use the word 'tvad' with respect to them, touch their body, or give them the remnants of his food.[134] Female relatives who are to be respected like one's mother. (Among these relatives the mother-in-law is given a position higher than that of the mother's sister, maternal uncle's wife, and father's sister).

Chap. 2.—Conduct of Brahmins. Rules about the

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[132] Verses 23-24—

brāhmaṇasya deva-śarmā rāyo varmā ca kṣatriye /
dhano vaiśye tathā śūdre dāsa-śabdaḥ prayujyate //
strīṣu devīti viprāṇāṃ kṣatriyāṇāṃ ca kathyate /
dāsīti vaiśya-śūdrāṇāṃ kathyate dvija-puṃgava //

[133] Verse 26a—

brāhmaṇaḥ saṃskṛtoktyā tu vācaṃ dadyāt sukhānvitaḥ.

[134] Verses 42-43—

kaniṣṭha-bhrātṛ-patnyās tu snuṣāyāḥ śiṣya-yoṣitaḥ /
śvaśrvāś ca saṃmukhībhūyān na kadācid viśeṣataḥ //
tvaṃkāram aṅga-sparśaṃ ca bahiḥ-saṃdarśana-sthitim /
ucchiṣṭa-dāpanaṃ caiva nāsāṃ kuryāt kadācana //

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performance of *saṃdhyā* and the repetition of *gāyatrī*, the form and colour of which should be known from the 'Ādityākhya-purāṇaka'.[135] Performance of pitṛ-tarpaṇa. Rules to be observed in bathing and in answering the call of nature. Praise of Brahmins (who are called 'gods of the earth' and from whose feet all tīrthas are said to have issued).

Chap. 3.—Duties of kings[136] (viz., protection of subjects; possession of virtues such as truthfulness, benevolence, devotion to Viṣṇu, and readiness to serve Brahmins; possession of a high sense of self-respect; constant hostility; collection of war materials; digging of trenches; appointment of spies for knowing the tendencies of the subjects; deliberations in well-formed councils; possession of the qualifications of Agni, Candra, Yama and others; collection of rents from non-Brahmins; infliction of punishment for different kinds of crimes committed by the members of different castes; administration; consultation of the opinions of Brahmins versed in the Vedas, Āgamas and Purāṇas and of physicians and astrologers and astronomers; formation of the army; appointment of ministers; constant performance of *svastyayana* and worship of Brahmins; and so on).

Chap. 4.—Duties of Vaiśyas, which include the following: names of commodities in which the Vaiśyas may deal; determination of the limits of profit and interest;[137] use of

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[135] Verse 31—

gāyatryā varṇa-rūpādi ādityākhya-purāṇake /
jñeyaṃ tenārtham ājñāya gāyatrīṃ prajapet kṛtī //

[136] The expression 'rājā kṣatriya ity uktaḥ', used at the very beginning of this chapter, tends to show that to whatever caste a king might belong, he was always regarded as a Kṣatriya.

[137] Verses 7-10—

krīṇīta yena mūlyena tasya ṣoḍaśam aṃśakam /
vikrīta-labhyaṃ kuryāt tu hy adhike dharma-hāni-kṛt //
ṛṇaṃ dattvā māsi māsi datta-ṣoḍaśa-pādakam /
gṛhṇīyād vṛddhim ity evaṃ viṃśādau tu pṛthak pṛthak //
ito'dhikaṃ ced gṛhṇīyāt tadā bhogāya naiti tat /
śodhyate tu ṛṇaṃ yatra māse tatrādhikaṃ tyajet //
brāhmaṇebhya ṛṇaṃ dadyād gṛhṇīyān nādhikaṃ tataḥ /

The text of these verses, as given in the Vaṅga. ed., is defective. Hence, for the text of these verses we have used the ASB ed., most of the readings of which are supported by the Dacca University Mss of the Bṛhaddharma-p.

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different standards of measurement, viz., *droṇa* and *āḍhaka* (for measurement by heaping), *aṅgulī* and *hasta* (for measurement of length), *kuḍava* etc. (for measurement of land), and *māṣa*, *tāmra*, *tolaka* and *seraka* (for measurement of weight);[138] and so on.

Duties of Śūdras. (—A Śūdra is to serve the twice-born but should not read the Purāṇas or teach the members of the higher castes. He is allowed to hear the Purāṇas and read that Āgama, i.e. Tantric work, which is prescribed to him by his spiritual preceptor. The *mantra*, to be imparted to a Śūdra, must be bereft of *svāhā* and *praṇava*. It is only in times of distress that a Brahmin is allowed to instruct *mantras* to Śūdras and to read out the Purāṇas to them. "None but a Brahmin should instruct *mantra*, Tantra and beneficial knowledge to the members of the four castes. So, a Brahmin should give these to a Śūdra also". A Brahmin should not give to a Śūdra such food as has been dedicated to a deity. A Śūdra should drink the water with which the feet of a Brahmin have been washed. He must not commit the mahāpātakas. Water, flowers etc., brought by those Śūdras who live on food given by Brahmins, may be used by the latter in worship. A Śūdra should not call a Brahmin 'grandfather', 'uncle' etc., and *vice versa*).

Rules of purification of the body. Method of *ācamana* (sipping of water) and of painting *tilaka* marks. (Brahmins are to paint the ūrdhva-puṇḍra on their forehead).[139]

Chap. 5.—Duties of students. Requisites for *haviṣyānna*

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[138] Verses 11-12—

droṇāḍhakāṅgulī-hasta-kuḍavādi tathaiva ca /
māṣa-tolaka-buddhyarthaṃ mānaṃ kuryāt pṛthak pṛthak //
kuryāt tāmraiḥ serakaṃ ca triṃśatā ṣaḍbhir eva ca /
tadardhaṃ tolakaṃ jñeyam etena kraya-vikrayau //

In the third line the Vaṅga. ed. reads 'seṭakaṃ' and not 'serakaṃ'; but the reading 'serakaṃ' is found in the ASB ed. as well as in all the three Dacca University Mss of the Bṛhaddharma-p. (Ms A, used in the ASB ed., and Ms No. 4649 of the Dacca University spell this word as 'śerakaṃ').

[139] Verses 43b-44—

brāhmaṇaś cordhva-tilakam āśikhāntaṃ sadā dharet //
dviphālaṃ madhya-śūnyaṃ tu tilakaṃ mṛttikādibhiḥ /
bāhvoś ca hṛdaye caiva grīvāyāṃ pārśvayor api /
brāhmaṇas tilakāny eva kuryād vai sarva-karmasu //

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(for both students and widows). Daily duties of householders, including worship of the nine planets, offer of fodder to cows, selection of food, observance of certain rules about eating, and so on. "One should not eat fish and meat on Amāvāsyā, Paurṇamāsī, Caturdaśī, Aṣṭamī, Ravi-vāra, Bhānu-saṃkrānti, Dvādaśī Tithi, and on all the auspicious days (puṇyāha). One should never take fish, meat, *masūra*, *māṣa*, *nimba*, ginger and oil on Sundays. A Brahmin may eat fish such as Rohita, Śakula,[140] Śaphara etc. and also such fish as are white and have scales".[141] "At first rice mixed with ghee, then vegetables, next soup etc., and at last rice mixed with milk should be taken. Salt must not be mixed with milk, nor molasses with sour things".[142] Copper wares should be used under certain restrictions.

Chap. 6.—Further directions and prohibitions for the householders. Some of these directions and prohibitions are as follows. After taking the mid-day meal a householder is to take rest for a while, and then read or listen to the Purāṇas. He may see the king in the afternoon. In the evening he should perform *saṃdhyā* but refrain from certain acts, viz., deliberation on *śāstras*, eating, sleeping, consorting etc. He should sleep on wooden bedsteads and on beds furnished with bed-covers, with his head turned preferably towards the east or towards the south but never towards the north

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[140] In Bengal the 'Śakula' fish is popularly called 'Śaul māch'.

[141] Verses 44-46—

amāvāsyā-paurṇamāsī-caturdaśy-aṣṭamīṣu ca /
ravi-vāre tathā bhānu-saṃkrāntyāṃ dvādaśī-tithau /
puṇyāheṣu ca sarveṣu matsya-māṃsaṃ na bhakṣayet //
matsyaṃ māṃsaṃ masūraṃ ca māṣaṃ nimbaṃ tathārdrakam /
tailaṃ ca ravi-vāreṣu na gṛhṇīta kadācana //
śukla-varṇaṃ saśalkaṃ ca matsyaṃ bhuñjīta brāhmaṇaḥ //

The ASB ed. reads 'śapharaṃ śapharādhipam' for the second half of line 6, and this reading seems to be supported by the Dacca University Mss, of which Ms No. 319 reads 'śapharaṃ śapharādikam' and Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'śapharaṃ śapharādhikam'.

[142] Verses 48-49a—

ādau ghṛtānnam āhāryaṃ vyañjanaṃ śākam āditaḥ /
tataḥ sūpādi bhuñjita kṣīrānna-bhojanaṃ caret //
na kṣīre lavaṇaṃ dadyān nāmleṣu guḍam eva ca /

The ASB ed. as well as Dacca University Ms No. 4199 reads 'kṣīrāntaṃ' for 'kṣīrānna-' in the second half of the second line.

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or west.[143] He should salute Nandīśvara, Padmanābha, Nāgadevī and the household deity before sleep at night. He should avoid particular days in cohabiting with his wife, using oil, and taking meat. He should wear his cloth by tucking its hem at his navel.[144] Clothes washed by women or washermen must not be worn by him in worshipping deities and in performing *śrāddha* ceremonies etc. He should serve cows daily, and take milk, curd and ghee which are like nectar. In cultivation he should not work his bulls for more than one *prahara* and a half daily. At the time of starting on a journey he should see cows with calves, curd, white flowers, red kites (śaṅkha-cilla), *khañjana* birds etc. He should not take food offered by physicians (cikitsaka), Bhikṣus, usurers, Pāṣaṇḍas, and non-believers (nāstika). He should marry girls having auspicious signs. He may have one or more of the following twelve kinds of sons, viz., *aurasa*, *kṣetraja*, *datta*, *kṛtrima*, *gūḍhaja*, *apaviddha*, *kānīna*, *sahoḍha*, *krīta*, *paunarbhava*, *svayaṃdatta* and *śaudra* (or *pāraśava*), of whom the first six are entitled to inherit his property in order of preference, and the rest deserve maintenance only.[145] Except during the Durgā-pūjā in the month of Āśvina, he should not utter before others words expressive of male and

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[143] Verse 6—

prācyāṃ diśi śiraḥ śastaṃ yāmyāyām athavā dvija /
sadaiva svapataḥ śastaṃ viparītaṃ tu rogadam //

Verse 9b—

na vottaraśirā vipra na nagno'pi śayīta ha //

(The ASB ed. reads the last line as follows: naivottara-śirāḥ supyen na nagno'pi śayīta ca. The Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 support the readings of the ASB ed.).

[144] Verse 22a—

paridadhyān naro vastraṃ daśāṃ nābhau prayojayet /

[145] For the names and definitions of these sons and their right to inheritance see verses 68-78. The texts of some of these verses are given below.

aurasaḥ kṣetrajo dattaḥ kṛtrimo gūḍha-saṃbhavaḥ /
apaviddhaś ca kānīnaḥ sahoḍhaḥ krīta eva ca //
paunarbhavaḥ svayaṃdattaḥ śaudro dvādaśa putrakāḥ /
dāyādā ādimāḥ ṣaṭ syur laghutvaṃ cottarottaram //
.. ..
kalpyāḥ parikrīṇatāptāḥ pañca-varṣādhikāḥ kṛtāḥ /
na bhavanti hi te putrā bharaṇārthās tu kevalam //
.. ..
putreṣv eteṣu yaḥ putra aurasaḥ pitṛ-dāya-bhāk /
śeṣāṇām ānṛśaṃsyārthaṃ pradadyāt tu prajīvanam //

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female generative organs. Even during the Durgā-pūjā he should not utter these words before his mother, daughters or such female disciples as are not initiated to Śakti-worship.[146] He must regard his elder brother's wife as his mother and look upon his younger brother's wife and sister's daughter as his own daughters, and must not cohabit with these relatives even unwillingly. If he cohabits with any Mleccha or Yavana woman without being a Śakti-worshipper, he will lose his caste and be an object of curse of gods.[147] A Brahmin should not worship Śiva with the offer of wine, fish, meat and his own blood and with human sacrifice in times not prescribed by śāstras.[148]

Chap. 7.—Study of the Caṇḍī which contains 700 verses and belongs to the 'Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa', as well as of the Gītā belonging to the Mahābhārata[149]—essential to all Brahmins.

Duties of forest-hermits (vānaprastha) and wandering mendicants (yati).

Praise of the gārhasthyāśrama as the prop of all.

Chap. 8.—Duties of women (strī-dharma).—They are to serve their husbands and remain faithful to them even after their death. They should not forsake their husbands

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[146] Verses 81-83—

bhaga-liṅg-ādi-śabdaṃ ca noccaret para-gocaram /
uccared āśvine māsi mahāpūjā-dineṣu hi //
mātṛṛṇāṃ ca sutānāṃ ca samīpe na kadāpi ca /
a-śakti-dīkṣitāyāś ca śiṣyāyāḥ saṃnidhau na ca //
devī hi bhaga-rūpaiva bhaga-liṅga-rasa-priyā /
tasmāt tat-priya-kāmyāyai tat-pūjārhas tadā vadet //

[147] Verses 89-91—

mlecchāṃ ca yavanīṃ cāpi gatvā jātyā parityajet //
kalāv etāsu saṃgamya devatā-śāpam āpnuyāt /
durvahaḥ śakty-anuṣṭhānaṃ tatra muhyanti sūrayaḥ //
alaṅghyaṃ śiva-vākyaṃ ca yoga-panthānam uttamam /
tasmād yoga-priyāṃ devīṃ bhajan kurvan na doṣabhāk //

[148] Verse 98—

viprāḥ sva-raktair madyaiś ca manuṣya-balinā śivām /
nārcayen matsya-māṃsābhyāṃ kāle śāstra-niṣedhite //

The Vaṅga. ed. as well as Dacca University Ms No. 319 of the Bṛhaddharma-p. wrongly reads 'suraktaiḥ' for 'sva-raktaiḥ'.

[149] Verse 2—

mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇasthaṃ caṇḍī-saptaśatī-stavam /
gītā-śāstraṃ bhāratīyaṃ viprāḥ sarvāśramāḥ paṭhet //

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under any circumstances nor should they fast or perform any *vrata* without their permission. "A devoted wife should follow her husband in his death. By doing so she delivers him even from great sins. Women have no work greater than this, because [by virtue of this work] they enjoy pleasures in heaven in company with their husbands for a Manvantara. A wife, who, with her mind absorbed in [the thoughts of] her husband, dies by entering the fire with a favourite thing of his, even if he died long ago, attains the same state".[150] Widows must live a highly restricted life and abstain from wearing red clothes, sleeping on bedsteads, and indulging in all other kinds of luxury. Childless widows are called *avīrā*. There are two kinds of avīrās, viz., adattā and dattā.

Signs of women which indicate their future widowhood.

Chap. 9.—Due worship of the five deities, viz., Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Durgā and Śiva, the ten Dikpālas, and the nine planets—essential in all auspicious ceremonies.

Description of different kinds of Gaṇeśa-vrata, Sūrya-vrata, and Śiva-vrata.

[Among the Śiva-vratas, there is mention of a Śivotsava[151] which is to be performed outside the village

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[150] Verses 8-10—

mṛtaṃ patiṃ cānumṛtiṃ kuryān nārī pativratā /
mahadbhyo'pi ca pāpebhyaḥ patim uttārayet tu sā //
nātaḥ parataraṃ karma yoṣitāṃ vidyate dvija /
yato manvantaraṃ kālaṃ modate patinā divi //
patyuś cira-mṛtasyāpi priya-dravyeṇa tanmanāḥ /
praviśy-āgniṃ cānumṛtā tathāgatim avāpnuyāt //

[151] Verses 39-45—

caitre śivotsavaṃ kuryān nṛtya-gīta-mahotsavaiḥ /
snātvā tri-saṃdhyaṃ rātrau ca haviṣyāśī jitendriyaḥ /
śiva-svarūpatāṃ yāti śiva-prīti-karaḥ paraḥ //
kṣatriyādiṣu yo martyo dehaṃ saṃpīḍya bhaktitaḥ /
aśvamedha-phalaṃ tasya jāyate ca pade pade //
sarva-karma-parityāgī śivotsava-parāyaṇaḥ /
bhaktair jāgaraṇaṃ kuryād rātrau nṛtya-kutūhalaiḥ //
nānā-vidhair mahāvādyair nṛtyaiś ca vividhair api /
nānā-veśa-dharair nṛtyaiḥ priyate śaṃkaraḥ prabhuḥ //
kim alabhyaṃ bhagavati prasanne nīla-lohite /
tasmāt sarva-prayatnena toṣaṇīyo maheśvaraḥ //
śaṅkha-vādyaṃ śaṅkha-toyaṃ varjayec chiva-saṃnidhau //
grāmād bahiḥ śivaṃ (v.l. 'imaṃ' in ASB ed.) śaṃbhor utsavaṃ kārayen mudā /
upoṣya hutvā saṃkrāntyāṃ vratam etat samāpayet //

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during the whole month of Caitra and concluded on the Caitra-saṃkrānti with the performance of *homa*. In this Śivotsava the worshippers are to bathe thrice daily, fast at daytime, take *haviṣyānna* at night, live a highly restricted life, and practise various kinds of self-mortification. The devotees of Śiva are to pass the nights without sleep, disguise themselves in various ways, sing songs, perform different kinds of dance with the sound of various kinds of high-sounding drums and other musical instruments, and take part in other kinds of merriment. They are not to blow conch-shells before Śiva or offer to him water with these.]

Chap. 10.—Description of Vaiṣṇava *vratas*, such as Ekādaśī-vrata, Dola-yātrā (to be performed in Phālguna-paurṇamāsī), Rathotsava (in the month of Āṣāḍha), etc.

[During these *vratas*, which are to be attended with music, dance and other merriments, Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped in fire, water, Śālagrama-śilā or image, and different kinds of food materials are to be offered to him during the different months. For instance, *śāli* rice cooked with *mudga* and *māṣa*, mixed with ghee, and specially scented with leaves of Hiṅgu (Asa foetida) etc., and leaves of Vāstūka fried with ghee, are to be offered to Kṛṣṇa in the month of Pauṣa along with other things; cakes of *māṣa*, and vegetables cooked with *canaka* and scented with Hiṅgu[152] etc., are to be offered to him in Phālguna; mangoes, having soft stones, are to be offered with sugar in the month of Caitra; ripe mangoes, with milk and sugar, are to be offered in Jyaiṣṭha; jack-fruits are to be offered in Āṣāḍha; palms in Bhādra; and so on. Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped with nine kinds of *bhakti* including *dāsya* and *sakhya*.]

Short description of Durgā-pūjā (in Āśvina) and Nāga-pūjā (in Śrāvaṇa). Relative position of the stars and planets. Worship of planets by planet-worshipping Brahmins (graha-vipra) called Gaṇakas.

Chap. 11.—Hymns to the nine planets, viz., Sūrya-stotra (containing a hundred names of the Sun, such as

[152] This and other references to the use of Hiṅgu show that its use for creating an odour in food was very common with the Bengalis.

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Rogahan, Ruk-cikitsaka, Śiva-pūjaka-suprīta, Viṣṇu-pūjaka-supriya, Gaṅgā-snāna-priya-prīta, Durgā-pūjā-suhṛd-vara etc.), Śaśi-stotra (containing one hundred and eight names of the Moon, such as Kṣudhāha, Nāda-janaka, Madana, Haṃsa-svāmin, Śṛṅgāra-bhāva-karṣaṇa, Jaivātṛka, Hāsya-kartṛ, Jyotiḥ-śāstra-pramāṇaka, Vaidya, Saura-bhānu etc.), Maṅgala-stava (containing twenty-one names of Maṅgala), Budha-stotra (containing twenty-one names of Budha), Bṛhaspati-stotra (containing twenty-seven names of Bṛhaspati), Śukra-stava (containing twenty-one names of Śukrācārya), Śani-stotra (containing fourteen names of Śani), Rāhu-stotra (containing eight names of Rāhu), and Ketu-stava (containing nine names of Ketu).

Praise of the worship of Śani on every Saturday.[153]

Recitation of the above-mentioned hymns is said to give to the reciter all the desired objects including death in the Gaṅgā and the highest position among the jñātis (paternal blood relations).[154]

Discussions on week-days, *saṃvatsara*, and intercalary month.

Chap. 12.—Extents of the four *yugas*, and the condition of *dharma* and the people in these *yugas*. Names of the principal deities in these *yugas*. Story of the origin and spread of envy, old age, diseases, death etc. Praise of Hari-bhakti as the only remedy for these.

Chap. 13.—Genealogy of Veṇa. Story of Veṇa's creation of mixed castes (saṃkara-jāti).—Veṇa, son of Aṅga, was a tyrannical and impious ruler. He prohibited the practice of varṇāśrama-dharma by beat of drums. Finding that people were growing impious, some sages approached Veṇa and requested him not to encourage the spread of immorality and the consequent creation of mixed castes. But Veṇa was not a man to listen to any good advice. He

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[153] Verse 69—

śani-vāreṣu saṃpūjya śaniṃ sūrya-sutaṃ naraḥ /
labhate vāñchitaṃ sarvaṃ grahāriṣṭa-vināśanam //

[154] Verses 79c-80a—

anta-kāle ca gaṅgāyāṃ maraṇaṃ dadate dhruvam /
duḥsvapna-nāśanāḥ sarve jñāti-śreṣṭha-prasādhakāḥ //

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determined to go against the words of the sages. He forced the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras to cohabit with the females belonging to the castes different from their own in the natural as well as in the reverse order, and thus created a large number of mixed castes. He then repeated the same practice with respect to the males and females of these mixed castes and added to their number. The mixed castes, thus created by Veṇa, were as follows:—

I. Uttama Saṃkaras

1. Karaṇa	— born of	Vaiśya	father	and	Śūdra	mother,
2. Ambaṣṭha	— „	„	Brahmin	„	„	Vaiśya	„	,
3. Gāndhika Vaṇik[155]	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
4. Kaṃsakāra	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
5. Śaṅkhakāra	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
6. Ugra	— „	„	Kṣatriya	„	„	„	„	,
7. Rājaputra	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
8. Kumbhakāra	— „	„	Brahmin	„	„	Kṣatriya	„	,
9. Tantuvāya[156]	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
10. Karmakāra	— „	„	Śūdra	„	„	„	„	,
11. Dāsa	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
12. Māgadha	— „	„	Vaiśya	„	„	„	„	,
13. Gopa	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
14. Nāpita	— „	„	Kṣatriya	„	„	Śūdra[157]	„	,
15. Modaka	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
16. Vārajīvī	— „	„	Brahmin	„	„	„	„	,
17. Sūta[158]	— „	„	Kṣatriya	„	„	Brahmin	„	,
18. Mālākāra	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,
19. Tāmbūlī	— „	„	Vaiśya	„	„	Dvija[159] (i.e. Brahmin)	„	,
20. Taulika[160]	— „	„	„	„	„	„	„	,

[155] The ASB ed. (verse 35) reads 'gāndhiko vaṇik' for 'gandhiko vaṇik'. The Dacca University Ms No. 319 (fol. 150a) wrongly reads 'gāndhivālakaḥ' (which is clearly a mistake for 'gāndhiko vaṇik').

[156] The ASB ed. (Uttara-khaṇḍa 13.36, and 14.63) and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 (fols. 150a and 153a), 4199 (fols. 220b and 224a), and 4649 (fols. 319b and 325a) give the name as 'Tantravāya' and not 'Tantuvāya'.

[157] Mss B and D, used in the ASB ed., wrongly read 'kṣatriyāc chaṅkha-kanyāyāṃ jātau nāpita-modakau' for 'kṣatriyāc chūdra-kanyāyāṃ etc.' It is to be noted that the Uttama Saṃkaras are said to have been born of the four principal castes and not of any mixed caste (caturbhya eva varṇebhyo jāyante te kilottamāḥ—chap. 13, verse 49a).

[158] In the ASB ed. (verse 39) the name 'Sūta' is found, but in verse 66 of chap. 14 (of the Uttara-khaṇḍa) this name is spelt as 'Suta'. So also in the Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 (fol. 150a—'Sūta', fol. 153a—'Suta',) 4199 (fol. 220b—'Sūta', fol. 224b—'Suta'), and 4649 (fol. 320a—'Sūta' and fol. 325a—'Suta').

[159] The Vaṅga. ed. (III. 13. 38a) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 read 'vaiśyāt tu śūdra-kanyāyāṃ,' but the ASB ed. and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'vaiśyāt tu dvija-kanyāyāṃ'.

[160] Both in III. 13. 38a and 14. 59b the Vaṅga. ed. reads 'tailika'; but the ASB ed. has 'taulika' in the former and 'tailika' (v. l. 'taulika' in Ms C used in the ASB ed.)

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II. Madhyama Saṃkaras

1. Takṣā	— born of	Karaṇa	father and	Vaiśya	mother,					
2. Rajaka	— ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
3. Svarṇakāra	— ,,	,,	Ambaṣṭha	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
4. Svarṇa-vaṇik	— ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
5. Ābhīra	— ,,	,,	Gopa	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
6. Tailakāraka	— ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
7. Dhīvara	— ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Śūdra	,,	,,	,,
8. Śauṇḍika	— ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
9. Naṭa	— ,,	,,	Mālākāra	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
10. Śāvaka[161]	— ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
11. Śekhara	— ,,	,,	Māgadha	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
12. Jālika	— ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

III. Antyajas[162] (or Adhama Saṃkaras)

1. Gṛhi (or Grahi)[163]	— born of	Svarṇakāra	father and	Vaidya	mother,					
2. Kuḍava	— ,,	,,	Svarṇa-vaṇik	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
3. Cāṇḍāla[164]	— ,,	,,	Śūdra	,,	,,	Brahmin	,,	,,	,,	,,
4. Varuḍa[165]	— ,,	,,	Abhīra	,,	,,	Gopa	,,	,,	,,	,,
5. Carmakāra	— ,,	,,	Takṣan	,,	,,	Vaiśya	,,	,,	,,	,,

in the latter, whereas the Dacca University Mss read 'tailika' in the former and 'taulika' in the latter.

As 'Tailakāraka' is mentioned as one of the Madhyama Saṃkaras, the reading 'taulika' seems to be the correct one.

[161] The ASB ed. names this caste as 'Śāvāka' (see Uttara-kh., chap. 13, verse 43). It was most probably the Buddhist Śrāvakas who formed the 'Śāvaka' caste among the Hindus.

In Mukundarāma's Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī (ed. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyay and Hrishikesh Basu), Part I, p. 269, there is mention of a caste named 'Śavāka' (v. l. 'Sarāka' in the Indian Press ed., p. 90 and Vanga. ed., p. 89). According to Brahmavaivarta-p. I. 10. 121 'Śarāka' originated from Jolā father and Kuvinda mother (jolāt kuvinda-kanyāyāṃ śarākaḥ parikīrtitaḥ).

[162] The list of Antyaja castes, given in Bṛhaddh. III. 13. 43b-47a, does not seem to be exhaustive. The word 'ityādi' occurring in the line 'ityādi ye'ntyajāḥ proktāḥ' (verse 47b) which immediately follows the list of the Antyaja castes, indicates that at the time of composition of the Bṛhaddharma-p. the number of the Antyaja castes exceeded eight.

(The ASB ed. and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'ityādayo 'ntyajāḥ proktāḥ').

[163] For the reading 'mune gṛhir ajāyata' of the Vaṅga. ed. (III. 13. 43b) and the Dacca University Ms No. 4199, the Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 and 4649 read 'mune grahir ajāyata'.

The caste named 'Gṛhi' (or 'Grahi') may be the same as the घडई caste mentioned in Mukundarāma's Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī (ed. Dinesh Chandra Sen and others, Part I, p. 272).

[164] The Vaṅga. ed. (verse 44b) gives the name of this caste as Caṇḍāla.

[165] The Vaṅga. ed. (verse 45a) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 read 'vaḍuraḥ' for 'varuḍaḥ'.

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6. Ghaṭṭajīvī[166]	— born of	Rajaka[167]	father	and	Vaiśya	mother
7. Dolāvāhī[168]	— „	„ Tailakāra	„	„	„	„ ,
8. Malla[169]	— „	„ Dhīvara	„	„	Śūdra	„ .

These were 'the thirty-six castes with a few additional ones'.[170] Of these, the first twenty had Śrotriya Brahmins as their priests, and the last eight (i.e. the Antyaja castes) were 'outside the pale of varṇāśrama-dharma' (varṇāśrama-bahiṣkṛtāḥ). The principle which was followed in classifying the above-mentioned castes, was as follows. The mixed castes, which originated from the four principal castes (viz., Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra), were called Uttama Saṃkaras; those which were created by the Uttama Saṃkaras on women not belonging to their own castes, were called Madhyama Saṃkaras; and the remaining mixed castes as well as those which were created by mixed castes only, were

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[166] The ASB ed. (verse 47a) reads 'ghaṇṭajīvī' (v. l. 'ghaṭṭajīvī' in Mss B, C and D used in the ASB ed.). The Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 and 4649 read 'ghaḍajīvī', and Ms No. 4199 reads 'ghaṭajīvī'.

It is probable that 'Ghaṭṭajīvī' is the same as the modern पाटनी caste of Bengal.

[167] The Vaṅga. ed. (verse 46a) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 wrongly read 'dharakāt' and 'varakāt' respectively (for 'rajakāt').

[168] Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 (fol. 221a) and 4649 (fol. 320b) read 'jānavāhī' for 'dolāvāhī'.

[169] The Vaṅga. ed. (verse 47a) as well as the Dacca University Ms No. 319 wrongly reads 'matta-jātiḥ' for 'malla-jātiḥ'.

The 'Malla' caste must be the same as the 'Mala' caste, which is mentioned as Antyaja along with 'Cāṇḍāla' in the ASB ed. (verse 51—sa-cāṇḍāla-malādayaḥ) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 (fol. 150b—sa-caṇḍāla-malādayaḥ). The Dacca University Ms No. 4199 (fol. 221a) reads 'sa-cāṇḍāla-mūlādayaḥ'; and the Vanga. ed. (verse 50b) and the Dacca University Ms No. 4649 read 'sa-caṇḍāla-manādayaḥ'.

According to Mukundarāma's Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī, Mālas lived outside the cities (माल वसे पुरेर वाहिरे —Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī, ed. Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, p. 91; ed. Dinesh Chandra Sen and others, Part I, p. 272).

[170] Verse 48a—

ṣaṭtriṃśaj-jātayas tv ete sādhikāḥ kathitās tava.

The Vaṅga. ed. and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'ṣaḍviṃśa jātayaḥ' in the corresponding line. That the reading 'ṣaḍviṃśa jātayaḥ' is wrong, is shown by the fact that in chap. 14 of the Uttara-kh. both the printed editions and all the three Dacca University Mss have a line 'ṣaṭtriṃśaj-jātayaḥ śūdrā yūyaṃ bhūtās tu saṃkarāḥ' in which there is mention of the 'thirty-six castes'. The reading 'ṣaṭtriṃśaj-jāta-karmāṇi', given in the ASB ed., is obviously erroneous. The Mss B, C and D, used in the ASB ed., read 'ṣaṭtriṃśaj-jātayas tv ete').

The word 'sādhikāḥ' (lit. meaning—'with a few more') shows that among the names of the forty mixed castes mentioned in the Bṛhaddharma-p. there is none which can be taken as a later addition, and that the tradition of 'thirty-six castes' must have originated much earlier than the date of composition of the Bṛhaddharma-p.

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called Adhama Saṃkaras.[171] "The Devala (Image-worshipper), who was brought by Suparṇa from Śāka-dvīpa, became famous as Śākadvīpī Brahmin on the surface of the earth. From Devala was born Gaṇaka as well as Vādaka in a Vaiśyā (female). From Veṇa's own limb a son named Mleccha was born. This Mleccha, again, had sons, viz., Pulinda, Pukkaśa, Khaśa, Yavana, Suhma, Kamboja, Śavara, Khara and others, who formed the different classes of Mlecchas."[172] Seeing all these, the sages killed Veṇa with a roar, rubbed both his hands, and brought Pṛthu and his wife into existence. They placed Pṛthu on the throne.

Chap. 14.—Due to the presence of the mixed castes, which were 'adharma-saṃbhava',[173] Pṛthu himself could not attain peace of mind, and his subjects began to suffer from scarcity of food. Consequently, in accordance with the advice of Brahmins, Pṛthu stopped the further multiplication

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[171] Verses 49-50—

caturbhya eva varṇebhyo jāyante te kilottamāḥ/
tato ye 'svā-saṃgamena saṃkarāntara-kārakāḥ//
te coktā madhyamā vipra adhamāḥ saṃkarāntaram/
saṃkarāntara-saṃbhūtāḥ sa-cāṇḍāla-malādayaḥ//

The Vaṅga. ed. wrongly reads 'sa-caṇḍāla-manādayaḥ' for the second half of the fourth line.

[172] śāka-dvīpāt suparṇena cānīto yaś ca devalaḥ/
śākadvīpī dvijaḥ so 'bhūd vikhyāto dharaṇī-tale//
devalād gaṇako jāto vaiśyāyāṃ vādako 'pi ca/
veṇasya svāṅgāt saṃbhūto mleccho nāma suto varaḥ//
pulindaḥ pukhaśaś caiva khaśo vai yavanas tathā/
suhma-kamboja-śavarāḥ kharaś cetyādayaḥ sutāḥ//
mlecchasya saṃbabhūvuś ca mleccha-bhedās ta eva hi//

The Vaṅga. ed. reads the third line as follows:

tasmād vai gaṇako jāto homa-pūjā-parāyaṇaḥ.

But this reading is supported neither by the ASB ed. nor by any of the Dacca University Mss.

In the sixth line the Vaṅga. ed. reads '-kāmboja-' (for '-kamboja-') and the Dacca University Ms No. 4199 reads '-kāmbuja-'.

[173] Verse 5a—adharma-saṃbhavās te vai saṃkarāḥ pṛthivī-tale.

The facts that the mixed castes are called 'adharma-saṃbhava' in the above-mentioned line, that the Antyaja castes are called 'varṇāśrama-bahiṣkṛta' (ityādi ye 'ntyajāḥ proktā varṇāśrama-bahiṣkṛtāḥ—verse 47b of chap. 13), that in verses 17 and 22 the members of the mixed castes are called 'vikṛtākāra' (ugly), and that these members are said to have looked upon Brahmā, Viṣṇu and other gods as inferior to themselves (cf. verse 19c—'brahma-viṣṇvādayo devā nāsmatto hy adhikāḥ kvacit', uttered by the members of the mixed castes), tend to indicate that according to the author of the Bṛhad-dharma-p, the above-mentioned mixed castes were mostly non-Aryan in origin and heretical in faith.

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of mixed castes, chastised the defiant members of these castes, and asked the Brahmins to determine their 'varṇa' (caste)[174] and 'vṛtti' (profession). The Brahmins styled all the 'thirty-six castes' as Śūdras, asked them what professions they would like to adopt according to their own capacity, and told them that they would be classified by names in accordance with their respective professions.[175] The Karaṇas came forward first of all (ādau)[176] and said to the Brahmins, "We are ignorant, belong to no caste (jāti-hīnāḥ), and are specially devoid of wisdom. People like yourselves are all-knowing. [So], make us as we deserve to be."[177] The Brahmins found that these Karaṇas were 'nītijña' and 'vinayācāra-saṃpanna'. So, they classed them as 'Sacchūdra' (clean Śūdras)[178], asked them to give up 'mātsarya', and assigned to them the work of the state as well as that of the scribes. The Brahmins then took up the case of the Ambaṣṭhas, who were known as such because of the fact that they created mixed castes (viz., Svarṇakāra and Svarṇa-vaṇik) on women belonging to the same caste as that of their

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[174] The statements that at the request of the people of mixed origin, Pṛthu asked the Brahmins to determine their castes ('varṇa'—verses 23-24), that the Brahmins styled the 'thirty-six castes ('jāti')' as Śūdras (verse 26), and that the Karaṇas called themselves 'jātihīna' (casteless—verse 28), tend to indicate that before the classification of the non-Brahmin population (of Bengal) into 'thirty-six castes', the inhabitants of this province had little sense of caste distinction. Such a state of society was most probably due to the spread of Buddhism.

[175] Verse 26—

brāhmaṇā ūcuḥ—
ṣaṭtriṃśaj-jātayaḥ śūdrā yūyaṃ bhūtās tu saṃkarāḥ/
kaḥ kiṃ kariṣyate karma sa tad brūtāṃ sva-śaktitaḥ/
karmānurūpa-nāmāno yūyaṃ sarve bhaviṣyatha//

[176] This shows that according to the Bṛhaddharma-p. it was the Karaṇas who imbibed Brahmanical influence first of all, and that they commanded the highest respect among the non-Brahmins.

[177] Verse 28—

karaṇa uvāca—
vayaṃ mūrkhā jāti-hīnāḥ prajñā-śūnyā viśeṣataḥ/
bhavad-vidhās tu sarvajñāḥ kurudhvaṃ no yathocitān//

The Vanga. ed. reads 'bhavad-vidhāṃs tu sarvajñān kurudhavaṃ tu yathocitān' for the second line.

[178] Verse 32—

eṣa eva hi sacchūdro bhavaty eva na saṃśayaḥ/
brāhmaṇe bhaktimattvaṃ tu devatārādhane matiḥ/
amātsaryaṃ suśīlatvam etat sacchūdra-lakṣaṇam//

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mother (ambā), and who were consequently looked upon as great sinners and despised.[179] The Brahmins gave these Ambaṣṭhas 'almost a rebirth' by performing their *saṃskāra* (ceremony of purification), named them as 'Vaidya', and gave the 'Āyurveda' to them through Nāsatya and Dasra.[180] Thus the Ambaṣṭhas were made sinless (pāpa-śūnya) and good-looking (cāru-rūpadhara).[181] The Brahmins asked these Ambaṣṭhas (i.e. Vaidyas) to adopt the course of Śūdras in their ordinary life, to perform the Vedic rites, to study the 'Āyurveda' only and not any other work such as the Purāṇa etc., and to follow the profession of Vaiśyas in the manufacture and distribution of medicines;[182] the Ugras, who were strong and brave, were asked to follow the profession of Kṣatriyas;[183] and the Māgadhas, who were unwilling to

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[179] Verses 38-39—

brāhmaṇā ūcuḥ—
ayam anyaḥ saṃkaro hi veṇasya vaśagaḥ purā/
vaiśyāṃ samupasaṃgamya cakre'nyam api saṃkaram//
tasmād ambaṣṭha-nāmāstu saṃkaro'yaṃ dharāpate/
pāpam eva mahac cakre nindyatvaṃ gatam avyayam//

The fourth line (pāpam eva etc.) is wanting in the Vaṅga.ed. Mss A and C, used in the ASB ed., wrongly read 'pādam' for 'pāpam'.

[180–81] Verses 39-42a—

brāhmaṇā ūcuḥ—
... ...
asmābhir asya saṃskāraḥ kartavyo vipra-janmanaḥ/
yenāsau saṃskṛto bhūtvā punar-jāta ivāstu ca//
vyāsa uvāca—
ity uktvā te dvija-gaṇāḥ smṛtvā nāsatya-dasrakau/
tayor anugrahād vipra dayāvanto dvijātayaḥ//
āyurvedaṃ dadau tasmai vaidya-nāma ca puṣkalam/
tenāsau pāpa-śūnyo'bhūd ambaṣṭhaḥ khyāti-saṃyutaḥ//
cāru-rūpa-dharo bhūtvā viprājñāṃ śirasākarot//

The Dacca University Mss read 'vaidya-nāma' and the Vaṅga. ed. reads 'vaidya-nāmne' for 'vaidya-nāma' in line 5.

[182] Verses 44-46—

brāhmaṇā ūcuḥ—
... ...
cikitsā-kuśalo bhūtvā kuśalī tiṣṭha bhūtale/
śūdra-dharmān samāśritya vaidikāni kariṣyasi//
āyurvedas tu yo dattas tubhyam ambaṣṭha bhūsuraiḥ/
tena prasakto naivānyat purāṇādi vadiṣyasi//
āyurvedāt paraṃ nānyad yuṣmākaṃ vākyam arhati/
vaiśya-vṛttyā bhaiṣajāni kṛtvā dāsyasi sarvataḥ//

[183] Verse 50a-b—

ayam ugrābhidho'py astu balavān sāhasānvitaḥ/
yuddhe kuśalatāsyāstu kṣatra-vṛtter mahāmate//

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become professional fighters like Ugras, were to work as bards (vandī) to Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, to carry their letters to the addressees, and to study the Kṣatra-veda (i.e. works on the science of war).[184] The other castes were given the following professions:—

Caste		Profession
Tantuvāya	..	Manufacture of cloth (vastra-sṛṣṭi).
(Gandha-) Vaṇik	..	Sale of scents (gandha-vikraya).
Nāpita	..	Shaving and dressing of hair (kṣaura-karma).
Gopa	..	Writing (likhana).
Karmakāra	..	Work of a blacksmith (lauha-karma).
Taulika	..	Sale of betel-nuts (guvāka-vikraya).
Tāmbūlī	..	Sale of betels (tāmbūla-vikraya)
Kumbhakāra	..	Manufacture of earthen wares (mṛdāṃ śilpam).
Kaṃsakāra	..	Work connected with copper, bell-metal etc. (tāmra-kāṃsy-ādi-karma).
Śāṅkhika (i.e. Śaṅkhakāra)		Manufacture of ornaments from conch-shells (śaṅkha-bhūṣā).
Dāsa	..	Agriculture (kṛṣi-karma.)
Sūta[185]	..	Rendering help to Dāsas (most probably by manufacturing ploughs and other implements for cultivation. Cf. verse 61b—dāse tu kṛṣi-karmāṇi sūte tad-upayogitām).

[184] Verses 50c-56.

[185] The profession of the Sūtas show that they were most probably carpenters. It seems that Sūta and Takṣan formed two distinct sections among the carpenters (Sūtra-dhara caste). Takṣan may be the same as the Patita (fallen) Sūtradhara caste mentioned in Brahmavaivarta-p. I. 10.

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Caste		Profession
Modaka	..	Preparation of sweetmeats with molasses (guḍa-karma).
Mālākāra	..	Supply of flowers for worship of deities.
Svarṇakāra	..	Manufacture of ornaments with gold and silver (svarṇa-rūpya-bhūṣaṇādi-nirūpaṇa).
Kānaka Vaṇik[186] (i.e. Svarṇa-vaṇik)	..	Testing of the purity of gold and silver.

The Brahmins gave works on astronomy and astrology to the Gaṇakas and made them Graha-vipras. At the prayer of the members of the mixed castes for priests for the performance of 'Vaidika, Smārta and Āgamika (i.e. Tantric) rites', the Brahmins said, "We, Śrotriya Brahmins, are priests to the [first] twenty castes. The priests of the remaining sixteen castes are the fallen Brahmins, who will attain the same position as their clients and become Brahmins in name only (brahma-bandhu)."[187]

Thus king Pṛthu put a stop to the further growth of mixed castes, and the world attained peace and prosperity.

[In this chapter there are indications that the members of the non-Brahmin castes were originally non-Aryan, that they had a mixture of Aryan blood in their veins, that they were heretical in faith and had little sense of caste distinction before their classification into the above-mentioned castes,

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[186] For 'kānako vaṇik' (ASB ed., verse 68) the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'svarṇako vaṇik'; the Dacca University Ms No. 319 reads 'kālako vaṇik'; and the Vaṅga. ed. has 'kaliko vaṇik'.

[187] viṃśatīnāṃ tu jātīnāṃ purodhāḥ śrotriyā vayam/
anyeṣāṃ ṣoḍaśānāṃ tu purodhāḥ patito dvijaḥ//
taj-jāti-tulyatāṃ yāyād brahma-bandhur bhaved api/
(ASB ed., verses 74-75).

The text of these lines, given in the ASB ed., is supported by all the Dacca University Mss.

The Vaṅga. ed. reads these lines as follows:
uttamānāṃ tu jātīnāṃ ... .../
anyeṣāṃ caiva jātīnāṃ purodhāḥ .../
... ... yāyād anyathā-karaṇād dvija/

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and that it was the Karaṇas who imbibed Brahmanical influence first of all.]

Chap. 15.—Incarnation of Supreme Brahma (i.e. Viṣṇu) as Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Mention of Vāsudeva's exploits.

Praise of gift of gold, cows, food (*anna*), land and clothes which pleases Kṛṣṇa. Praise of donation.

Chap. 16.—Story of Kṛṣṇa's birth.—Vasudeva's agreement with Kaṃsa to hand over to him every child of Devakī immediately after its birth; Kaṃsa's killing of six children of Devakī; Viṣṇu's eulogy of Devī (Kālī) at Kāmarūpa for saving his own life when he would be born of Devakī; Devī's consent to transfer the seventh child of Devakī into Rohiṇi's womb and to be born of Yaśodā; Viṣṇu's entrance into the womb of Devakī, and his birth as Kṛṣṇa on the Bhādra-kṛṣṇāṣṭamī Tithi; Kaṃsa's attempt to kill Devī, born of Yaśodā but transferred to Devakī; Devī's slipping into the sky, her assumption of a dreadful form,[188] and her threat to Kaṃsa.

[In the above-mentioned eulogy, Devī is described as follows: She is dark-blue like the new cloud, wears a tiger-skin which is tied round her waist with a snake, has three eyes and four hands, and holds a *khaḍga* (sceptre), a *pāśa* (noose), and a skull. As Maṅgala-caṇḍikā she is said to have granted a boon to Kālaketu by assuming the form of a '*godhikā*', and to have saved, by sitting on a lotus and devouring and vomitting out elephants, a merchant and his son from the rage of king Śrīśālavāhana.][189]

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[188] Verses 95-96—

aṣṭa-hastā khaḍga-carma-śūlāsi-bāṇa-pāśakaiḥ/
paraśu-yaṣṭi-saṃyuktair deva-devībhir arcitā//
ghaṇṭā-śaṅkha-dhanur-nādaiḥ śabdayantī diśo daśa/

[189] Verse 45—

tvaṃ kālaketu-varadā cchala-godhikāsi
yā tvaṃ śubhā bhavasi maṅgala-caṇḍikākhyā/
śrīśālavāhana-nṛpād vaṇijaḥ sasūno
rakṣāmbuje kari-cayaṃ grasatī vamantī//

For 'rakṣāmbuje' (in the second line) the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'rakṣāsṛje' and the Vaṅga. ed. reads 'rakṣe'mbuje'.

The above-mentioned verse refers to the stories of Kālaketu and Śrīmanta Sadāgara found in the Caṇḍī-maṅgala-kāvyas of Bengal.

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Chap. 17.—Merriment at Gokula on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa's birth. Gopīs' blessings on Kṛṣṇa with paddy, Dūrvā grass etc.; Rāma and Kṛṣṇa's sports and exploits, viz., killing of Baka and other demons, chastisement of the snake Kāliya, stealing of clothes of Gopīs, performance of the Rāsotsava, upholding of the Govardhana hill, killing of Kaṃsa and Jarāsandha, bringing about the destruction of Kālayavana, and so on.

Chap. 18.—Names of Kṛṣṇa's wives, sons and grandsons. Story of the gem called Syamantaka, which was recovered by Kṛṣṇa from Jāmbavat. Kṛṣṇa's friendship with the Pāṇḍavas, and his killing of Śiśupāla, Śālva, Pauṇḍraka and others.

Chap. 19.—Description of the state of religion and society in the Kali age.

[This chapter contains valuable information regarding the contemporaneous state of religion and society in Bengal. It is said that during the Kali age people would be at daggers drawn, and the Brahmins would scarcely study the Vedas. The Śūdras would read the Purāṇas and explain their meaning. "They would teach the Brahmins grammar and other śāstras." The Vedic religion would be eclipsed by the faiths of the Pāṣaṇḍas (pāṣaṇḍa-dharmaiḥ). "The Pāṣaṇḍas would create their own gods by dint of their own intellect, compile śāstras in the Prakrit language on the basis of non-śāstras and preach their own faiths with a spirit of rivalry." They would forsake Kṛṣṇa and worship their non-śāstric god. These Pāṣaṇḍas and the Yavanas would destroy the varṇāśrama-dharma. People would become licentious (bhaga-liṅg-opajīvinaḥ), disguise themselves as Vaiṣṇavas, and impart *mantras* to dishonest people for the sake of money. They themselves would hate the gods and make the honest twice-born people irreverent towards them. [190] "When Kṛṣṇa would leave the earth, the reviling Bauddhas would establish their own faith which was outside the pale of all religions. There would be serious disagree-

[190] This seems to be a censure on the followers of Madhva.

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ment among the Purāṇas as well as among the different systems of philosophy, and Sarasvatī would be weeping out of agony. In order to remove this mental agony of Sarasvatī, Śiva and Viṣṇu would be incarnate somewhere on earth in families having the surname 'Ācārya'. Viṣṇu, being incarnate as an Ācārya,[191] would have Sarasvatī as his wife, and the Ācārya, named Śaṃkara, would become a *saṃnyāsin*. These two would refute the views of the Buddhists by means of the Nyāya system of philosophy and the latter would suffer great mental agony. After suppressing the Bauddhas, Ācārya Śaṃkara himself would write divine *stavas* and *kavacas* of deities and become the author of many beneficial philosophical works. By virtue of the '*mṛta-saṃjīvanī vidyā*' he would assume different bodies and write excellent books on Kāvya, Vyākaraṇa etc. When these two Ācāryas would leave this earth, Kali would be predominant and deprive the people of their spirit, and Dharma would decrease day by day."[192] "Brahmins would forsake the Vedas and take intoxicants, and the earth would yield scanty crops and shrink day by day." "The Yavanas would become powerful, and the gods would leave this earth which would be crowded only by Mlecchas." Hari would be incarnate as Kalki and exterminate all these Mlecchas. Then the earth would be covered by water, and the Satya-yuga would begin again.]

Chap. 20.—Crimes (such as killing of Brahmins, drinking of wine, etc.) which are called mahāpātakas. But a Śūdra

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[191] This perhaps refers to Kumārila-bhaṭṭa.

[192] Verses 20-29a—

tyakte kṛṣṇena bhū-khaṇḍe bauddhāḥ kecid vidūṣakāḥ/
sva-mataṃ sthāpayiṣyanti sarva-dharma-bahiṣkṛtam//
tadā purāṇe sarvasmin darśaneṣu ca sarvaśaḥ/
vibhedeṣu tadā duḥkhād rodamānā sarasvatī//
tasya hi duḥkha-śāntyarthaṃ śivo viṣṇuś ca bhūtale/
ācāryopādhi-goṣṭhyāṃ tu kutrāpy avatariṣyataḥ//
viṣṇor ācārya-rūpasya sā ca bhāryā bhaviṣyati/
ācāryaḥ śaṃkarākhyo hi kṛtvā saṃnyāsam āśramam//
ubhau tau bauddha-saṅghasya naiyāyika-matena ha/
nivārayiṣyanti balāt te mariṣyanti dāhitāḥ//
... ...

The expression 'te mariṣyanti dāhitāḥ' does not seem to refer to religious persecution.

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does not become guilty of mahāpātaka by drinking wine. Mahāpātakas in the case of Śūdras (viz., reading of Purāṇas, non-salutation of Brahmins, sexual intercourse with Brahmin women, and so on). Crimes (viz., plagiarism, misinterpretation of śāstras, interpolation of verses into Purāṇas, and so on) which are equal to the mahāpātakas. Spread of sins among the people through conversation, touch of the body, breaths, inter-dining, riding the same vehicle, and sitting on the same seat. Denouncement of association with Yavanas, use (or study) of their language, and taking food from them.[193] Praise of the 'Bṛhaddharma-purāṇaka' as the best 'Upapurāṇa', just as the 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' is the best of all 'Mahāpurāṇas'.

Chap. 21.—Praise of the 'Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa', which is called a Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śākta work[194] and is said to occupy a unique position among the 'Upapurāṇas' just like the 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' among the 'Mahāpurāṇas'.

The above analysis of contents shows how important the Bṛhaddharma-p. is from various points of view. In this work there are numerous evidences[195] which point to Bengal as the place of its origin. These evidences are as follows:

(i) In Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 13 there is a list of 'thirty-six [mixed] castes with a few additional ones' (ṣaṭtriṃśaj-jātayaḥ ... sādhikāḥ ...) which are all non-Brahmin and include the name of Vaidya; and in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 14 these 'thirty-six castes' have been called 'Śūdras'[196], and their vocations have been given. In these two chapters the Brahmins also have been divided into two main classes, viz.,

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[193] Verses 14-15—

ālāpād gātra-saṃsparśān niḥśvāsāt saha-bhojanāt/
eka-yānāsanābhyāṃ ca pāpaṃ saṃkramate nṛṇām//
saṃsargo yāvanaś caiva bhāṣā ca yāvanī tathā/
surā-tulyaṃ dvayaṃ proktaṃ yavanānnaṃ tato 'dhikam//

[194] Verse 5a—

idaṃ hi vaiṣṇavaṃ śāstraṃ śaivaṃ śāktaṃ tathaiva ca.

[195] Some of these evidences were noted by Jogesh Chandra Roy in his short analysis of the Bṛhaddharma-p.—See Bhāratavarṣa (a Bengali monthly journal published from Calcutta), XVII, Part ii, 1336-37 B.S., pp. 673-81.

[196] Verse 26—ṣaṭtriṃśaj-jātayaḥ śūdrāḥ .....

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Śrotriya and Patita. It is to be noted that the tradition of 'thirty-six castes' (छत्रिश जाति) is very popular in Bengal,[197] that all the castes (including Gaṇaka), mentioned in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 13-14, still exist only in Bengal and follow the same professions as mentioned in the Bṛhaddharma-p., that Vaidya, as a caste, is found in no other province than Bengal, and that even at the present day the non-Brahmin castes of Bengal are called Śūdras.[198]

(ii) Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 1. 23-24 prescribe the following surnames to be used by the members of the different castes: (a) 'Deva-śarman' for Brahmins, (b) 'Rāya' and 'Varman' for Kṣatriyas, (c) 'Dhana' (i.e. words indicative of wealth) for Vaiśyas, (d) 'Dāsa' for Śūdras, (e) 'Devī' for females belonging to the Brahmin and Kṣatriya castes, and (f) 'Dāsī' for females of the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes. These surnames, especially 'Devī' and 'Dāsī', are still used in Bengal.

(iii) The Bṛhaddharma-p. uses the word 'mā' in the sense of 'mother',[199] and the word 'bhagnī' in the sense of 'sister' (bhaginī).[200]

(iv) Some Sanskrit words and verbal roots have been used in the Bṛhaddharma-p. in such peculiar senses as are found attributed to them in Bengali, viz.,

(a) the root 'vas' in the sense of 'sitting'[201] and the phrase 'mukhe jagāda' for 'mukhena jagāda',[202]

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[197] The mention of 'छत्रिश जाति' is found in Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara and Mukundarāma's Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī (both written in Bengali). 'छत्रिश जातिर भात' is a very popular saying in Bengal.

[198] In Bṛhaddh. I. 4. 21, only two castes have been mentioned, viz., Brahmin and Śūdra.

[199] Bṛhaddh. II. 30. 30—
tadā sa jīvito bālaḥ prāṇaṃ prāpya ca tatkṣaṇāt/
pārvatīṃ harṣayāmāsa māmeti kṛtya rodanam//
The ASB ed. reads 'mametyavyakta-rodanaḥ' for the second half of the second line.

[200] Bṛhaddh. II. 7. 28—
atha dakṣo dadarśaināṃ kālīṃ kamala-locanām/
bhagnī-gaṇasya madhyasthāṃ tārāṇāṃ rohiṇīm iva//

[201–202] Bṛhaddh. I. 3. 75—
atither nikaṭaṃ gatvā jijñāsor uṣito'bhavat.
II. 14. 66- ityuktas tena hariṇā nārado lajjayānvitaḥ/
na jagāda mukhe kiṃciddhariṇā saha cāvasat//
II. 14. 67- uvāsa nāradaś cāpi pūrva-kalpita āsane.
III. 4. 32- brāhmaṇasyāsane śūdro na vased ca kadācana.

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(b) the word 'svīkāra' in the sense of 'promise',[203]
(c) the word 'vilakṣaṇa' in the sense of 'sufficient',[204]
(d) the word 'kṣati' in the sense of 'loss',[205]
(e) the word 'dvārā' in the sense of 'with' or 'by',[206]
(f) the word 'nikaṭa' in the sense of 'to' or 'near',[207]
(g) the word 'he' in place of 'bho',[208]
and (h) the word 'pārita' used in the sense of 'capable of being done' but without any word ending in the suffix 'tum'.[209]

(v) The form of goddess Kālī and the method of her worship with 'Mālasī'[210] songs, as described in Bṛhad-

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[203] Bṛhaddh. I. 2. 2-4a—
amithyā-vacanaṃ satyaṃ svīkāra-pratipālanam/
... ...
evaṃ dvādaśadhā satyaṃ ... ...//

[204] Bṛhaddh. II. 14. 56—gānād virama devarṣe kṛtaṃ gānaṃ vilakṣaṇam.

[205] Bṛhaddh. II. 6. 42—tvaṃ tu gatvā kṣatiṃ svīyāṃ kariṣyasi vilakṣyate.

[206] Bṛhaddh. I. 10. 49—katham adya para-dvārā paṅkaja-dvayam ānaye.

[207] Bṛhaddh. I. 1. 10— ... ahaṃ prāpto vadarikāśramāt/
bhavatāṃ nikaṭam ... ... //
I. 3. 75—atither nikaṭaṃ gatvā jijñāsor uṣito 'bhavat.
I. 23. 29—evaṃ tu gopī-bāhulyād aneka-cāru-vigraham/
sarvābhiḥ sva-sva-nikaṭe pūrṇa-rūpaṃ ca lakṣitam//
I. 29. 13—sa jānīte kāvya-bījaṃ tasmād gacchata tatra vai /
tatas te nikaṭaṃ prāptā vayaṃ sarve maharṣayaḥ//
I. 30. 60—gaṅgāyā nikaṭa-sthalāt ... ...
II. 6. 88—dakṣajena śarīreṇa nāhaṃ te nikaṭocitā.
II. 4. 5—tāsāṃ saṃnikaṭībhūya ... ...
II. 10. 40—nāradaḥ sahasā gantuṃ matiṃ tannikaṭe 'karot.
II. 10. 59—... ... yaḥ śaṃbhor nikaṭaṃ gataḥ.
II. 12. 37—... ... devās te nikaṭāgatāḥ.
II. 12. 61—... ... ... girijā satī/
... ... yātā brahmādi-nikaṭaṃ ... ... //
II. 13. 23—... ... sadā śaṃbhoḥ sthāsyāmi nikaṭe kila.
II. 13. 24—sadā bhaktimatāṃ capi nikaṭeṣu vasāmy aham.
II. 14. 14—ahaṃ *gāyāmi nikaṭe taveti* yadi manyase.
II. 14. 57—gānaṃ kuruṣva cetyukto yo gāyati sa mūḍhadhīḥ/
jijñāsor nikaṭe vipra tasya gānaṃ vidhi-kṣatam//
And so on.

[208] Bṛhaddh. I. 29. 29—ity uktās te muni-gaṇāh sānandā eva he sakhi/
praṇamy-ādikaviṃ śrīlaṃ vālmīkiṃ te gatas tataḥ//
I. 30. 57—... he sakhi.
II. 26. 35—tvaṃ na śocasva he rājan ...

[209] Bṛhaddh. II. 19.1—pūrvair apāritaṃ karma ... ...

[210] We have already noted that particular songs about goddess Kālī are popularly called 'Mālasī gāna' (> Mālsī gān) in Bengal.

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dharma-p. I. 23, is peculiar to Bengal (and also perhaps to Assam).

(vi) The method of the autumnal worship of Durgā, as given in Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 22, is followed in Bengal. It includes certain rites which are peculiar only to Mithilā, Bengal and Kāmarūpa, viz., *bodhana* of Devī in a Bilva tree on the Āśvina-kṛṣṇa-navamī, worship of Devī in the Bilva tree up to the following Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī, special worship of Devī on the Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī Tithis, and the singing of amorous songs containing words denoting male and female organs of generation (i.e. the performance of Śāvarotsava) on the Vijayā Daśamī Tithi.

(vii) The method of performing the Rāsa-festival on the Kārttikī Paurṇamāsī, as described in Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 23, is still followed in Bengal.

(viii) The Śivotsava, described in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 9, is the same as the modern Caitra-pūjā (also called Caḍak-pūjā or Gājan) which is performed by the Hindu villagers in the month of Caitra in all parts of Bengal.

(ix) In the story of the introduction of the custom of observing the Govinda-dvādaśī-vrata on Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśī we find Varuṇa threatening Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī (a deity) thus: "Oh foolish Dvādaśī Tithi, don't you know me ? Every year I shall flood the whole earth on your day, so that no worship of Hari, the lord of all, becomes possible in you."[211] We know that in Bengal the level of water of annual flood during the rainy season reaches its highest point in the month of Bhādra.[212] Hence in the above-mentioned threat of Varuṇa, there is unmistakable reference to the condition prevailing in Bengal.

(x) Among the names of the principal holy places situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā from Gaṅgā-dvāra to

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[211] Bṛhaddh. I. 23. 49—
tithe dvādaśi re mūrkhe kiṃ na jānāsi mām api/
tvad-dine dharaṇīṃ sarvāṃ plāvaye prativatsaram/
yathā tvayi na pūjā syāddhareḥ sarveśvarasya hi //

[212] See also Bṛhaddh. II. 24. 45—
bhādra-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśyāṃ yāvad ākramate jalam/
tāvad garbhaṃ vijānīyāt tad-ūrdhvaṃ tīram ucyate //

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Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṃgama, mention is made of Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, the confluence of the Gaṅgā with the Padmāvatī, and Triveṇī where the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā become separate from the Gaṅgā, in the same order as given above.[213] Hence the Padmāvatī must be identical with the river Padmā, and Triveṇī with Muktaveṇī near Hughli in Bengal.

In Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 20. 49 the names 'Padmā' and 'Padmāvatī' are mentioned among the thousand names of Gaṅgā.

In connection with the description of the course of the Gaṅgā from the Sumeru mountain to the ocean it is said in Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 22 that after leaving Jahnu's hermitage the Gaṅgā followed the course of the Padmāvatī to a distance, then took a southerly course, and, after being separated from the Yamunā, met the ocean, and that the Padmāvatī attained broadness, rushed towards the east, and flowed into the ocean.

These references to the Padmāvatī, Triveṇī, and the course of the Gaṅgā show how greatly the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. tried to identify the river Hughli with the Gaṅgā and to pass the Padmā as a sacred river.

(xi) In two places[214] of the Bṛhaddharma-p. the sight of a Śaṅkha-cilla (red kite, popularly called Śaṅkha-cil) is mentioned as auspicous; and this belief exists in Bengal even at the present day.

(xii) In Bengal, the use of paddy and Dūrvā grass in blessing on ceremonial occasions has become a custom with women; and this custom has been referred to in Bṛhad-

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[213] See Bṛhaddh. I. 6. 27ff.

[214] Bṛhaddh. II. 28. 15-16—

dṛṣṭvā gaṅgā-taṭe vipra..... //
..... /
.....khañjanaṃ śukam eva ca/
praṇamen manasā bhaktyā śaṅkhacillaṇi tathaiva ca //

Bṛhaddh. III. 6. 46-47—

yātrā-kāle savatsāṃ ca dhenuṃ dṛṣṭvā sukhaṃ vrajet/
..... /
śivāṃ vipraṃ śaṅkhacillaṃ khañjanaṃ sajjanaṃ tathā //

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dharma-p. III. 17,[215] wherein *gopīs* are found to bless the new-born Kṛṣṇa with paddy and Dūrvā grass.

(xiii) By way of praising the goddess Kālī in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 16. 37-45, the author calls her 'śubhā maṅgala-caṇḍikā' and refers to the stories of Kālaketu and Śrīmanta Sadāgara in the verse 'tvaṃ kālaketu-varadā cchala-godhikāsi etc.' Now, these stories are peculiar to Bengal only and are found to occur elaborately in the Caṇḍī-maṅgala-kāvyas of medieval Bengal. So, this reference shows that the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. must have been a Bengali, otherwise he could never make such brief, and to non-Bengalis unintelligible, reference to these stories.

(xiv) The peculiar stories of Dakṣa-yajña-dhvaṃsa, Haragaurī-vivāha, Gaṇeśa-janma and Gaṅgotpatti, occurring in the Bṛhaddharma-p., are almost the same as those given in the Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī. So, it seems that in versifying these stories the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. followed the popular tradition of Bengal.

(xv) The influence of Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda is clearly discernible on the style, metre and spirit of the song (on Kṛṣṇa-līlā at Vṛndāvana) which is given in Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 14. 88ff. as follows:

"dūtikovāca —keśava kamala-mukhī-mukha-kamalaṃ
kamala-nayana kalayātulam amalam/
kuñja-gehe vijane'tivimalam //
dhruvaḥ //
surucira-hema-latānavalambā taruṇa-taruṃ bhagavantam /
jagad-avalambanam avalambitum anukalayati sā tu bhavantam //
... ...

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[215] Verses 4-5—
gopyo...../
dhānya-taṇḍula-dūrvādya-dadhi-pātra-karāḥ śubhāḥ //
āgatya dadṛśuḥ kṛṣṇaṃ...../
Verse 6—
sarvās tā dhānya-dūrvādyair āśiṣo yuyujuḥ striyaḥ //

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priyovāca — rasikeśa keśava he /
rasa-sarasīm iva mām upayojaya rasa-
maya rasam iva he //
dhruvaḥ //

This song itself is Bengali in character.

(xvi) Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 5. 48[216] contains direction about the sequence in which different kinds of food are to be eaten; and this sequence is followed in Bengal even at the present day.

(xvii) The Bṛhaddharma-p. contains some of the Sanskrit proverbs which are still very popular in Bengal, viz.,

(a) nāmno'sya yāvatī śaktiḥ pāpa-nirharaṇe hareḥ/
tāvat kartuṃ na śaktaḥ syāt pātakaṃ pātakī janaḥ //

(Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 28. 19) which has its parallel in the Bengali saying—

एकवार हरिनामे यत पाप हरे ।
जीवेर कि साध्य आछे तत पाप करे ।।

(b) yasya nāsti gṛhe mātā bhāryā vā priyavādinī/
araṇyaṃ tena gantavyaṃ yathāraṇyaṃ tathā
gṛham //
(Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 15. 14).

(c) āvṛttiḥ sarva-śāstrāṇāṃ bodhād api garīyasī//
(Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 5. 6).

(xviii) In Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 5. 44-46[217] Brahmins are allowed to eat particular kinds of fish except on some particular days. It is to be noted that it is only some Nibandha-writers of Bengal (such as Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa, Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi and others) who allow the Brahmins to eat fish under certain restrictions. In his Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa, pp. 67-68 Bhavedeva has strained every nerve to prove that by eating fish under certain restrictions the Brahmins do not incur sin.

(xix) From an examination of the names of the trees, plants and flowers mentioned in the Bṛhaddharma-p.

[216] For this verse see footnote 142 above.
[217] For these verses see footnote 141 above.

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Jogesh Chandra Roy thinks that the author of this Upapurāṇa lived in the eastern part of the district of Burdwan.[218]

(xx) Of the mahāpīṭhas created by the fall of the different parts of Satī's body the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 14) mentions only three, viz., Kāmarūpa, Vakreśvara (in the district of Birbhum) and Ujjayinī (modern Maṅgalkoṭ, in the district of Burdwan), of which the last two belong to Western Bengal.

(xxi) Almost all the Mss of the Bṛhaddharma-p., hitherto discovered, belong to Bengal and are written in Bengali script.

(xxii) The peculiar method of composition called 'चौत्रिशा', which is so favourite with the vernacular poets of Bengal,[219] is found in Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 20. 134-171 (in which more than 250 names of Gaṅgā have been arranged according to the alphabetical order of their initial letters, viz., क to क्ष, अ to औ, and अं and अः. It is to be noted that in this arrangement 'क्ष' has been regarded as a separate वर्ण.

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. was an inhabitant of Bengal. It is highly probable that his paternal blood-relations lived at Maṅgalkoṭ in the district of Burdwan, but he migrated from that place to the bank of the Gaṅgā and took his residence somewhere near Triveṇī in the district of Hughli. In course of naming some holy places in Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 14 he mentions Ujjayinī (modern Maṅgalkoṭ) and says abruptly that the place, where many of one's paternal blood-relations (jñātayaḥ) live, is the best holy place for him. He then speaks of the duties of a 'jñāti' in more than a decade of verses, and, before mentioning the names of the other holy places such as Puṣkara, Gayā, Vaidyanātha etc., says that the duties of a 'jñāti' have been mentioned in connection with Ujjayinī.[220] He regards the Gaṅgā as the

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[218] See Bhāratavarṣa, XVII, ii (1336-37 B.S.), p. 676.

[219] For instance, see Mukundarāma's Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī (ed. Dinesh Ch. Sen and others), pp. 321-8.

[220] Bṛhaddh. I. 14.26a—prasaṅgāt kathitaṃ sakhyau jñāti-kāryam idaṃ mayā.

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best holy place[221] and even as Brahma itself,[222] and looks upon the part of the country lying along the banks of the Gaṅgā as the best of all places.[223] He decries those who do not migrate to the banks of the Gaṅgā[224] and extols one whose paternal home is there.[225]

We shall now try to determine the date of composition of the Bṛhaddharma-p.

This work knows the Mahābhārata in its present form[226] as well as the Gītā belonging to it,[227] indirectly refers to the Vāyu-p. as dealing with tīrthas,[228] and speaks of (i) Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa of seven Kāṇḍas,[229] (ii) 'the Purāṇa proclaimed by Matsya' (i.e. the Matsya-p.) as dealing elaborately with the Śiva-liṅgas and holy places at Benares,[230] (iii) 'the

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[221] Bṛhaddh. I. 2.34—nāsti gaṅgā-samaṃ tīrthaṃ.....

[222] *Ibid.*, II. 14.101—

gāna-brahma-bhavaṃ brahma hari-deha-dravākhyakam /
gaṅgā-brahma saṃvṛṇuyād iti brahma hy upāyayat //

[223] *Ibid.*, I. 2.38—deśo gaṅgāntikaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ.....
Bṛhaddh. I. 6.37—

evaṃ yatra ca yatraiva gaṅgā-tīre dvaye śubhe /
śivālayā brahma-viṣṇu-brāhmaṇānāṃ tathālayāḥ /
te'pi tīrtha-viśeṣeṇa deva-pīṭhāś ca ye punaḥ //

[224] *Ibid.*, II. 25.45—

agaṅga-deśa-vāsī yo bhagna-vāso dvijarṣabhaḥ /
na gaṅgām āśrayed devīṃ paraṃ sa vidhi-vañcitaḥ //

[225] *Ibid.*, II. 25.51—

paitṛkī vasatir yasya gaṅgā-tīre dvijarṣabha /
manuṣya-carmaṇā naddhaḥ sa śivo nātra saṃśayaḥ //

The Vaṅga. ed. reads 'labdhaḥ' for 'naddhaḥ'.

[226] Bṛhaddh. I. 25-30.

[227] *Ibid.*, III. 7.2-3—

gītā-śāstraṃ bhāratīyaṃ...../
...../
caṇḍīṃ gītāṃ...../
Bṛhaddh. I. 30.43—pramāṇaṃ bhagavad-gītā.....

[228] *Ibid.*, I. 5.3—

tirthāni santy asaṃkhyāni...../
teṣāṃ prādhānyataḥ prāha tīrthānāṃ vāyur eva hi //

[229] *Ibid.*, I. 25-30; I. 1.18. For the names of the different Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa see Bṛhaddh. I. 26. 9-17.

[230] Bṛhaddh. I. 6.30-32—

tato vārāṇasī nāma purī śaṃbhoḥ satāṃ gateḥ /
maraṇaṃ durlabhaṃ yatra yatra gaṅg-ottarasravā //
jale sthale mukti-dātrī svardhūnī maṇikarṇikā /
yasmin bhagavataḥ śaṃbhor liṅgāni subahūny uta //
bhavanti tāni tīrthāni nāma-bhedāt pṛthak pṛthak /
viśeṣo 'syāsti vijñeyaḥ purāṇe matsya-bhāṣite //

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Purāṇa named Brahmāṇḍa' as containing an account of the holy place named Vakreśvara,[231] (iv) the 'Viṣṇu-purāṇa' as spoken out by Parāśara,[232] (v) the 'Caṇḍī' as containing 700 verses and belonging to the 'Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa',[233] (vi) the Āditya-purāṇa as having described the appearance of Gāyatrī personified,[234] (vii) the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu,[235] (viii) the great teacher Śaṃkarācārya as having eulogised Gaṅgā (i.e. composed a Gaṅgā-stava),[236] defeated the Bauddhas in debates, and written *stavas*, *kavacas* and many poetical works as well as treatises on philosophy, grammar etc.,[237] and (ix) the 'Kālī-purāṇa' (i.e. the present Kālikā-purāṇa) as dealing with that best holy place (i.e. Kāmarūpa) which is situated on the bank of the Brahmanada

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These verses refer to chaps. 180-185 (on Avimuktakṣetra-māhātmya) of the present Matsya-p.

[231] Bṛhaddh. I. 14. 29-30—

vakreśvara-sthalaṃ caiva sutīrthaṃ samudāhṛtam //
yatra pāpaharā nāma nadī puṇya-jalā śubhā /
brahmāṇḍākhye purāṇe'sya jñeyaṃ vivaraṇaṃ śubham //

These lines refer to a work named 'Vakreśvara-tīrtha-māhātmya' which claims to be a part of the Brahmāṇḍa-p. (For a Ms of this 'Vakreśvara-tīrtha-māhātmya' claiming to belong to the Brahmāṇḍa-p., see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 696-7, No. 4060 (Ms No. 5010).

Jogesh Chandra Roy wrongly takes the 'Brahmāṇḍākhya Purāṇa', mentioned in the Bṛhaddharma-p., to be an Upapurāṇa named Brahmāṇḍa. The fact is that some scholar or scholars of Bengal wrote the 'Vakreśvara-tīrtha-māhātmya' and ascribed it to the Brahmāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa for authority.

[232] Bṛhaddh. I. 29.20—tato viṣṇu-purāṇasya kartā bhāvī parāśaraḥ.

In the present Viṣṇu-p., Parāśara is the main speaker.

[233] Bṛhaddh. III. 7.2-3—

mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇasthaṃ caṇḍī-saptaśatī-stavam /
..... caṇḍīṃ gītāṃ .....//

[234] *Ibid.*, III. 2.31—

gāyatryā varṇa-rūpādi ādityākhya-purāṇake /
jñeyaṃ .....//

[235] *Ibid.*, II. 11.72—tato loka-vimohāya buddhas tvaṃ hi bhaviṣyasi.

[236] *Ibid.*, II. 20.129—śaṃkarācārya-praṇatā śaṃkarācārya-saṃstutā.

[237] *Ibid.*, III. 19. 24-27—

ubhau tau bauddha-saṅghasya naiyāyika-matena ha /
nivārayiṣyanti balāt te mariṣyanti dāhitāḥ //
tān nivārya tato bauddhān ācāryaḥ śaṃkaraḥ svayam /
devatānāṃ stavān divyān kavacāni kariṣyati //
darśanānāṃ ca śubhadān granthān api kariṣyati /
mṛta-saṃjīvanīṃ vidyāṃ samāśritya punaḥ punaḥ //
bhinna-bhinna-śarīrais tu kāvya-vyākaraṇādikān /
kariṣyati śubhān granthān puṇyāṃś ca paṭhatāṃ nṛṇām //

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and where Satī's female organ fell.[238] It includes the name of the Mahābhāgavata in its list of Mahāpurāṇas[239] and must have based some of its stories on those of the latter.[240] Among the standards of measurement of weight it mentions 'seraka'[241] (modern 'सेर') which was introduced by the Muhammadans; and in verses 88ff. of chap. 14 of its Madhya-khaṇḍa it clearly betrays the influence of Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda. It knows the spread and tyranny of the Yavanas (Muhammadans) in Bengal.[242] Hence the date of this work cannot be placed earlier than 1200 A.D.

Again, the Ms of the Bṛhaddharma-p., preserved at Jammu, was copied in the year 1801 of the Vikrama Era; and Ms No. 4649, which is the oldest of the three Mss of this work preserved in the Dacca University, must be at least 250 years old. In his Caṇḍikā-maṅgala-kāvya, Lālā Jaya-nārāyaṇa, a Bengali poet of the eighteenth century, gives the Bengali rendering of the verse 'tvaṃ kālaketu-varadā cchala-godhikāsi etc.' (Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 16. 45) and says that this verse 'occurs in Viṣṇu's eulogy of Mahāmāyā in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bṛhaddharma-p.'[243] A Tantric

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[238] *Ibid.*, II. 10. 37-38. For the texts of these verses see footnote 121 above.

[239] See footnote 112 above.

[240] For the stories and verses common to the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p., see footnotes 642-643 in Chap. I above.

[241] Bṛhaddh. III. 4. 11-13. For these verses see footnote 138 above.

[242] *Ibid.*, III. 6.89—mlecchāṃ ca yavanīṃ capi gatvā jātyā parityajet.
III.19.16—yavanais taiś ca pāṣaṇḍaiḥ svadharmo nāśayiṣyate.
III.19.43—tatas tyakṣyanti vai varṇā yavanasya balaṃ sadā /
devās tyakṣyanti pṛthivīṃ mleccha-mātra-samāvṛtām //
III.20.15—saṃsargo yāvanaś caiva bhāṣā ca yāvanī tathā /
surā-tulyaṃ dvayaṃ proktaṃ yavanānnaṃ tato 'dhikam //

[243] In Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyay's Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī (Caṇḍī-maṅgala-bodhinī), Part I, p. 225 the relevant extract of Lālā Jayanārāyaṇa's Caṇḍikā-maṅgala-kāvya is given as follows:

बृहद्धर्म्मपुराणेर उत्तरखण्डेते ।
लिखा महामाया-प्रति विष्णुर स्तवेते ।।
अवतीर्ण हइया तुमि यशोदार गर्भेते ।
कंस छलि विन्ध्यवासी हवे निजगर्वे ।।
एइरूप स्तव आछे विस्तरकथन ।
ताते एक श्लोक एइरूपेते लिखन ।।
भारतभूमेते चण्डी लीला प्रकाशिया ।
कालकेतु उद्धारिवे गोधिका हइया ।।

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work called Śakti-ratnākara names and utilises the Bṛhaddharma-p.[244] Three verses (which are the same as Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 20. 14-15, and 5. 54) have been ascribed to the 'Bṛhaddharma-p.' in a work named Kāvya-saṃgraha[245] which was written by Rāja-jīvana De Dāsa in 1655 Śaka during the regime of Nawab Galeb Ali Khan of Dacca. In his Yathārtha-mañjarī, Śrītīrtha Svāmin quotes from the 'Bṛhaddharma' or 'Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa' a large number of verses, almost all of which are found in our printed text.[246] In the Dacca University Mss Library there is a Ms of a work

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मङ्गलचण्डिका नाम करिया प्रकाश ।
सम्वरणे करिवर करिवेन ग्रास ।।
वणिक्सुतके फेलि घोर सङ्कटेते ।
उद्धार करिवे नृप-शालवाहन हते ।।

See also Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Vol., VII, 1307 B.S., pp. 153-154.

[244] Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., No. 157, p. 101. For another Ms of the Śakti-ratnākara see Mitra, Notices, I, pp. 127-8, No. 242.

[245] Dacca University Ms No. 4321 (dated 1655 Śaka), fol. 9b—Bṛhaddharma-purāṇe—

ālāpād gātra-saṃsparśān niśvāsāt saha bhojanāt /
eka-yānāsanābhyāṃ ca pāpaṃ saṃkramate nṛṇām //
saṃsargo yāvanaś caiva bhāṣā ca yāvanī tathā /
surā-tulyaṃ dvayaṃ proktaṃ yavanānnaṃ tato 'dhikam //
śloka-pāṭhaṃ purāṇārthaṃ śāstrārtha-kathanaṃ tathā /
ucchiṣṭa-vadano naiva kuryān mantraṃ na coccaret //iti//

[246] Verses quoted from the 'Bṛhaddharma' or 'Bṛhaddharma-p.' in Yathārtha-mañjarī (D.U. Ms No. 4093), Bṛhaddharma-p.

fol. 3a	=	III. 20. 9.
fols. 5b-6a	=	II. 15. 58b, 63a, 64a, 70-71, 75 etc.
fol. 26b	=	II. 2. 11a.
fol. 40a-b	=	III. 19. 22-28.
fol. 47a	=	II. 11. 10b.
fol. 48a	=	II. 1. 6a-b.
fol. 61a	=	III. 16. 44.
fol. 64a-b	=	I.4.22b; I.8.1c; I.7.62a; I.9.42, 44-45, 47 and 48b-49a; I.10.16-17; II.11.96a and 97a; III. 20. 6b.
fol. 66a-b	=	III.12.19a and 20; II.16.119.
fol. 66b-67a	=	I.25.18; I.30.48b-49a.
fol. 72a	=	II.3.39a and 41a; II.5.18b and 21b; II.9.51b-52a.
fols. 74a-75a	=	II.1.38-39, 54b etc.
fol. 78a	=	II.2.11b-12.
fol. 83b	=	II.6.138b-143.
fol. 84a	=	I.25.12b.
fol. 84b	=	III.12.15b-16, 19-20 and 22b.

And so on.

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entitled Śiva-pūjā-krama[247] which claims to be a part of the Bṛhaddharma-p. These evidences show that the Bṛhaddharma-p. attained a position of wide recognition by 1600 A.D. So, it must have been written not later than 1450 A.D. Though the Bṛhaddharma-p. glorifies Viṣṇu and his worship and names many of the holy places situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā, it does not mention Navadvīpa, which grew up into an important holy place of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas after Caitanya. In chap. 15 of its Pūrva-khaṇḍa it speaks of four months, viz., Āṣāḍha, Kārttika, Māgha and Vaiśākha, as the best of all and names the principal rites to be performed during these months, but it does not mention the Rāsa festival. As a matter of fact, the Rāsa festival, though described in chap. 23 of the Pūrva-khaṇḍa and mentioned in chaps. 10 and 17 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa, is not regarded as important. Further, the Bṛhaddharma-p. praises Devī (Caṇḍī) and her worship and does not distinguish between the Śāktas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Hence this work must have preceded Caitanya of Navadvīpa. In Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 3 the Kṣatriya kings are advised to have '*darpa*' (pride), to collect war materials, and to make all kinds of preparation for self defence;[248] according to Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 6. 89-90 one, who has sexual intercourse with Mleccha and Yavana women, is to be regarded as an out-cast.;[249] in connection with the description of the nature of the Kali age it is said in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 19 that the Yavanas and the Pāṣaṇḍas would destroy the Hindu religion,[250] the four castes would disappear, the Yavanas would become powerful, and the gods would leave the earth finding it

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[247] Ms No. 138S. It begins as follows:
oṃ namaḥ śaṃbhave //
dharmapurāṇe śiva-pūjā-kramaḥ //
śiva-pūjā-vidhiṃ vipra tad ihaika-manāḥ śṛṇu / etc.
Its colophon runs thus: iti bṛhaddharma-purāṇe vyāsa-jaimini-saṃvāde ..
(the remaining portion of the colophon has become blurred).

[248] Bṛhaddh. III. 3.2—
darpo virodho niyataṃ yuddha-sāmagrya-saṃgrahaḥ /
parikhā-karaṇaṃ caiva cāreṇa rāja-darśanam //

[249] For the text of these verses see footnote 147 above.

[250] Bṛhaddh. III. 19. 16—yavanais taiś ca pāṣaṇḍaiḥ svadharmo nāśayiṣyate,

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crowded only by Mlecchas;[251] and in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 20. 15 the author says, "Association with the Yavanas and the use of their language—these two have been said to be equivalent to [drinking] wine; [acceptance of] food from the Yavanas is worse than these."[252] It is clear that at the time of composition of the Bṛhaddharma-p. the Muhammadans spread into Bengal but could not bring the whole province under their power, that the insult of defeat at the hands of these aliens was still fresh in the mind of the people, and that there were Hindu monarchs who were expected by the people to drive out these undesirable elements and become the saviours of the Hindus and the Hindu religion.

Hence it is highly probable that *the Bṛhaddharma-p. was composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D.* Jogesh Chandra Roy thinks that it was composed a little after the thirteenth century.[253]

We have already seen[254] that chaps. 15-21 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅga. ed. are not spurious. Among the remaining chapters also there is none which seems to have been added later. Hence the above general date of the Bṛhaddharma-p. can safely be taken to be that of all its chapters. In some cases the subsequent chapters refer to the contents of the previous ones.[255] There are, of course, a few isolated verses which must have been added later. For instance, in Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 9. 30 Śuka says, "Prajāpati Dakṣa saluted Śiva with devotion by reciting [the following] six verses," but as a matter of fact, the number of verses given is eight, and not six.

A study of the Bṛhaddharma-p. shows that at the time of composition of this work the position of varṇāśrama-dharma became extremely critical in Bengal as a result of the

[251] *Ibid.*, III. 19. 43—

tatas tyakṣyanti vai varṇā yavanasya balaṃ sadā /
devās tyakṣyanti pṛthivīṃ mleccha-mātra-samāvṛtāṃ //

[252] For the text of this verse see footnote 193 above.

[253] See Bhāratavarṣa, XVII, Part ii (1336-37 B.S.), p. 677.

[254] See footnote 80 above.

[255] For instance, Bṛhaddh. II. 1.1 refers to the contents of the Pūrva-khaṇḍa; II.2.9 (prakṛtis trividhā proktā etc.) refers to II. 1. 56-57; III. 1. 36 (guravaḥ pūrvam evoktāḥ) refers to I.2.13ff.; III. 5.1. refers to III.2.2ff.; and so on.

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wide spread mainly of Tantric Buddhism,[256] Tantric Śaivism,[257] and Tantric Śāktism,[258] on the one hand, and the tyranny of the Muhammadans,[259] on the other. These Buddhists, Śaivas and Śāktas, who had great affinities, followed the practice of the Vāmas[260] and ignored the rules of varṇāśrama-dharma.[261] Many of them embraced Muhammadanism without any scruple. Moreover, among the different sects of Bengal there was constant quarrel.[262] The Muhammadans took advantage of this unfriendly feeling and often got the upper hand in the field of politics as well as religion. Hence the followers of varṇāśrama-dharma felt the necessity of creating a feeling of religious toleration among the rival sects who were all influenced by Śāktism and of bringing about a compromise between the ideas of Brahmanism and Tantricism. In Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 6, 135-146[263] Satī is made to say: "See me, the mother of the world, O all-mighty [Śiva], with your divine knowledge, and yourself write śāstras for my worship. Speak out the highly effective *mantras*, *stavas* and *kavacas* of my different

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[256] Cf. Bṛhaddh. III. 19.12-16.

[257] *Ibid.*, II. 27.43—tāntrikeṇa vidhānena śivaṃ saṃpūjya sādhakaḥ.
II.23.62— .. .. maheśvaraḥ /
jagāda mantra-tantrāṇi sarva-daivatakāni ca //
I.10.61— pañcākṣareṇa mantreṇa .. .. (i.e. with the *mantra* 'namaḥ śivāya').

[258] *Ibid.*, I.23.19 (goddess Kālī is to be worshipped in 'mahāṣṭamī-vidhāna' or 'āgamika vidhi'); I.21.58 (Devī is described as 'yantra-rūpā'); II.20.175 (worship of Gaṅgā on the Daśaharā Tithi according to 'durgā-pūjā-vidhāna' or 'āgamika vidhi'); II.6.135ff. (for the contents of these verses see below); I.4.20 (gurus tantraś ca mantraś ca gopanīyaḥ prayatnataḥ); I.4.22 (guruṃ tantraṃ devatāṃ ca bhedayan narakaṃ vrajet); I.5.70b (Gaṅgā is addressed as 'bali-māṃsa-priye kāli matsyāsava-sukha-priye'); I.5.80-81 (Gaṅgā is praised as '.. .. hrīṃ-svarūpiṇī/.. .. iṣṭa-siddhi-kare spheṃ sphauṃ hrauṃ hrāṃ ..//); I.19.28 (tataḥ sītā suradhunīṃ natvā stutvā ca bhaktitaḥ / balibhir matsya-māṃsādyair gaṅgā-pāraṃ tato yayuḥ //); II.11.62 (dvitīye nārado bhūtvā bahūṃs tantrān kariṣyasi); and so on.

[259] Bṛhaddh. III. 19.16 (yavanaiḥ....svadharmo nāśayiṣyate) and 43 (devās tyakṣyanti pṛthivīṃ mleccha-mātra-samāvṛtām).

[260] Bṛhaddh. III. 6.81-83, 89-91 and 98 (for the texts of which, see footnotes 128-130 above); III. 19. 16—kalau narā bhaviṣyanti bhaga-liṅg-opajīvinaḥ); I. 5.70b and I. 19. 28 (for which see footnote 258 above).

[261] See Bṛhaddh. III. 19 (especially verses 3, 9-11, 38, 40 and 43).

[262] Bṛhaddh. III. 19.5b (baddha-vairā bhaviṣyanti paraspara-vadhepsavaḥ), 19b (devatā-dveṣakās te vai dveṣayiṣyanti sarvadā), and 44b (paraspara-virodhena te mariṣyanti sarvaśaḥ).

[263] Some of these lines are the same as Mahābhāgavata 8.77ff.

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forms such as Kālī, Tārā etc. ... ... You are to become the author of the Āgama, and Hari himself is to write the Veda. You were intended to become the author of the Āgama first of all, and it was afterwards that Hari was engaged to write the Veda. Āgama and Veda are my two splendid hands. With these two I support the three worlds. O Dhūrjāṭi, one, who violates [the directions of] the Āgama and the Veda, falls down from my hands for ever. I am unable to save with my defective hands that person who transgresses one of these two (i.e. Āgama and Veda) and follows the other. These are the two difficult ... ... but auspicious ways which one should never differentiate. ... ... Those, who follow the manners of the Vaiṣṇavas, should preserve the secrecy of my formulae (*mantra*) and procedures (*tantra*). Hence, O Śaṃbhu, those who are to initiate others to my worship, should be Śākta-vaiṣṇavas. He alone, and not any other person, is a Śākta who has devotion to Śakti and Viṣṇu. How can one follow the course of a Śākta, if one has no devotion to Viṣṇu ? I am the [presiding] deity of the Vaiṣṇava *mantras*. So, a worshipper of myself should be the preceptor in matters of initiation to Viṣṇu-worship." According to the Bṛhaddharma-p. a Bhāgavata is required to worship Śiva, Durgā and other deities and to read the Caṇḍī[264] regularly. It advocates the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Kālī and Gaṅgā and censures those who differentiate between them.[265] It

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[264] Bṛhaddh. II.15.61ff. (.. .. rudra-viṣṇu-prapūjakaḥ / .. .. yaś caṇḍī-pāṭha-niratas caṇḍī-japa-parāyaṇaḥ / .. .. .. durgeti bhadrakālīti vaiṣṇavī caṇḍiketi ca / mudā gāyati yo nityaṃ .. ..).

[265] *Ibid.*, II. 11. 96-97 (śivo brahmā tathā tvaṃ ca na bhinnā vai kadācana /.. abhinnānāṃ ca bhedārthī nārakī paramo mataḥ /.. .. .. ..); I. 2. 34 (.. nāsti viṣṇu-samaḥ prabhuḥ / nāsti śaṃbhu-samaḥ pūjyaḥ .. ..); I. 4. 22 (gaṅgā-durgā-hariśānāṃ bhedakṛn nārakī yathā); I. 5. 31a (aham eṣā śivo viṣṇus tattvenaiṣāṃ bhidā na hi); I. 9. 40-47 (yuvayor yādṛśī prītir dṛśyate hy anupādhikā / manye tayā pramāṇena na bhinna-vasatī yuvām // yādṛśī darśitā prītir yuvābhyāṃ nātha keśava / manye tayā pramāṇena ātmiko'nyas tanur mithaḥ // .. .. .. bhārye āvāṃ pṛthaṅ na vām // .. .. dveṣa ekasya sa dvayoḥ // .. .. ekā pūjā dvayor matā // .. .. apūjaikasya ca dvayoḥ // .. .. ..bhedakṛd vāṃ ciraṃ patet // .. ..); I. 10. 16-17 (sa evāhaṃ mahādevaḥ sa evāhaṃ janārdanaḥ / ubhayor antaraṃ nāsti ghaṭastha-jalayor iva // śivād anyaḥ priyo me 'sti bhakto yaḥ śiva-pūjakaḥ / śivasy-āpūjako lakṣmi na kadāpi priyo mama //); and so on.

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says that Viṣṇu constantly dwells in those persons who worship Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Bhadrakālī and Caṇḍikā, constantly read the Caṇḍī, and possess various other qualifications.[266] It praises those persons who do not forsake their own *dharma* even under great difficulties.[267] It regards the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata as codes of varṇāśrama-dharma[268] and tries to popularise their study.[269] It extols filial devotion, conjugal fidelity, and fraternal affection, so that people may have a happy home and give a united stand before their enemies in times of danger.

Though the Bṛhaddharma-p. preaches the doctrine of unity of gods and calls itself a Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva as well as Śākta śāstra,[270] it shows decided inclination towards Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism. It begins with the Gāyatrī adapted to Viṣṇu, mentions the *mantra* 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' in more places than one,[271] and tries hard to infuse Śāktism with Vaiṣṇava ideas. According to this work, the Śāktas should be 'vaiṣṇav-ācāra-śālī' and be devoted to both Viṣṇu and Śakti, because one is not entitled to follow the course of a Śākta unless one has devotion to Viṣṇu. Kālī is said

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[266] *Ibid.*, II. 15. 56ff.

[267] *Ibid.*, I. 1. 37 (sā cāturī cāturī yā dharma-rakṣākarī bhāvet / sahasr-opadravair yukto yo na dharmaṃ jahāti hi / sa dhīra ucyate sadbhir dharmahā tv ātmahā mataḥ //); I. 1. 42 (nādharme ramatāṃ buddhiḥ.. ..); II. 15. 73 (mahāvipatti-yukto'pi yo na dharmaṃ jahāti vai / sa vai deva-priyo nityaṃ .. .. //).

[268–269] *Ibid.*, I. 1. 18 (sarveṣāṃ khalu dharmāṇāṃ kāraṇaṃ pāvanaṃ matam / rāmāyaṇaṃ .. .. //); I. 26. 1ff. (rāmāyaṇaṃ mahākāvyaṃ kṛtaṃ vālmīkinā svayam / tatra rāma-caritrasya vyapadeśena sarvaśaḥ / sarve dharmāḥ samuddiṣṭā varṇāśrama-vibhāgaśaḥ // strī-dharmā rāja-dharmāś ca brahma-dharmāś ca puṣkalāḥ / vaiśya-dharmāḥ śūdra-dharmā dharmāś ca gṛhiṇāṃ tathā // .. .. itihāsa-svarūpeṇa sarve dharmā nirūpitāḥ // etat pāṭhyaṃ ca bodhyaṃ ca smaraṇīyaṃ śam icchatā / .. .. .. yasya nāsti gṛhe sakhyau kāvyaṃ rāmāyaṇaṃ śubham / śmaśāna-bhūmis tadvāṭī .. ..); I. 30. 32 (bhārate vividhā arthāḥ .. .. / .. .. .. bhārate dharma-saṃcayāḥ //); I. 25. 33-34a (rāmāyaṇaṃ purāṇāni mahābhāratam eva ca / manvādi-dharmaśāstrāṇi dharmārthāni sadaiva hi // paṭhet samabhyaset tāni pāṭhayed ācared api /).

That an attempt was made in Bengal to popularise the varṇāśrama-dharma by encouraging the study of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, is also evidenced by Kṛttivāsa who, in his autobiography (ātma-vivaraṇa) attached to his Bengali Rāmāyaṇa, says that he wrote his work for instructing the people (राजाज्ञाय रचे गीत सप्तकाण्डगान। ... ... लोक वुझावार तरे कृत्तिवास पण्डित //—See Kṛttivāsa-viracita Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi-kāṇḍa, ed. N. K. Bhattashali, p. 175; also Bhūmikā, p. 7).

[270] Bṛhaddh. III. 21. 5a—idaṃ hi vaiṣṇavaṃ śāstraṃ śaivaṃ śāktaṃ tathaiva ca.

[271] *Ibid.*, I.7.52 and 54; I. 30. 41.

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to be the presiding deity of the Viṣṇu-mantras, and consequently a Śakti-worshipper is entitled to act as a spiritual preceptor in initiating people to Vaiṣṇavism.[272] Devotion to Viṣṇu is reckoned as one of the duties of kings[273] and as the means of escaping the sufferings brought on by the Kali age.[274] The regions called Vaikuṇṭha (of Hari) and Goloka (of Nārāyaṇa) are placed above Śiva-loka,[275] Puruṣottama-kṣetra is described as the best place of liberation (mokṣa-kṣetra),[276] the 'Śrī-bhāgavata' (i.e. the present Bhāgavata-p.) is called the best Mahāpurāṇa,[277] and Gaṅgā is said to have attained her sanctity by coming in contact with liquefied Nārāyaṇa.[278] From the description of Kīkaṭa (Magadha) as a 'pāpa-bhūmi'[279] and from the repeated mention and praise of Kāmarūpa as the best holy place[280] it seems that Bengal fully recognised the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Śakti-worship and imbibed from there the spirit of infusing Śāktism with Vaiṣṇava ideas in order to bring about a reform in the religious and social outlook of the Hindus.

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[272] *Ibid.*, II.6.144-6—

sarveṣām eva devānāṃ mantra-tantrādi-kṛd bhavān /
tantra-mantrāś ca me gopyā vaiṣṇav-ācāra-śālibhiḥ //
tasmān mad-dīkṣakāḥ śaṃbho bhaveyuḥ śākta-vaiṣṇavāḥ /
śaktau viṣṇau yasya bhaktiḥ sa śāktaḥ syān na cāparaḥ //

[273] Bṛhaddh. III. 3. 1.

[274] *Ibid.*, III. 19. 30.

[275] *Ibid.*, I. 9. 2-7.

[276] *Ibid.*, I. 14. 32.

[277] *Ibid.*, I. 30. 49; III. 20. 20; III. 21. 6.

[278] *Ibid.*, II. 14. 101-104.

[279] *Ibid.*, II. 26. 47 (kīkaṭe ca .. pāpa-bhūmau ..). See also Bṛhaddh. II. 28. 23-24.

[280] *Ibid.*, I. 9. 5b-6a (durgā-lokaḥ .. .. / yaḥ pṛthivyāṃ kāmarūpa iti deśo-ttamaḥ sakhi //); I. 11. 40; I. 14. 12-13; I. 15. 20; I. 20. 66-67; I. 14. 33 (vārāṇasī ca kāmākhyā .. .. /.. .. tīrthottamāni ca //); II. 10. 37-38; II. 10. 48 (mahā-pīṭhāś ca te bhūtāḥ kāmarūpādayo hara); II. 11. 1, 13 and 105; II. 20. 68 and 136 (Kāmākhyā, one of the thousand names of Gaṅgā); III. 16.36 (Viṣnu's eulogy of Devī at Kāmarūpa for saving the seventh child of Devakī).

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Chapter III

THE LOST ŚĀKTA UPAPURĀṆAS

During the long course of its popularity in India, Śāktism made its influence felt and recognised more or less by almost all the religious faiths including even Buddhism, and there were changes in the conception of Devī and the methods of her worship in different ages and climes. As we have already said, female deities were not rarely brought into existence by interested people, and goddesses of local importance were pulled up to the status of Devī or an incarnation of hers, and for these purposes many new myths were fabricated and the relevant old ones were changed conveniently to suit the occasions. But the existing Purāṇic works could not, in many cases, be made to accommodate these innovations. So, new works in the forms of Upapurāṇas had to be composed to place these goddesses and the methods of their worship on a Śāstric basis. But unfortunately, many of these works, being of minor importance, could not continue their existence for long and became extinct without leaving any trace at all. It is only about a very few of a little more interest that we can have some information from the existing works, and this will be evident from our accounts of them as given in the following pages.

1. *The Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-purāṇa.*

This Upapurāṇa is mentioned, along with the Nandikeśvara-p. (also called Nandīśvara-p. and Nandikeśa-p.),[1] in the lists of Upapurāṇas given in the Bṛhaddharma-p. and the Ekāmra-p. The former work names it as 'Bṛhannandīśvara', and the latter as 'Bṛhannandi'.[2] In the list of Upapurāṇas, ascribed to the Kūrma-p. in Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva and in the Śabda-kalpadruma, there is

[1] For information about the Nandikeśvara-p. see below.
[2] Bṛhaddh. I. 25. 24. Ekāmra-p., fol. 2b.

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mention of the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' (i.e. 'two Nandikeśvaras'), which Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, in his commentary on the Malamāsa-tattva, takes to mean the 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. and the Nandikeśvara-p.'[3] In one of the two lists of Upapurāṇas given by Hemādri in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, the alternative reading 'nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ ca' for 'caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyaṃ' is found in some Mss.[4] So, it seems that it was only at a comparatively late date that an attempt began to be made to raise the Nandikeśvara-p. and the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara to a position of authority and antiquity by inserting their names even into the established list of Upapurāṇas.

As the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara is drawn upon in Gadādhara's Kālasāra, Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva and Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, and is mentioned, along with the Nandikeśvara-p., only in the Ekāmra-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p., and as Jīmūtavāhana mentions neither the Nandikeśvara-p. nor the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara in the section on Durgā-pūjā in his Kālaviveka, it must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D. but most probably not before 850 A.D.

Both the Nandikeśvara-p. and the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara must have been written in Bengal. It is only the authors of Bengal and Orissa[5] who are found to have recognised these two works as Upapurāṇas first of all and who utilised their contents in their respective Nibandhas. Moreover, the Nandikeśvara-p. speaks of the performance of Devī's *adhivāsa* in a Bilva tree on the day preceding that of *patrikā-praveśa*,[6]

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[3] Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇaṃ nandikeśvara-purāṇaṃ ca.

[4] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21. See also Vol. I, Chap. I (p. 6) of the present work.

[5] Of the Smṛti-writers of Orissa, it is only Gadādhara who is found to quote, in his Kālasāra, pp. 151-2, three metrical lines from the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.

[6] See Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 2—

tathā ca nandikeśvara-purāṇam—

pūrvedyur adhivāsyaiva bilva-vṛkṣe tathāmbikām /
saptamyāṃ mūla-yuktāyāṃ patrikāyāḥ praveśanam //

etc. etc.

We have already noted Govindānanda's remarks that the performance of Devī's *adhivāsa* in a Bilva tree on the day preceding that of *patrikā-praveśa* was nothing but a custom (ācāra) prevailing in Bengal and having no Śāstric injunction in its support, and that

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the immersion of Devī's image in a current of water, and the performance of the Śāvarotsava on the Daśamī Tithi;[7] and the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. mentions the worship of the *nava-patrikā* on the Saptamī Tithi.[8] Much more important in this connection is the fact that the method of Durgā-pūjā, given in these two Upapurāṇas, is followed only in Bengal.[9]

As regards the contents of the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. we know almost nothing. In his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 8 Raghunandana quotes 25 metrical lines, in which Devī (i.e. Durgā) herself speaks to some one (Nandikeśvara ?) addressed as 'putraka' and 'nara-puṃgava', on the method and results of her own worship in the month of Āśvina. According to these verses, of which some are found quoted in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, an earthen image of Devī is to be worshipped for three days from the Saptamī to the Navamī Tithi during the bright half of Āśvina. On the Saptamī Tithi the Nava-patrikā is to be constituted with different plants named in a verse, and worshipped. On the Aṣṭamī Tithi, Devī's great bath (mahāsnāna) is to be performed with different articles (viz., the five products of cows, holy waters from the Ganges and the different holy places, waters into which certain herbs, gems, flowers etc. have been thrown, and so on), this rite being attended with vocal and instrumental music as well as with dancing (gīta-vāditra-nāṭyena); and the deity is to be worshipped with the offer of different articles as well as of jet-black he-goats, buffaloes etc. and with the performance of *homa*. On the Navamī

even if the verse 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta' was claimed to be 'samūla', it would go against the custom of śiṣṭas. (See Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 371. For the relevant extract of the Varṣa-kaumudī see Chap. I, footnote 46 above).

[7] For the relevant verses of the Nandikeśvara-p. see Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 2-3.

[8] For the relevant verses of the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. see Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 8.

[9] It is only the Smṛti-writers of Bengal who are found to utilise the contents of the Nandikeśvara-p. and the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara in connection with Durgā-pūjā. Gadādhara's quotation from the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara relates to the time of Nārāyaṇa's assumption of the form of the Boar, and not to Durgā-pūjā. Moreover, there is a priests' manual called Bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhati, of which all the Mss, hitherto discovered, belong to Bengal and are written in Bengali characters. (For information about these Mss see footnote 11 below.)

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Tithi also, Devī is to be specially worshipped with the offer of animals and the performance of vocal and instrumental music as well as other kinds of merry-makings.

In his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 3 Raghunandana quotes the following four verses with the mention of the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' as their source:

nau-yānair nara-yānair vā nītvā bhagavatīṃ śivām /
sroto-jale prakṣipeyuḥ krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ //
parair nākṣipyate yas tu paraṃ nākṣipate tu yaḥ /
tasya ruṣṭā bhagavatī śāpaṃ dadyāt sudāruṇam //

and

ṛkṣa-yogānurodhena rātrau patrī-praveśanam /
visarjanaṃ vācayed yaḥ sa-rāṣṭraḥ sa vinaśyati //
bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-visargāntāś ca yāḥ kriyāḥ /
tithāv udaya-gāminyāṃ sarvās tāḥ kārayed budhaḥ //

All these verses are again quoted by him on p. 44 but are ascribed to the 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' Śūlapāṇi also quotes the first two verses in his Durgotsava-viveka, p. 24 and ascribes them to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. But this ascription to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. must be wrong, because (1) in these verses Devī is not the speaker, and (2) the third verse is ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.'[10] in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8, and the fourth verse is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 9 and Vāsantī-viveka, p. 28. The line 'bilva-patrair ghṛtāktaiś ca tila-dhānyādi-saṃyutaiḥ' is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. in Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 38 but to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 22.

Though no tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. is found to claim to be a part of the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p., there are Mss of an anonymous Smṛti-work called Bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhati.[11]

[10] In the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 938D, 1642, 2115A (dated 1746 Śaka) and 4332 (dated 1753 Śaka) of the Durgotsava-viveka, this verse is ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.'

[11] Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 836, No. 2828. Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., II, p. 309, No. 334 ('a very old' Ms). Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2261 (modern and complete) and 4055 (worm-eaten, and missing some of its folios; dated 1678 Śaka). In the Dacca Univ. Mss the work is called 'Bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇānugṛhīta-bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhati'.

It should be mentioned here that all these Mss are written in Bengali characters.

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2. *The Kālikā-purāṇa.*

Besides the present Kālikā-p. available in more printed forms than one, there was an earlier Kālikā which is now lost. For information about this lost Kālikā-p. see Chap. I (under 'Kālikā-p.') above.

3. *The Nandā-* or *Nānda-purāṇa.*

This is the same as the Nandi-p., for which see below (under 'Nandi-p.').

4. *The Nandikeśvara-purāṇa.*

It has already been said[12] that the Nandikeśvara-p. (also called Nandīśvara-p. and Nandikeśa-p.)[13] is mentioned, along with the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara, in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Ekāmra-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p., that in the Śabda-kalpadruma and in Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva a list of Upapurāṇas has been given from the 'Kaurma' with the mention of the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' (i.e. two Nandikeśvaras), and that in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21, there is a list of Upapurāṇas in which the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' is found mentioned in place of the Śivadharma in some of its Mss. So, the Nandikeśvara-p. cannot possibly claim an early origin. On the other hand, it is mentioned in the Ekāmra-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p. and is drawn upon in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa and in Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's Nirṇaya-sindhu, Nīlakaṇṭha-bhaṭṭa's Ācāra-mayūkha, Mitra-miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Govindānanda's Varṣa-kaumudī, Raghunandana's Tithi-tattva, Āhnika-tattva, Jyotis-tattva, Ekādaśī-tattva and Durgāpūjā-tattva, Vācaspati-miśra's Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, Vidyāpati

[12] See under 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' above.

[13] The Vaṅga. ed. of the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25. 24) names the Nandikeśvara-p. as 'Nandīśvara-p.'; the ASB ed. and the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4199 (fol. 71b) mention it as 'Nandikeśa-p.'; and the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 319 (fol. 44a) and 4649 (fol. 96a) name it as 'Nandikeśvara-p.' In Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, fol. 47b, a verse is quoted from the 'Nandīśvara-p.'

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Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, and Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka and Vāsantī-viveka; and Mitra-miśra, who lived far away from Bengal, not only drew upon it but also described it as a work of wide acceptance (mahājana-parigṛhīta).[14] Hence the Nandikeśvara-p. cannot be dated later than 1100 A.D. As it must have preceded the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara (of which the very title is indicative of a comparatively late date and which must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D.),[15] it cannot be dated later than 950 A.D. It is highly probable that this Upapurāṇa was composed between 850 and 950 A.D. Such a late date of this Upapurāṇa is supported not only by its nonmention in the section on *durgā-pūjā* contained in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka but also by the fact that the method of Durgā-worship, given in it, had Tantric elements.[16]

We shall see afterwards that the Nandikeśvara-p. was a work quite different from the Nandi-p.[17] It must also not be taken to be the same as the Śivadharma and the Śivadharmottara,[18] with which we shall deal in Vol. III of the present work.

As to the contents of the Nandikeśvara-p., our know-

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[14] Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 14-15—

mātsye—

'.. .. .. /

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dṛśyate /

vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam //'

.. .. .. vinirgataṃ samudbhūtam / yathā mahājana-parigṛhīta-nandikeśvarapurāṇ-ādipurāṇa-devīpurāṇādīti saṃkṣepaḥ /

[15] See under 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' above.

[16] Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 420—

nandikeśvarapurāṇe tu 'dakṣa-yajña-vināśinyai mahāghorāyai yoginī-koṭi-parivṛtāyai bhadra-kālyai hrīṃ durgāyai namaḥ' iti mantraḥ.

[17] This point has been dealt with in the section on the 'Nandi-p.' below.

[18] R. L. Mitra, in his Notices of Sanskrit Mss, VI, pp. 272-4 (No. 2208), describes a Ms of a work which he styles as 'Nandikeśvara-saṃhitā *alias* Nandikeśvarapurāṇa *alias* Śivadharmottara'. But actually this is a Ms of the Śivadharma and Śivadharmottara combined. It is for this reason that the final colophon of this Ms runs as follows: iti nandikeśvara-saṃhitāyāṃ śivadharmottare ekaviṃśatitamo 'dhyāyaḥ. This Ms is the same as Haraprasad Shastri's Mss of the Śivadharma and Śivadharmottara described in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 718 and 723-733, Nos. 4084 (I and II) and 4085 (I and II); and it has nothing to do with the Nandikeśvara-p.

In Viśvakoṣa, IX, pp. 546-7 and 549 also, the Nandikeśvara-p. has been wrongly identified with the Śivadharma and the Nandi-purān.

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ledge is very meagre. Of the 53 lines quoted from this Upapurāṇa in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa[19] and in the works of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa,[20] Nīlakaṇṭha-bhaṭṭa,[21] Mitra-miśra,[22] Govindānanda,[23] Raghunandana,[24] Vācaspati-miśra,[25] Vidyāpati[26] and Śūlapāṇi,[27] two are concerned with Devī-worship in the spring,[28] and twenty deal with the proper time and method of Devī-worship in autumn. The method of worship, as given in these 20 metrical lines, consists mainly of the following operations:—*bodhana* and *adhivāsa* of Devī in a Bilva tree on the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi; *patrikā-praveśa* on the following day; Devī-worship with animal sacrifice etc. on the Aṣṭamī and the Navamī Tithi; immersion of the image of Devī in a current of water after having it carried there on boats or by men, and the subsequent merry-making by using abusive words against one another on the Daśamī Tithi.[29] The *mantras* to be used in this worship had often Tantric symbolism.[30] The remaining 31 lines, contained

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[19] Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, fol. 47b—

nandīśvara-purāṇe—

kṛtvā liṅgaṃ maheśasya sarva-pāpaiḥ pramucyate /
sapta-janm-ārjitair dehī mano-vāk-kāya-karmabhiḥ //

[20] Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 118—

'bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-visargāntāś ca yāḥ kriyāḥ /
.. .. //'
iti tithi-tattve nandikeśvara-purāṇāc ca /

[21] Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 97.

[22] Vīramitrodaya, Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 219.

[23] Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 367, 375, 420.

[24] Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 69, 76, 86-7, 91, 131-2, 457, 612; II, p. 85. Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 2-3, 7 and 38.

[25] Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, p. 60.

[26] Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, pp. 201-202, 262.

[27] Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 7, 8, 9. Vāsantī-viveka, pp. 28, 29.

[28] Vāsantī-viveka, p. 29.

[29] See Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 7, 8, 9, and Vāsantī-viveka, p. 28; Govindānanda's Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 367, 375; Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 128; Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 76, 86-87, and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 7, 38, and particularly pp. 2-3, in which as many as sixteen metrical lines, including the following four, have been ascribed to the 'Nandikeśvara-purāṇa':

śravaṇena daśamyaṃ tu praṇipatya visarjayet //
nau-yānair nara-yānair vā nītvā bhagavatīṃ śivām /
sroto-jale prakṣipeyuḥ krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ //
parair nākṣipyate yas tu paraṃ nākṣipate tu yaḥ /
tasya ruṣṭā bhagavatī śāpaṃ dadyāt sudāruṇam //

[30] See footnote 16 above.

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in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (fol. 47b) and in Mitra-miśra's Vīramitrodaya (Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 219), Nīlakaṇṭha's Ācāra-mayūkha (p. 97), Raghunandana's Tithi-tattva, Āhnika-tattva, Jyotis-tattva and Ekādaśī-tattva,[31] Vācaspati-miśra's Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi (p. 60), and Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī (pp. 201-2, 262), deal with the following topics:—Benefits of preparing and worshipping a Śiva-liṅga, especially on the Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī Tithi, and of offering various kinds of food to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra; sanctifying effect of uttering the name 'Mahādeva'; benefits of repeating hundred times a hymn called 'Indrākṣī-stava', which was given in the Nandikeśvara-p., and of telling others about the results of avoiding meat; and the characteristics of marriageable and non-marriageable girls.[32]

From these contents of the quoted verses it appears that the Nandikeśvara-p. was concerned not only with the praise and worship of Devī but also with those of Śiva and that it was not strictly sectarian. It is to be noted that in none of these 53 verses Devī appears as the speaker. The title of this Upapurāṇa, however, shows that it was most probably Nandikeśvara who narrated the contents of this work.

Mss are found of a work called 'Kālāgnirudr-opaniṣad' which claims to be a part of the Nandikeśvara-p.[33] This work, which is practically a Tantric text, deals with the worship of Kālāgnirudra and 'the propriety of putting across the forehead three carved horizontal marks called Tripuṇḍra in Sanskrit, this being indispensable to the

[31] See Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 69, 91, 131-2, 457 and 612, and II, p. 85.

[32] Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 612—

śyāmā sukeśī tanu-loma-rājī
subhrūḥ suśīlā sugatiḥ sudantā /
vedī-vimadhyā yadi paṅkajākṣī
kulena hīnāpi vivāhanīyā //
dhṛṣṭā kudantā yadi piṅgalākṣī
lomnā samākīrṇa-samāṅga-yaṣṭiḥ /
madhye puṣṭā yadi rāja-kanyā
kule 'pi yogyā na vivāhanīyā //

[33] Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 800, No. 4145; Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, pp. 913-4; P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7175-76, Nos. 10582-83; Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 50, Nos. 1064-67; and so on.

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worship of Kālāgnirudra'. In his Jammu Cat., p. 201 Stein notes an early Ms of the 'Śiva-stotra' belonging to the Nandikeśvara-p.

The Nandikeśvara-p. seems to have derived a large number of verses from other earlier works. For instance, the verse 'ārdrāyāṃ bodhayed devīm', which is quoted as from the Nandikeśvara-p. in Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 367 and 375, is ascribed to the Devī-p. in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 4 and to Vyāsa and Satya in Kālaviveka, pp. 511 and 514 respectively; the line 'saptamyāṃ mūla-yuktāyām', of which the source is mentioned as 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 2, is ascribed to the Devī-p. in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8; the line 'mūlābhāve 'pi saptamyām', which is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. in Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 367, is quoted as from 'Laiṅga' in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8; and so on. It should be mentioned here that the sections on Durgā-pūjā in the Devī-p., Liṅga-p. etc. were written much earlier than 1000 A.D.

For further information about the Nandikeśvara-p. see under 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' above.

5. *The Nandi-purāṇa.*

No Ms of this work has been discovered up to the present time. There is a work called Kedāra-kalpa[34] which, in one Ms,[35] claims to be a part of the Nandīśvara-p. or Nandi-p., but it can be little doubted that this Kedāra-kalpa is really an independent work having nothing to do with the Nandīśvara-p. or Nandi-p. The total absence of any Ms of the Nandi-p. has compelled us to base our present account of this Purāṇa on the information contained in the

[34] Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 794-799 (No. 4143) and pp. 792-794 (No. 4142). In the former Ms the work consists of three parts of which the first part claims to belong to the Rudra-yāmala; but in the latter Ms the work claims to be a part of the Vikhyāda-purāṇa.

[35] Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 81-82, No. 137. In this work Śaṃkara speaks to Nandikeśvara on Mahāpatha. It is the same as Paṭalas 11ff. of Shastri's Ms No. 4143, but in Shastri's Ms Iśvara (i.e. Śiva) speaks to Kārttikeya.

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extant Purāṇas and the Smṛti-Nibandhas as well as on the verses quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' in the latter works.

In all the printed editions of the Matsya-p., the Nandi-p. is described as follows:

nandāyā yatra māhātmyaṃ kārttikeyena varṇyate /
nandī-purāṇaṃ tallokair ākhyātam iti kīrtyate[36] //

'It is said that [the Purāṇa], in which the glory of Nandā (i.e. Gaurī) is declared by Kārttikeya, is called Nandī-p. by the people'.

The above verse of the Matsya-p., of which the second line has obviously defective readings, occurs in Aufrecht's Ms of the Matsya-p. with the reading 'nandāpurāṇaṃ' for 'nandī-purāṇaṃ' in the second line.[37] This verse is also found quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21, Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32, Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18, and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15; but in these four Smṛti-Nibandhas the text of the second line is given respectively as follows:

'nandī-purāṇaṃ talloke nandākhyam iti kīrtyate',[38]
'nandi- (v.l. nandī-) purāṇaṃ talloke nandyākhyam iti kīrtyate',
'nandī-purāṇaṃ talloke nandākhyam iti cocyate',

and

'nandā-purāṇaṃ talloke nandākhyam iti kīrtyate'.

It is obvious that the text of the second line of the above verse, as preserved in the Smṛti-Nibandhas, is better than that found in the printed editions and in Aufrecht's Ms of the Matsya-p. The Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa (i. 2. 81) of the Skanda-p., on the other hand, describes the Nandi-p. as follows:

nandine yatra māhātmyaṃ kārttikeyena varṇyate /
loke nandi-purāṇaṃ vai khyātam etad dvijottamāḥ //

'Oh best of the twice-born, [that Purāṇa], in which

[36] Matsya-p., Vaṅga. ed., 53.60; AnSS ed., 53.61; Veṅkaṭ. ed., 53.60 (v.l 'ākhyānam' for 'ākhyātam'); Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed., 53. 60.

[37] Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 40, No. 95.

[38] This line, as quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533, reads 'tallokair vyākhyātam' in place of 'talloke nandākhyam'.

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the glory is described by Kārttikeya to Nandin, is well-known as Nandi-p. on earth.'

In Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 15 the twelfth Upapurāṇa is called 'Nandi-kṛta', and there is no mention of any 'Nandi-p.', 'Nandī-p.', 'Nandā-p.', 'Nānda' or 'Skānda' in the Devī-bhāgavata.

An examination of the texts of the verses mentioned above shows that the Nandi-p. was originally declared by Kārttikeya to Nandin[39] (who, then, narrated it to some other person addressed as 'king' in some of the quoted verses),[40] that it dealt primarily with the glorification of Nandā (or Nandī, i.e. Gaurī), and that it was also called 'Nandī-p.' and 'Nandā-p.'[41]

The Nandi-p. (or Nandā-p.), being originally declared by Kārttikeya, was also called 'Skānda'. In giving a list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas the Kūrma-p., the Garuḍa-p., and the Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. name the third Upapurāṇa as 'Skānda' and describe it as follows:

'tṛtīyaṃ skāndam uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam.'[42]

'But the third [Upapurāṇa] which was spoken out by Kumāra (i.e. Skanda), is called Skānda'.

That this 'Skānda' Upapurāṇa is the same as the Nandi-p. (or Nandā-p.) is shown by the following facts: (1) the chief speaker in both these Upapurāṇas is Kārttikeya; (2) the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Vīramitrodaya quote all the verses of the Kūrma-p. containing the list of Upapurāṇas but reads 'tṛtīyaṃ nāndam uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇa

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[39] Cf. Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 15 in which the twelfth Upapurāṇa is called 'Nandi-kṛta'. In Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 917 two of the quoted verses are ascribed to a work called 'Nandi-prokta', but this 'Nandi-prokta' Upapurāṇa may be the same as the Śivadharma which is called 'Nandi-prokta Śivadharma' or 'Nandikeśvara-prokta Śivadharma' in its chapter-colophons. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 718 and 723-8, Nos. 4084 and 4085 respectively).

[40] Dāna-kaumudī, p. 40 (nṛpa); Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 131 (rājan); Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 668 (viśāmpate); and so on.

[41] In Viśvakoṣa (a Bengali encyclopædia), IX, p. 546 the Nandi-p. and the Nandā-p. have been regarded as different works.

[42] Kūrma-p. I. 1. 17b; Garuḍa-p. I. 227. 18a; Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382. All the printed editions of the Kūrma-p. read 'skāndam'; but in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition (I. 215. 18a) of the Garuḍa-p. the reading is wrongly given as 'skandam'.

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tu bhāṣitam' for the above line of the Kūrma-p.;[43] (3) in the lists of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given in the Parāśara-upapurāṇa, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheda, and the Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p., the third Upapurāṇa is named 'Nānda' (i.e. the Purāṇa on Nandā);[44] (4) 'Skānda' is the name for the third Upapurāṇa in some of the Mss of the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p., but 'Nānda' in the rest;[45] and (5) Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, who quotes Kūrma-p. I. 1. 16 (anyāny upapurāṇāni etc.) and then gives, in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19, the titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas according to the list contained in the Kūrma-p., names the third Upapurāṇa 'Nandī-purāṇa' and not 'Skānda'.

The Nandi-p. was also called 'Vāyavīya'. In his Malamāsa-tattva Raghunandana quotes the line 'anyāny upapurāṇāni etc.' with the mention of the Kūrma-p. as its source and then says that this line refers to the 'Narasiṃha-p., Nandi-p., Āditya-p., Kālikā-p. etc.'[46] Raghunandana then reproduces those lines of the Kūrma-p. which contain the list of the Upapurāṇas. According to the second of these quoted lines 'the third Upapurāṇa is the Vāyavīya spoken out by Kumāra',[47] there being no mention of any 'Nandi-p.', 'Nandā-p.', 'Nānda-p.' or 'Skānda-p.' in any of these quoted lines. So, it is evident that according to Raghunandana the Vāyavīya-upapurāṇa (spoken out by Kumāra) and the Nandi-p. were the same. The mention

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[43] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21, and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 13. In Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 532, the erroneous reading 'nāradaṃ' is found in place of 'nāndaṃ'.

[44] Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230. Prasthāna-bheda(ed. Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1912), p. 10. Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378.

In the list of Upapurāṇas given from the 'Brahmavaivarta' in Gopāladāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara, the second Upapurāṇa is called 'Nānda'. (See Mitra, Notices, IX, p. 32).

[45] Skanda-p., VII. i. 2. 11b—tṛtīyaṃ skāndam (v. l. 'nāndam' in the Veṅkaṭ. and Vaṅga. editions) uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇ-ānubhāṣitam.

[46] Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—

kaurme—'anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api'/tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikāpurāṇādīni, yathā—'ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktaṃ.....'

[47] 'tṛtīyaṃ vāyavīyaṃ ca kumāreṇa ca bhāṣitam'.—Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 793. The Vaṅga. ed. of the Malamāsa-tattva (p. 264) reads 'kumāreṇābhibhāṣitam'. So also does Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's edition (p. 213).

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of the 'Vāyavīya narrated by Kumāra' as the third Upapurāṇa is also found in the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given from the Kūrma-p. in Śabda-kalpadruma.

In the Revā-māhātmya,[48] the third Upapurāṇa is named 'Nandā-p.', and is connected with the Viṣṇu-p. thus:

nandā-purāṇaṃ ca tathā tṛtīyaṃ vaiṣṇave matam.

But in the Revā-khaṇḍa (of the Skanda-p.), which is practically the same as the Revā-māhātmya mentioned above, the above line occurs with the mention of the 'Śaukeya' as the third Upapurāṇa.[49] So, it seems that the Nandi-p. was also sometimes called 'Śaukeya-p.'

Thus, the Nandi-p. was known under different titles, viz., Nandi-p., Nandī-p., Nandā-p., Nānda-p., Skānda-p., Vāyavīya-p. and Śaukeya-p. For some of these titles we find clear reasons; viz., it was called Nandi-p., because it was reproduced by Nandin; its title 'Skānda' was due to its original narrator Skanda; and it was called Nandā-p., Nānda-p. or Nandī-p., as it dealt primarily with the praise of Nandā or Nandī (i.e. Gaurī). But we do not know how it came to be known as 'Vāyavīya' and 'Śaukeya' also. Whatever different titles our Nandi-p. might have had in early times, the Smṛti-writers refer to it very often as 'Nandi-p.', and sometimes as 'Nandī-p.'[50]

Numerous verses are found quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' (or 'Nandī-p.') in Nīlakaṇṭha's Ācāra-mayūkha, Gadādhara's Kālasāra, Gopālabhaṭṭa's Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa, Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, Govindānanda's Dāna-kaumudī and Varṣa-kaumudī, Gaṇapati's Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, Vidyāpati's Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī and Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti, Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara and Gṛhastha-ratnākara, Śrīdatta's Ācārādarśa,

[48] Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65.

[49] Skanda-p., V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 48b—śaukeyaṃ hi tṛtīyaṃ tu purāṇe vaiṣṇave matam.

[50] See, for instance, Ācāra-bhūṣaṇa (of Tryambaka Oka), p. 183; Smṛti-ratnahāra (of Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa), fol. 56b (Shastri, ASB Cat., III, No. 2138, p. 228); Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya), pp. 206, 212, 213, 230; and Ācārādarśa (of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya), p. 37b (twice).

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Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Vallālasena's Dānasāgara and Adbhuta-sāgara, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, and Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru. Vallālasena, who was extremely cautious about the authenticity of the Purāṇas he used in his Dānasāgara, utilised its contents without the least shade of doubt. Further, a 'Nanda-p.' is mentioned by Alberūnī in that list of Purāṇas which he committed to writing from dictation.[51] In his Rāja-taraṅgiṇī Kalhaṇa says that 'having heard the Nandi-purāṇa from some pupil of Vyāsa the king (Jalauka) frequented Sodara and other [sacred springs] as vying [in holiness] with Nandīśa'.[52] These evidences, as well as the facts that the Nandi-p., as known from the quoted verses, was non-Tantric, and that its name is mentioned in the Matsya-p. and is found included in all the early lists of the eighteen Upapurāṇas, show definitely that *it was an early work and must have been written before* 700 *A.D.* As not even a single Ms of this work has been discovered up to the present time, it is not possible to say anything definitely about the upper limit of its date. From an examination of the quoted verses, however, we feel inclined to take it as *a work of the sixth or seventh century A.D.*

It has already been said that the Revā-māhātmya and the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. connect the Nandi-p. with the Viṣṇu-p. as a part of the latter and are thus inclined to regard it as a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. This Vaiṣṇava character of the Nandi-p. is supported by a verse which has been quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' in the Nityācāra-pradīpa and in which Kṛṣṇa appears as an object of worship.[53] There is another verse, quoted in Hari-bhakti-

[51] Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 130. That this 'Nanda-p.' was the same as the 'Nandi-p.' is shown definitely by Alberūnī himself when he says: 'Nanda-p. i.e. a servant of Mahādeva".

[52] Rāja-taraṅgiṇī, I. 123—

śruta-nandipurāṇaḥ sa vyāsāntevāsino nṛpaḥ/
sevanaṃ sodarādīnāṃ nandīśa-spardhayā vyadhāt//

[53] na śallakājyaṃ na tṛṇaṃ
na siktha-vasā-saṃbhūtam/
dhūpaṃ pratyaṅga-nirmuktaṃ

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vilāsa, p. 677, which says that sinners may attain the highest abode of Viṣṇu by singing his name.[54] But this last-mentioned verse must not be taken seriously, because there are other quoted verses in which the regions of Brahmā, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Rudra and others have been mentioned as places capable of being attained by certain pious acts.[55] On the other hand, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin calls the 'Nandi-p.' a part of the Skanda-p.,[56] which is pre-eminently a Śaiva work. More detailed information in this direction is furnished by Kalhaṇa when he says that after hearing the Nandi-purāṇa from a pupil of Vyāsa, king Jalauka frequented Sodara and other holy springs with a view to being equal with Nandīśa. We know that Nandīśa (or Nandikeśa) was an attendant of Śiva; and Sodara (in Kashmir) has been shown by Stein to have been situated in close proximity to the temple-ruins of Bhūteśvara,[57] which is a Śaiva Tīrtha. Hence, it is clear that according to Kalhaṇa the Nandi-p. was a Śaiva work; otherwise, it could not be said to make the king so much zealous in his devotion to Śiva. The Śaiva character of the Nandi-p. is also shown by a large number of quoted verses in which Śiva (also called Śarva, Rudra, Śaṃkara, etc.) is regarded as the object of worship,[58] the Liṅga-worship is prescribed,[59] the sectarian *mantra* 'oṃ

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dadyāt kṛṣṇāya buddhimān/ /
(quoted in Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 647).

[54] sarvadā sarva-kāleṣu ye 'pi kurvanti pātakam/
nāma-saṃkīrtanaṃ kṛtvā yānti viṣṇoḥ paraṃ padam/ /
(Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 677).

[55] See, for instance, the verses quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' in Gaṇapati's Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 49b; Vidyāpati's Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 172; Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 566-7; Aparārka's com. on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, p. 366; Kṛtya-kalpataru, V. p. 251; Dānasāgara, pp. 280, 312, 410, 437, etc.; and so on.

[56] Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18—mātsye— '.....nandāyā yatra māhātmyaṃ kārttikeyena varṇyate / nandī-purāṇaṃ talloke nandākhyam iti cocyate//' tacca skāndai-kadeśaḥ/

[57] M. A. Stein, Kalhaṇa's Rāja-taraṅgiṇī, I, pp. 20-21 and 23-24. See notes on verses 107 and 123 of Chap. I.

[58] For such verses see Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 685-6; Dānasāgara, pp. 312, 476, 477, etc.; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 907, 957; Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, pp. 212, 213, etc.; and so on.

[59] Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 129; Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 685-6; Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 243; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 94.

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namaḥ śivāya' is praised,[60] and the Śiva worshippers are given preference to other sectaries.[61] In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (III. ii, p. 691) Hemādri quotes from the 'Nandi-p.' an extract in which Īśvara (i.e. Śiva) speaks on the result of avoiding meat;[62] and in the Adbhuta-sāgara Vallālasena quotes from the same Purāṇa seven metrical lines on Śiva's burning of Tripura.[63] So, the Śaiva character of the Nandi-p. is unmistakable. But as we have already seen that the Matsya-p. describes the Nandi-p. as a work dealing with the praise of Nandā, it seems that the Nandi-p. was originally a Śākta work dealing with the praise of Nandā and that, like the Nandikeśvara-p., it had also chapters on the praise and worship of Śiva, to whom Nandā was associated as his Śakti. The prevalence of Śaiva elements in this Upapurāṇa must be due to the interfering hands of the Purāṇic Śaivas, who appear to have utilised this work for popularising Śiva-worship. The Vaiṣṇava character of the Nandi-p. was most probably the last stage in its change.

The Nandi-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Nandikeśvara-p. (also called Nandīśvara-p.)[64] The distinct character of these two Purāṇic works is shown by the following facts. (1) In the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given by Raghunandana in his Malamāsa-tattva there is mention of a 'Vāyavīya Upapurāṇa' (which we have already found to be the same as the Nandi-p.) and the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' (i.e. the two Nandikeśvara-purāṇas, which the commentator Kāśīrāma Vācaspati takes to mean the 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' and the 'Nandikeśvara-p'.);[65] (2) the Śabda-kalpadruma quotes from the 'Kūrma-p.' a few verses on the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas which includes the 'Vāyavīya'

[60] Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 130-1; Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 243; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 95.

[61] Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 399; Dānasāgara, pp. 476-7.

[62] For the verses of this extract see also Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, pp. 359-360, Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 548-9, and Gṛhastha-ratnākara, p. 390.

[63] Adbhuta-sāgara, p. 485.

[64] In Viśvakoṣa, IX,pp.547 and 549 the Nandi-p. has been wrongly identified with the Nandīśvara-p. or Nandikeśvara-p.

[65] Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa with Kāśīrama Vācaspati's commentary), p. 213 — nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇaṃ nandi-keśvara-purāṇaṃ ca.

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and the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma';[66] (3) the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Vrata-khaṇḍa, gives from the Kūrma-p. a list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas in which the third Upapurāṇa is the 'Nānda', but the fourth is named as 'Śiva-dharma' in some Mss and as 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' in others;[67] (4) the same Smṛti-writers are found to draw upon both the Nandi-p. and the Nandikeśvara-p., but there is not a single verse which has been ascribed by any one of them to the Nandi-p. in one place of their work and to the Nandikeśvara-p. in another, nor is there a second instance in which the same verse has been ascribed to the Nandi-p. by one writer and to the Nandikeśvara-p. by another. It is only in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka (p. 8) that the verse'ṛkṣa-yogānurodhena', really belonging to the Nandikeśvara-p., has been ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.' That Śūlapāṇi's ascription of this verse to the Nandi-p. is wrong is shown by the facts that this verse occurs only in some of the Mss on which the printed edition of the Durgotsava-viveka is based, and that the verse 'bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-', which belongs to the group of those eight verses (including the verse 'ṛkṣa-yogānurodhena' mentioned above) which are found quoted as from 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva (pp. 2-3), is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. by Śūlapāṇi himself in his Durgotsava-viveka (p. 9) and Vāsantī-viveka (p. 28). A similar instance of wrong ascription is found in the ASB edition of the Dāna-kaumudī (p. 46) in which there is a verse[68] which is ascribed to the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in only one Ms and to the 'Nandi-p.' in the rest. But this difference in ascription is simply due to scribal mistake, because this verse is found quoted in many other Nibandhas with the mention of only the 'Nandi-p.' as the source.[69]

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[66] See Vol. I, p. 6.

[67] See Vol. I, p. 6.

[68] Dāna-kaumudī, p. 46—nandi-purāṇe (v. l. 'nandikeśvara-purāṇe' in Ms ख) tṛṣṇārta-jala-dāne—

yo 'pi kaścit tṛṣārtāya jala-dānaṃ prayacchati/
sa nitya-tṛpto vasati svarge yuga-śataṃ nṛpa//

[69] See Kālasāra, p. 584; Dānasāgara, p. 345; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 989; and so on.

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It has already been said that not a single Ms of the Nandi-p. has been found as yet. So, we do not know exactly what its contents were. We shall, however, try to give an idea of its Smṛti contents from an examination of those of its verses which are found quoted in the Smṛti-Nibandhas.

Regarding the Ādya-p., Sāmba-p., Kālikā-p., Nandi-p., Āditya-p., Narasiṃha-p., Viṣṇudharmottara etc., Vallālasena says in his Dānasāgara that these works dealt prominently with donations.[70] As a matter of fact, the great majority of the verses quoted from the Nandi-p. in the commentaries and Nibandhas deal with various topics on gifts; viz., praise of donations;[71] results of following the right procedure in making donations;[72] bad effects of making gifts to an unworthy person;[73] benefits of giving water (to a thirsty person for drinking, or to a Brahmin for washing his feet), horse, elephant, chariot, cows which are well-decorated or are in the course of delivery (the best recipients of such cows being the spiritually developed persons, the Agnihotrins and the deities), well-furnished house, clothes, umbrella, turban (uṣṇīṣa), shoes (especially to a Brahmin going on a journey), collyrium (to the eyes of a Brahmin), stick (to an old man), ornaments, sacred thread, coins called Survarṇa as *dakṣiṇā* (a Suvarṇa being said to be equivalent to 16 Māṣas), land (which is productive or is shining with crops such as sugar-cane, wheat, barley etc.), food (to all without distinction of castes, except in śrāddha ceremonies), drink (pānaka, prepared with water mixed with molasses), milk, ghee, curd, molasses, fruit-bearing trees, orchards, gardens, pleasure-

[70] .....kūrmapurāṇ-ādipurāṇayoḥ/
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca //
ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālikāhvayam eva ca/
nāndam āditya-saṃjñaṃ ca nārasiṃhaṃ tathaiva ca//
Dānasāgara, p. 3.

[71] Dānasāgara, pp. 13-14; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 5, 49; Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 406; Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, p. 21.

[72] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 102.

[73] Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 296; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 102, 450; Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, p. 170.

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gardens etc.;[74] results of making gifts of land, cows, elephants and gold on the bank of the Ganges;[75] and so on. It is needless to say that, except in a very few cases, the recipients of these gifts are only the Brahmins.

More interesting is the topic on Vidyā-dāna, on which about 300 metrical lines are found quoted in Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, Govindānanda's Dāna-kaumudī, and Anantabhaṭṭa's Vidhāna-pārijāta.[76] According to these verses, there are fourteen kinds of Vidyās, viz., the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Mīmāṃsā, and Tarka (Logic). Besides these, there are other secondary sciences which have grown out of the principal Vidyās mentioned above, viz., Āyurveda (medical science), Sasya-veda (science of agriculture), Kalā-vidyā, Śilpa-vidyā etc. All these sciences (including Sasya-vidyā) have been highly praised; and though the benefits of teaching these Vidyās as well as Ślokas, Prahelikās, Gāthās etc. to worthy students and of giving books on these sciences (including Sasya-vidyā) to gods or worthy Brahmin recipients have been described elaborately, greater importance has been attached to donation of books on Ātma-vidyā (i.e. philosophical treatises), Paurāṇī Vidyā (i.e. Purāṇas) and Dharmaśāstrātmikā Vidyā (i.e. Dharmaśāstras). The whole procedure of copying and giving books, which has been elaborately described in these verses, consists

[74] Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, pp. 160, 166, 170, 191, 194-5, 248-9, 267-8, 277-8, 303-4, 308; Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 296, 379, 406; Dānasāgara, pp. 279, 279-280, 312-3, 320, 331-2, 344, 345, 360, 366-7, 381, 382-3, 384-5 386, 393, 410, 414, 416, 417, 419, 437, 445, 459, 460, 509, 512, 536, 537, 542, 545, 548, 551, 560, 662, 663, 672-3; Ācāradarśa, p. 37b; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 456, 477, 507, 571-2, 892, 904, 907, 909-910, 957, 960, 984, 984-5, 989, 1041, 1050; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 562, 566-7; Gṛhastha-ratnākara, p. 305; Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 172; Dāna-kaumudī, pp. 46, 83; Kālasāra, p. 584; Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 502, 503; II, pp. 366, 628; Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, pp. 316, 317; and so on.

[75] Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, fol. 49b.

[76] Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, pp. 207-222; Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 396-403; Dānasāgara, pp. 473-488; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 511, 513-6, 526, 526-7, 547-556, 559, 561; Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 347, 348, 502, 503, 656, 657, 658; II, pp. 362, 588; Dāna-kaumudī, p. 67, Vidhāna-pārijāta, III, pp. 291-6, 299, 312-4.

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mainly of the following operations:— the donor's selection of an able scribe (whose qualifications have been given in some of the verses) as well as of an auspicious day; preparation of ink of different colours; preparation of pens; construction, in the prescribed manner, of a Sarapatra (also called Vidyā-dhara, i.e. a stool, on which a book to be copied is placed) with gold, silver, ivory or durable wood; collection of leaves (*patra*) required for the manuscript and furnishing their margins with lines drawn in black and red ink; construction of wooden covers for the Ms and furnishing the outer sides of these covers with ornamental paintings; decoration of the house in which the copying is to be made; honour to be shown to the scribe by presenting to him money, ornaments etc. before he begins his work; furnishing the scribe with knife and other requisites; the scribe's ceremonious beginning, with the sound of musical instruments, of his work of copying in the appointed house on an auspicious day after duly performing Puṇyāha-vācana and Svasti-vācana and worshipping Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; feeding of Brahmins at the completion of the work of copying; comparison of the copied Ms with its original, and making necessary corrections in it; furnishing this new Ms with covers of wood and cloth; taking this Ms with pomp and ceremony to a temple of Śiva, and dedicating it to the deity; appointment of qualified Brahmin readers (vācaka, pāṭhaka, whose qualifications have been mentioned in a number of verses) for reading out the Ms and explaining its contents to the audience, the language used in explaining being Sanskrit, Prakrit, a local dialect, or a mixture of all these according to the language of the book;[76a] presents to be made to the readers and to the donor's teacher, who is to attend the function; decorations and merry-makings in towns and villages on this occasion. If the Ms is to be given to some worthy Brahmin, it should be taken to his house in the manner described above, and formally given to him. One may also acquire the merits of Vidyā-dāna by building a house, inviting a learned teacher

[76a] For the relevant verses see Chap. I, footnote 344 above.

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there, honouring him with wealth, raiments etc., and making him teach a number of students.

Equally interesting are the 25 metrical lines, quoted by Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri and Anantabhaṭṭa,[77] on the praise of foundation of hospitals (ārogya-śālā) for the suffering humanity and the poor. According to these lines, these hospitals should be furnished with qualified and experienced physicians and powerful medicines, and food, honey, ghee etc. should be supplied to the patients free of cost.

There are also a large number of verses on the benefits of the following acts:— digging of tanks and wells, and dedication of these to a Brahmin or a deity, or for public use;[78] giving of food to cows;[79] feeding of a Brahmin who is visiting holy places;[80] avoiding of meat in the month of Kārttika and under different Rāśis, viz., Tulā, Makara and Meṣa;[81] worshipping of an earthen Śiva-liṅga;[82] offering of incense and flowers to gods and Brahmins;[83] furnishing of temples and houses of Brahmins with lamps;[84] muttering of the six-syllabled Mantra 'oṃ namaḥ śivāya', and the use of this Mantra in worship, donations etc.;[85] curing of a person of his disease with the help of one's knowledge of Āyurveda;[86] assuring of safety to a person distressed with fear;[87] offering of incense to Kṛṣṇa, gold to a Śiva-liṅga, and *madhuparka*

[77] See Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, pp. 250-1; Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 365-6; Dānasāgara, pp. 558-9; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 892-4; Vidhāna-pārijāta, III, p. 375.

[78] Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 408-9; Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 514, 516; Dāna-kaumudī, p. 164; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 1002, 1004-5.

[79] Dānasāgara, pp. 312-3.

[80] Dānasāgara, pp. 366-7.

[81] Kālasāra, p. 26; Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 458; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 309, 399, 548-9; Gṛhastha-ratnākara, p. 390; Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, pp. 323-4, 359-360.

[82] Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 129; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 94.

[83] Dānasāgara, pp. 400, 405; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 922.

[84] Dānasāgara, pp. 459, 460; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 491; Durgā-bhakti-taraṅ-giṇī, p. 164.

[85] Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 130-1; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 95.

[86] Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 678.

[87] Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 385; Dānasāgara, pp. 563-4; Caturvarga-cintā-maṇi, I, p. 946; Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, p. 252.

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to Śiva;[88] shampooing of the feet of a tired Brahmin traveller, and offering of ointments to him for use on his feet;[89] singing of the names of Viṣṇu;[90] and so on.

In Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III (Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa) a large number of verses[91] have been quoted from the Nandi-p. on the various topics connected with Śrāddha; viz., classification of Pitṛs; mention of the different classes of Pitṛs whose satisfaction is created by the worship of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva; determination of proper time for the performance of funeral ceremonies; persons who deserve to be invited and fed in a funeral ceremony; enumeration of the various objects to be given to Brahmins in a funeral ceremony, viz., gold, silver, ornaments of various kinds (such as armlets, necklace, earrings, waist-bands, anklets, bracelets etc. all set with gems), foot-wears (pādukā), palanquins, vehicles, various kinds of food, clothes, fans, umbrellas, scents and other articles for toileting, cows, buffaloes, young elephants, bulls etc.; praise of giving gold coins (called Suvarṇa) and silver as *dakṣiṇā*; origin of silver from the drop of tear fallen from one of the unblinking eyes of Śiva when he was looking at Tripura with the intention of destroying it; and so on. In his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (II. ii, p. 242) Mādhavācārya quotes from the Nandi-p. seventeen metrical lines on the innumerable rebirths (first as shrubs, plants etc., and next as various lower animals and members of lower castes) which a murderer of a Brahmin has to pass through after residence in hells for Kalpas, before he is born as a Brahmin. That the Nandi-p. contained the story of Śiva's burning of the city of Tripura, is shown not only by the above account of the origin of silver but also by the seven metrical lines, quoted in Vallālasena's Adbhuta-sāgara (p. 485), on the omens foreboding the destruction of Tripura.

In some of the quoted verses Śiva speaks most probably

[88] Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 647, 685-6.

[89] Dānasāgara, p. 396; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 956.

[90] Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 677.

[91] Some of these verses have been given in Nirṇaya-sindhu, pp. 279 and 307 with the words 'hemādrau nandi-purāṇe'.

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to a king (who is addressed as 'viśāṃpate' and 'vatsa' in some other verses).[92]

The Nandi-p. seems to have been a non-Bengal work. The crops mentioned in connection with *bhūmi-dāna* exclude rice.[93]

6. *The Sāradā-purāṇa.*

This Upapurāṇa is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas; but it is drawn upon in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi,[94] Gopālabhaṭṭa's Hari-bhakti-vilāsa,[95] and Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭa Āḍavalya's Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi (Kāla-khaṇḍa).[96] So, it must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D.

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[92] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 571-2; III. i, pp. 45, 64 and 668; and III. ii, p. 691.

[93] See the verses of the Nandi-p. in Dānasāgara, pp. 331-2.

[94] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 202—

'sāradā-purāṇe—
dina-karma dine sarvaṃ kartavyaṃ yadi tad dine/
naiva siddhim avāpnoti tadā rātrau vidhīyate//'

and

'kālikā-sāradā-purāṇayoḥ—
svalpaiva dvādaśī yatra snāna-dānādikā kriyā/
rajanyām eva kartavyā dāna-homādi-saṃyutā//'

pp. 223-4—

'sāradā-purāṇe—
upoṣyā dvādaśī śuddhā ekādaśyāṃ dina-kṣaye/
mumukṣubhir daśāviddhā nopoṣyaikādaśī tithiḥ//'

p. 238—

'sāradā-purāṇe—
ekādaśy aṣṭamī ṣaṣṭhī pūrṇamāsī caturdaśī/
tṛtīyā ca caturthī ca amāvāsyāṣṭamī tathā//
upoṣyāḥ para-saṃyuktā nopoṣyāḥ pūrva-saṃyutāḥ//'

and p. 286—

'sāradā-purāṇe—
purāṇa-nyāya-mīmāṃsā-dharmaśāstr-ārtha-cintakāḥ/
sadācāra-parā ye vai tad-uktaṃ yatnataś caret//'

[95] Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 776—'sāradā-purāṇe—ekādaśī tathā ṣaṣṭhī paurṇamāsī caturdaśī etc.' (same as in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 238);

p. 840—'... sāradā-purāṇe—dina-karma etc.' (same as the first verse in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 202);

p. 841—'kālikā-sāradā-purāṇayoḥ—svalpaiva dvādaśī yatra etc.' (same as the second verse in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 202), and

saṅkaṭe viṣame prāpte dvādaśyāṃ pārayet katham/
adbhis tu pāraṇaṃ kuryāt punar bhuktaṃ na doṣakṛt//

[96] Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 332. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Āḍavalya was a Sout Indian author and flourished after Raghunandana.

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This Upapurāṇa, as its title shows, was a Śākta work. But the verses quoted from it in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa relate only to rules about the selection of the proper day and time for taking bath, observing fasts, making donations etc. on those Ekādaśī and other Tithis which are contaminated with others.

The Sāradā-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Kālikā-p. In Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 202 and Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 841 the same verses have been ascribed to both the Kālikā and the Sārada-p.[97] Nor is the Sāradā-p. to be identified with the Devī-p. or the Devī-bhāgavata. These two latter Purāṇic works do not contain the verses ascribed to the Sāradā-p. in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa.

7. *The Śaukeya Upapurāṇa.*

This is the same as the Nandi-p. (for which see under 'Nandi-p.' above).

8. *The Skānda Upapurāṇa.*

This is the same as the Nandi-p., for which see under 'Nandi-p.' above.

9. *The Vāyavīya-upapurāṇa.*

We have seen above[98] that the 'Vāyavīya', mentioned in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Smṛti-tattva and the Śabda-kalpadruma, was the same as the Nandi-p. Narasiṃha Vājapeyin includes a 'Vāyu-p.' among the Upapurāṇas;[99] and this 'Vāyu-p.' may be the same as the 'Vāyavīya' Upapurāṇa mentioned in the Smṛti-tattva and the Śabda-kalpadruma.

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[97] See footnotes 94 and 95 above.

[98] See under 'Nandi-p.' above.

[99] Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18—yac ca vāyupurāṇa-devīpurāṇādi tad apy eteṣv antargatam.

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Chapter IV

SOME LOST UPAPURĀṆAS OF NON-SECTARIAN OR UNKNOWN ORIGIN

Besides the lost Upapurāṇas dealt with in the immediately preceding Chapter and in Chap. V of Vol. I of the present work, there were many others, about which our information is in most cases so meagre that we are in absolute darkness about the sects to which these works originally belonged. Most of them are now known to us only by name; and as regards the religious views of those very few Upapurāṇas about which we can gather some information from external sources and quotations, our knowledge is no better than in the case of the rest.

It can hardly be denied that clash of religious interest and sectarian rivalry in the mediaeval period of Indian history were responsible for the composition of many more Upapurāṇas than we know of at present. The few works, about which we have been able to gather some information, are the following.

1. *The Āditya-purāṇa.*

This is one of the earliest and most popular Upapurāṇas. But unfortunately its name does not occur in any of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except those contained in three comparatively late works, viz., the Devī-bhāgavata, the Vindhya-māhātmya, and the Bṛhaddharma-p. The list of Upapurāṇas,[1] which Raghunandana derived from the 'Kaurma' (i.e. Kūrma-p.), contains the name of a 'Bhāskarāhvaya' Upapurāṇa. According to Kāśīrāma Vācaspati and also perhaps Raghunandana himself, this 'Bhāskarāhvaya' Upapurāṇa is the same as the Āditya-p.[2] We do not

[1] For this list see Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

[2] See Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's com. on the Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—bhāskarāhvayam āditya-purāṇam.

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know whether this identification is right or wrong. The 'Bhāskarāhvaya' Upapurāṇa may as well be the same as the 'Saura-p.' which is not mentioned in Raghunandana's list. However, the nonmention of the name of the Āditya-p. in the majority of the lists has not in any way minimised the importance of this work. Almost all the Nibandha-writers are found to quote numerous verses from it, some of these writers being the following: Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (author of the Tristhalī-setu), Anantabhaṭṭa (author of the Vidhāna-pārijāta), Gadādhara, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, Gopālabhaṭṭa, Raghunandana, Govindānanda, Vidyākara Vājapeyin, Vācaspati-miśra, Caṇḍeśvara, Mādhavācārya, Vidyāpati, Madanapāla, Hemādri, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Aparārka and Lakṣmīdhara. In his account of India Alberūnī names the 'Āditya-purāṇa' in that list of major Purāṇas which he heard and committed 'to writing from dictation.'[3] Alberūnī further says, "Of all this literature I have only seen portions of the Matsya, Āditya and Vāyu Purāṇas", and gives the translation of a few verses of the Āditya-p.

That the Āditya-p. is an early work cannot be denied. The manner in which Alberūnī and the Nibandha-writers of different parts of India name and utilise it without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity and antiquity, shows that it must have been written not later than 700 A.D. As the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 2. 79-83) and the Matsya-p. (53. 59-63) name the Narasiṃha-p., Nandi-p., Sāmba-p. and Āditya-p. and say that all these Upapurāṇas were 'well established in society' (loke ... saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ), *the Āditya-p. must have been written not later than the sixth century A.D.* From

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Just before giving the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas in his Malamāsa-tattva Raghunandana writes:

kaurme—

"anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api/"

tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīni, yathā ... .../

(Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3). It is to be noted that Raghunandana names the Āditya-purāṇa as an instance, although the list, which he gives from the 'Kaurma', contains the name of a 'Bhāskarāhvaya' Upapurāṇa (and not that of the 'Āditya-p.'). Hence Raghunandana seems to take the 'Bhāskarāhvaya' and the Āditya-p. to be identical.

[3] Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 130.

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the mention of the Mahābhārata and the names of the zodiacal signs and week-days in some of the verses of the Āditya-p.,[4] it appears that this work is to be dated not earlier than 400 A.D. *It is highly probable that it was written in the fifth century A.D.* This early date of the Āditya-p. is fully supported by the remarkable absence of Tantricism in its rituals.

We have said elsewhere that the 'Bhāskara-purāṇa', mentioned in Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 199. 4-5, may be the same as the present Sāmba-p.[5]

The Āditya-p. must not be taken to be identical with the earlier Saura-p. which is now lost.[6] The former is found mentioned in the Matsya-p. (53. 62), Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25. 23) and Devī-bhāgavata (I. 3. 15) and drawn upon by Alberūnī and the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. The distinct character of these works is shown by the facts that the Devī-bhāgavata mentions both these Purāṇic works in its list of Upapurāṇas[7] and that whenever Alberūnī and others have to refer to or draw upon the Āditya-p., they do so under the title 'Āditya-p.'

In a few chapter-colophons of some of the Mss of the present Saura, this Purāṇa is called the 'Mānavīya-saṃhitā belonging to the Āditya-p.'[8] So, it is liable to be taken as a part (Saṃhitā) of the Āditya-p. As a matter of fact, in many of the catalogues of Sanskrit Mss this Purāṇa is mentioned under the title 'Āditya-p.' But this connection of the present Saura with the Āditya-p. is totally unwarranted; because the Āditya-p., which is mentioned in the Matsya-p.,

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[4] See the verses ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 382, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, pp. 86 and 87, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, pp. 280-281, Kāla-sāra, p. 610, and so on.

[5] See Vol. I, p. 100.

[6] We shall record our information about this earlier Saura-p. in Vol III (under 'Saura-p.').

[7] Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 13-16.

[8] iti śri-āditya-purāṇe mānavīya-saṃhitāyāṃ brahmāṇḍa-goloka-varṇanaṃ nāma pañca-ṣaṣṭitamo'dhyāyaḥ.—Weber, Berlin Cat., No. 1526 (pp. 115-119); Mitra, Bikaner Cat., No. 406 (pp. 182-3); Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 4096 (pp. 758-761). Also P.P.S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, No. 10566 (pp. 7165-66); and M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. ii, Nos. 2338-39 (pp. 1599-1604).

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Bṛhaddharma-p. and Devī-bhāgavata and drawn upon by Alberūnī and the Smṛti-writers, both early and late, is certainly a much earlier work. Moreover, nowhere in the body of its text does the Saura-p. connect itself with the Āditya; and of a few hundreds of metrical lines quoted from the 'Āditya-p.' in the Smṛti commentaries and Nibandhas,[9] only about five are found in the present Saura.[10] But this coincidence must not be taken very seriously, because stray verses are often found common even to independent Purāṇic works which might have taken these verses from a common source such as the Mahābhārata or some early Purāṇic or Smṛti work. The above-mentioned connection of the present Saura-p. with the Āditya-p., however, seems to be based on Saura-p. 1. 6 in which the sages ask Sūta to tell them how 'Āditya' declared the Saura-p. (kathaṃ bhagavatā pūrvam ādityen-ātmarūpiṇā / purāṇaṃ kathitaṃ sauraṃ tanno vaktum ihārhasi //).

The Bhaviṣyottara mentions a 'Mārtaṇḍa-purāṇa' and says that it dealt with Vratas.[11] But as we are quite ignorant of the nature and other contents of this 'Mārtaṇḍa-p.', we do not know whether it was the same as the Āditya-p. or the earlier Saura-p. which is now lost.

The Sūrya-p. mentioned by D. R. Bhandarkar, and that drawn upon by Caṇḍeśvara and named in the Berlin Mss of the Kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-śrāddha-vidhi and the Bhaviṣyottara as the source of the former and of the 'Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-

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[9] Viz., in Aparārka's com. on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, and in the Kṛtya-kalpataru, Dānasāgara, Adbhuta-sāgara, Smṛti-candrikā, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Madana-pārijāta, Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, Kāla-nirṇaya, Kṛtya-ratnākara, Gṛhastha-ratnākara, Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, Smṛtyartha-sāra, Varṣa-kaumudī, Śrāddha-kaumudī, Dāna-kaumudī, Nityācāra-paddhati, Nityācāra-pradīpa, Kālasāra (of Gadādhara), Smṛti-tattva, Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, Vidhāna-pārijāta, etc.

[10] See, for instance, the five lines, quoted from the 'Āditya-p.' in Mādhavācārya's com. (I. i, p. 177) on the Parāśara-smṛti, which agree with Saura-p. 10. 3 and 5-6a.

[11] Bhav. IV. 121. 1-2—

śrī-kṛṣṇa uvāca—
śṛṇu bhārata vakṣyāmi pañcāśīti-vratāni ca/
noktāni yāni kasyāpi munibhir dharma-darśibhiḥ//
bhaviṣya-matsya-mārtaṇḍa-purāṇeṣu ca varṇitam/
vārāhaṃ caiva saṃgṛhya kathyante tāni pāṇḍava//.

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pañcamī-vrata' in the latter, must be quite different from our Āditya-p.[12]

We do not know definitely to which sect the Āditya-p. originally belonged or whether it was a non-sectarian work. In the comparatively early Nibandhas there is a large number of extracts, quoted from the Āditya-p., in which the worship of the Sun has been prescribed.[13] On the other hand, Viṣṇu-worship is recommended and praised in some of its verses;[14] according to one line, it is the adherents to the Pāñcarātra system who escape all kinds of sufferings;[15] and one verse states that a worthless Brahmin, who is not marked with Śaṅkha, Cakra, Ūrdhva-puṇḍra etc., is to be placed on an ass and banished by the king from his kingdom.[16] In Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II. ii, p. 915) eight verses on Śyāmā-mahotsava have been quoted; Vidyāpati and Gadādhara have four and two metrical lines on Durgā-pūjā in their Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (p. 160) and Kālasāra (p. 105) respectively; and in Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Tristhalīsetu (pp. 211, 294-5, 296-7, 308, 313) there are a few verses which praise Benares and the different types of Śiva-liṅga. From all these quotations it appears that the Āditya-p. was a non-sectrian work dealing with the praise and worship of Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā and other deities.

Regarding the provenance of the Āditya-p. we have got no clear idea. That it is a non-Bengal work, is certain. It is probable that this Upapurāṇa was written in Northern India.

It will be interesting to note in this connection the varied contents of the Āditya-p. on the basis of the references and quotations made in Alberūnī's work and in the different

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[12] See Vol. I, pp. 100 and 349-350. Also Ep. Ind., IX, p. 279.

[13] See, for instance, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 738-740, 792-804, and so on.

[14] For such verses see Kṛtya-kalpataru, VI, pp. 348-351, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 326-7, II. i, pp. 1145-7, and so on.

[15] 'pañcarātra-prasaktā ye na te durgatim āpnuyuḥ' (quoted from the Āditya-p. in Nityācāra-paddhati, p. 509).

[16] śaṅkha-cakr-ordhvapuṇḍr-ādi-rahitaṃ brāhmaṇādhamam/
gardabhaṃ tu samāropya rājā rāṣṭrāt pravāsayet/ /
(quoted from the Āditya-p. in Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 184).

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Purāṇas and Smṛti-Nibandhas. According to the Devī-bhāgavata (I. 3. 15) and the Vindhya-māhātmya (chap. 3) the Āditya-p. was a 'very extensive' work (ādityaṃ cātivistaram); from Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 2. 31 we understand that it dealt elaborately with Gāyatrī and gave a description of Gāyatrī's appearance, colour etc., most probably in connection with *gāyatrī-dhyāna;*[17] and Alberūnī's quotations show that it contained a large number of verses on the geography of the earth, the names and position of the seven nether worlds (viz., Tala, Sutala, Pātāla etc.), the names and position of the seven worlds (viz., Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, Mahaḥ etc.) of the mortals and the immortals, the description and measurement of the mountain Meru, and a discourse on 'Kalpa'.[18] Much more interesting are the verses ascribed to the Āditya-p. in the Smṛti-Nibandhas. A study of these verses show that the Āditya-p. dealt elaborately with various topics concerning religion and society. Some of these topics are the following.

(1) Śrāddha.—The right procedure of its performance. Determination of proper time. Necessity of performing śrāddha during the rainy season when the Pitṛs are expelled by Yama from his abode and sent down to the world of mortals. Praise of dedicating a 'nīla-vṛṣa'—an act which causes great satisfaction to the Pitṛs and ensures plenty of food and enjoyment to the dedicator.[19] Bad effect of the non-performance of śrāddha on the belief that there are no Pitṛs.

(2) Death, and cremation of the deceased.[20] Causes of death determining the regions to be attained by the deceased. Praise of death in war. Praise of committing suicide in case of suffering from incurable diseases. Persons

[17] For the text of the verse of the Bṛhaddharma-p. see Chap. II, footnote 135 above.

[18] See Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, pp. 168, 229-230, 232, 248 and 368.

[19] See Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, pp. 470-472, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 989-990, Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 381, and so on.

[20] See Kṛtya-kalpataru, VIII, p. 264; Kṛtya-kalpataru, XI, pp. 135-6, Aparārka's com. (p. 370) on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 948-9, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 228, Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 284, Tristhalī-setu, pp. 53, 54; Smṛti-candrikā, V, p. 182; Kālasāra, p. 258; Kālasāra, p. 361.

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deserving cremation (viz., those who have invited sudden death through mistake; those who have been killed by wild beasts, snakes, poison, lightning etc.; those who have been murdered by Caṇḍālas or thieves; and so on). Method of cremation; and use of different kinds of fire for different persons. Praise of throwing the bones of the deceased into the Ganges.

(3) Impurity.—Rules of impurity caused by birth, death and miscarriage.

Rules of purification of the body under different conditions, (viz., after touching undesirable persons; while travelling on the way or suffering from some disease; and so on). Method of purification.

(4) Marriage, and duties of married life.—Praise of the Gāndharva form of marriage and of accepting *śulka* for the girl.[21] Praise of marriyng a daughter according to the Daiva form.[22] Salutary effects of Kanyā-pradāna on the Pitṛs (patriarchs).[23] Respect to be shown to a son-in-law, who is to be regarded as Viṣṇu himself; and advice to the father not to dine at the house of that daughter who has not attained motherhood.[24]

Duties of married women.[25]—They are to serve their husbands and obey them in all matters. They should not undertake any religious rite without the permission of their husbands or other guardians.

Method and praise of *sahamaraṇa* and *anumaraṇa*.[26]

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[21] gāndharveṇa vivāhena yas tu kanyāṃ prayacchati/
gandharva-lokaṃ vrajati gandharvaiḥ pūjyate ca saḥ//
śulkena dadyād yaḥ kanyāṃ varāya sadṛśāya ca/
kiṃnaraiḥ saha gīyeta gāndharvaṃ lokam eti ca//
(quoted in Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 575).

In Dāna-kaumudī, p. 80 these verses have been ascribed to the 'Ādi-purāṇa'.

[22] Kṛtya-kalpataru, II, p. 83, Gṛhastha-ratnākara, p. 69.

[23] Kṛtya-kalpataru, II, p. 81, Gṛhastha-ratnākara, p. 68.

[24] For the relevant verses of the Āditya-p. see Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 147-8, Gṛhastha-ratnākara, p. 350, Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 239-240, and Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, p. 273.

[25] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 326-7.

[26] See *ibid.*, II. ii, pp. 957-960.

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Dining with the wife of one's own caste—permissible during journey.[27]

(5) Duties of people.[28]—Advice to the people of the Kali age not to practise the *dharma* of the Kṛta-yuga. During the Kali age they are to avoid the following acts:— re-marriage of girls, allotment of the largest share to the eldest son, killing of cows, marrying of one's own brother's wife, practice of celibacy for a long time, intercaste marriage, killing of a Brahmin even in war, entrance into the Vānaprasthāśrama, prescription of such penances to a Brahmin as may cause his death, recognition of sons other than the *dattaka* and the *aurasa*, and so on.

Praise of morning bath during the month of Kārttika and of performance of *tarpaṇa*.

Proper time for taking food, viz., morning (prātaḥ) and evening (sāyam).

Study of the Mahābhārata.[29]

(6) Donations.[30]—Praise of giving various things to proper recipients, especially to worthy Brahmins, viz., gold, land, well-furnished house, bed, lamp, fan (made of peacock-feathers), clothes, seat, umbrella, footwears, chariot, boat, elephant, horse, cows of different numbers and colours, cows known as Kapilās, calves, food, salt, sesamum, artificial cows made of sesamum, ghee or water, skins of black antelopes, water-pots, sacred thread, sacred books such as the Veda, stick, and so on.

Qualifications of donees. Proper time for making gifts. Right procedure of the same. Gifts which can please particular gods and spiritual preceptors.

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[27] brāhmaṇyā bhāryayā sārdhaṃ kvacid bhuñjīta cādhvani/
asavarṇa-striyā sārdhaṃ bhuktvā patati tatkṣaṇāt//
(quoted in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, p. 425).

[28] For the relevant verses see Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, pp. 83-84, and 280-1, and I. ii, p. 91; Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 112-3, and 382; Madana-pārijāta, p. 331; and so on.

[29] Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 382.

[30] Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 107, II, pp. 242, 247; Aparārka's com. (on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti), pp. 363, 370, 374, 378-9; Dānasāgara, pp. 46, 60, 259, etc.; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I; Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, p. 177; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 179-180, 367, 561; Gṛhastha-ratnākara, pp. 463, 466; Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, p. 181; and so on.

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(7) Various kinds of public work.[31]—Praise of constructing dams, planting trees, digging wells and tanks, and so on. Dedication of orchards, gardens, parks etc.

(8) Measurement of land by Paramāṇu, Trasareṇu, Rathareṇu, Bālāgra, Likṣā, Yūkā, Yava, Aṅguli, Vitasti, Prādeśa, Tāla, Gokarṇa, Ratni, Tusta, Viṣku, Dhanurdaṇḍa, Nālī etc., the extents of which are as follows:—

8 Paramāṇus	=	1 Trasareṇu,
8 Trasareṇus	=	1 Rathareṇu,
8 Rathareṇus	=	1 Bālāgra,
8 Bālāgras	=	1 Likṣā,
8 Likṣās	=	1 Yūkā,
8 Yūkās	=	1 Yava,
8 Yavas	=	1 Aṅguli,
12 Aṅgulis	=	1 Vitasti,

and so on.[32]

Measurement of a '*gocarma*'.[33]

(9) Vratas and festivals[34].—Selection of proper Tithis for the performance of these. Rules of self-restraint that one should observe on these occasions. Description of various Vratas and festivals, some of which are the following:

(*a*) The Putra-saptamī-vrata, in which the Sun is to be worshipped on the Saptamī Tithis of every month, especially on the Māgha-śukla-saptamī.

(*b*) The twelve Saptamī-vratas, in which the Sun's twelve forms, viz., Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhāskara, Indra, Vivasvat, Aryaman, Mitra, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu and Bhaga are to be worshipped during the twelve months (from Caitra) respectively.

On the Āṣāḍha-śukla-saptamī, which is called Vijaya-saptamī, Sūrya is to be worshipped in a maṇḍala by one

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[31] Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, p. 276; Dānasāgara, pp. 544-5, 661-2; Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 561; and so on.

[32] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 120-1, and Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 140-1.

[33] gavāṃ śataṃ vṛṣaś caiko yatra tiṣṭhaty ayantritaḥ/
tāṃ vai gocarma-mātraṃ tu manur āha prajāpatiḥ/ /
(quoted in Dānasāgara, p. 330).

[34] See Kṛtya-kalpataru, VI, pp. 348-351; and especially Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 738-740, 792-804, 875-6, II. ii, pp. 168, 341-3, 649-650, 915, and so on.

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who must wear white clothes, have a sacred thread, and be a *brahmacārin*, and must not speak with women. The offerings are to consist of fruits, vegetables, meat, *pāyasa* etc.; and the 'Daivajñas' are to be honoured and fed. The things to be given away on this occasion are wine, condiments, honey, Śāli rice, meat, vegetables etc. It is said that those women, who worship the Sun on this Tithi, become fortunate and live happily in the Sūrya-loka with their husbands, and that after the expiry of the period of enjoyment they are reborn in high and rich families.

In connection with the description of Sun-worship on the Śrāvaṇa-śukla-saptamī, which is called Marīca-saptamī, reference is made to the Sun's power of curing various diseases including those of the skin (viz., Kuṣṭha, Dadru, Kaṇḍu, Śvitra, Ślīpada, Jalodara, Gulma, Atisāra, Hṛd-roga, Vidradhi, Pāṇḍu, Ānāha, Galagraha, Śiraḥśūla, Pārśvaśūla, Akṣiśūla, Visūcikā, Vāta, Kṣaya etc.). The Sun is to be worshipped with the six-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namaḥ sūryāya'; and the worshipper is to take his seat before the deity by facing the east.

During the Bhādra-śukla-saptamī, which is called Phala-saptamī, the Sun is to be worshipped with the offer of various fruits; and the cultivators, merchants, bankers and others, who observe the Phala-saptamī-vrata, have their efforts immensely rewarded.

During the Āśvina-śukla-saptamī, which is called Anodanā, a cart is to be given away with food materials, and Brahmins and Bhojakas are to be fed.

(*c*) Śyena-grāsana-vidhi.—On the Caturthī, Aṣṭamī, Navamī, or Caturdaśī Tithi of the white half of the month of Kārttika, a married woman, who is the mother of one or more sons, is to take her bath and worship Yoganidrā in a fruit-bearing tree outside the house, where she is to go without taking any companion with her. At this place she is to offer food to a Śyena bird, return to the house, take her meal even before the head of the family takes his own, and worship her husband.

(*d*) Śyāmā-mahotsava.—On this occasion Śyāmā, who

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is said to have been churned out of the ocean of milk and who was known by three more names Nārāyaṇī, Satī and Drākṣā (because the gods and demons said "manojñā sumukhī caiṣā hanta drakṣyāmahe vayam", when she was churned out), is to be worshipped on well-ripe Drākṣā fruits. Two boys and two old men are to be honoured on this occasion, the fruits are to be given to spiritual preceptors, and music and dancing are to be performed.

Besides these, there is copious description of Aśokāṣṭamī-vrata, Vaiśākhī-vidhi, Putrotpatti-vrata, Deha-tyāga-vidhi, Dūrvāṣṭamī-vrata, Vijaya-dvādaśī-vrata, and so on.

(10) Description of different deities, such as Agni (who rides a goat), Śiva (who has four hands), Lakṣmī, Indra, the eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas, and so on.[35]

(11) Miscellaneous topics, such as those relating to

(*a*) numerals, (*b*) praise of Benares, and the method of worshipping Śiva there, (*c*) *adbhutas* concerning *svapna* and *kāya-riṣṭa*,[36] (*d*) names of the seven sages of the Vaivasvata Manvantara, (*e*) names of *dig-gajas*, enumeration of *ratna-pañcaka*, and names of the nine things known as '*kautuka*',[37] (*f*) *vaiśvadeva-bali* following pitṛ-tarpaṇa, (*g*) bad effects of making hurry in *homa* and of offering *homa* in a fire with inauspicious signs,[38] (*h*) giving of salt and fodder to cows, and so on.

An examination of the quoted verses shows that in many of the chapters of the Āditya-p. the Sun (Bhānu or Āditya) spoke to the 'great sage' (mahāmuni) Durvāsas,[39] in some chapters Vasiṣṭha reported to a king what Pitāmaha had said to the gods and sages,[40] in some chapters Vasiṣṭha

[35] See Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 99, 128, 136, 174, 190; II, pp. 592, 592-3.

[36] See Adbhuta-sāgara, pp. 507, 517, 519-520, 520, 521, 524, 525, 527-9, 534, 537, 538, 540, 542-4, 546.

[37] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 233, 241; II. i, pp. 47, 49.

[38] Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 59-60.

[39] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 592-3, 594-5, 420-1; II. i, pp. 875-6; and so on. Kṛtya-kalpataru, VIII, p. 264.

[40] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 602-6. Cf. also Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, pp. 154-5, and Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 406.

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spoke to Bhārgava Rāma,[41] and in some others Vyāsa was the speaker.[42] In a large extract of 130 verses Nārada is spoken to,[43] and in another Āditya speaks to Brahmā.[44] From all these it appears that in the Āditya-p. Vyāsa reported to some sages what the Sun (Bhānu or Āditya) had said to Durvāsas on diverse topics.

We do not know whether the Āditya-p. cared to claim to belong to any Mahāpurāṇa, but the Matsya-p. (53. 62) and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 2. 83) take it to be a part of the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa. It is needless to say that this connection between the two Purāṇic works must have been meant for subordinating the Āditya-p. to a principal Purāṇa, viz., the Bhaviṣyat.

2. *The Ākheṭaka-upapurāṇa*[45].

This work has been mentioned only in that list of eighteen Upapurāṇas which occurs in the Ekāmra-p.[46] No second mention of this work is found anywhere else, nor have we been able to find out a single Smṛti or non-Smṛti work which draws upon this Upapurāṇa. So, we do not know what its contents were, or when it was composed. Its peculiar title also does not render us any help in these respects. However, its mention in the Ekāmra-p. shows that it must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

3. *The Auśanasa-upapurāṇa.*

This Upapurāṇa has been mentioned in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas, except those contained in the Ekāmra-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p. In some of these lists it is

[41] See Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 378-9.
[42] See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 341-3.
[43] See *ibid.*, II. i, pp. 792-804.
[44] *Ibid.*, II. i, pp. 738-740.
[45] The title of this work is peculiar, the word 'ākheṭaka' meaning 'hunter'.
[46] For this list see Vol. I, p. 13.

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mentioned as 'Auśanasa',[47] in most of them it is called 'Uśanaserita' (i.e. the Purāṇa spoken out by Uśanas),[48] and in one it is named as 'Auśanasa-prokta'.[49] In those lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas which Mitra-miśra and Gopāladāsa derived from the 'Brahma-vaivarta', this Auśanasa-upapurāṇa is called 'Śaukra'.[50]

The mention of this Upapurāṇa in almost all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas shows that it was a fairly early work and must have been written before 800 A.D. But unfortunately not a single Smṛti or non-Smṛti work is found to draw upon or refer to it. It is probable that either this Auśanasa-upapurāṇa became extinct at an early date, or it became unpopular with the authors of Smṛti and other works from the tenth century A.D.

The Auśanasa-upapurāṇa must not be taken to be the same as the Bṛhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa, which was a much later work. For this Bṛhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa see below.

4. *The Bārhaspatya Upapurāṇa.*

It is mentioned as the fourth Upapurāṇa in the list of Upapurāṇas contained in the Revā-kh. (1. 49) of the Skanda-p. No other list contains its name, nor does any commentator or Nibandha-writer draw upon or refer to it. So, we are quite ignorant of its date and contents. According to the Revā-kh., this Bārhaspatya Upapurāṇa belonged to the Vāyu-p. (bārhaspatyaṃ caturthaṃ ca vāyavyaṃ saṃmataṃ sadā.—Skanda-p. V. iii. 1. 49a).

5. *The Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa.*

The Devī-bhāgavata mentions a 'Bhāgavata' in its list

[47] See Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19 (which derived its list from the 'Kūrma-p.'), Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 13-16.

[48] For these lists See Vol. I, pp. 4-10 and 12.

[49] See Vol. I, p. 10.

[50] See *ibid.*, p. 12.
Śukra and Uśanas are names of the same person.

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of Upapurāṇas, but we have seen elsewhere[51] that this 'Bhāgavata' is nothing but the famous Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata, whose position as a Mahāpurāṇa the Devī-bhāgavata tried to occupy by calling itself 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata'[52] or simply 'Bhāgavata'.[53]

The Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya, which mention a Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa in their lists of the eighteen principal Purāṇas,[54] include a 'Bhāgavata' in their lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas. So, it is clear that according to these two works the Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa was quite different from the famous Bhāgavata-p. But as in their lists of Upapurāṇas there is mention of the Kālikā-p. also (which, as we have already seen,[55] claimed to be the 'original Bhāgavata'), we do not know whether this 'Bhāgavata' Upapurāṇa of the Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya is the same as the Devī-bhāgavata or the Devī-p.[56] In the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas, which was derived by Hemādri from the 'Kūrma-p.', there is mention of 'two Bhāgavatas'.[57] But as this list contains the name of the Kālikā-p. also, we do not know which works are actually meant by these 'two Bhāgavatas'.

No 'Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa' is drawn upon or referred to by any of the numerous commentators and Nibandha-writers known to us.

6. *The Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa.*

That, besides the Brahmāṇḍa Mahāpurāṇa, there was

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[51] Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 53.

[52] Dbh I. 2. 11; 3. 34 and 39; and so on.

[53] *Ibid.*, I. 1. 25, 2. 37, 15. 47; II. 12. 2; and so on.

[54] Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 31-44— ... ... navamaṃ bhagavan-nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitam/ ... . Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65, Nos. 114-116 (Revā-māhātmya)— ... ... tathā bhāgavataṃ nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitam/ ... ...

The Revā-māhātmya, which claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p., is much the same as the Revā-kh. of the Skanda-p.

[55] See Chap. I (under 'Kālikā-p.') above.

[56] For the claim that the Devī-p. was the real Bhāgavata, see Chap. I (under 'Devī-p.') above.

[57] For this list see Vol. I, pp. 5-6.

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an Upapurāṇa named 'Brahmāṇḍa', is shown by its mention in the majority of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas. It is only in the Devī-bhāgavata, Bṛhaddharma-p. and Ekāmra-p. as well as in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the Smṛti-tattva and the Śabda-kalpadruma from a text of the Kūrma-p. that the Brahmāṇḍa is not included among the Upapurāṇas. After giving two lists of Upapurāṇas (one from the 'Kaurma Mahāpurāṇa' and the other from the 'Brahma-vaivarta'), in both of which there is mention of a Brahmāṇḍa Upapurāṇa, Mitra-miśra says that the Nāradīya and Brahmāṇḍa Upapurāṇas were different from the Mahāpurāṇas of the same titles.[58]

Though, by reason of its mention in most of the comparatively early lists of Upapurāṇas, the Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa seems to have been written at an early date, it is not drawn upon by any of the Nibandha-writers. Even Mitramiśra, who distinguishes between the two Purāṇic works named 'Brahmāṇḍa', does not appear to have seen the 'Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa' with his own eyes. It is probable that the Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa became extinct even before the tenth century A.D.

H. P. Shastri's proposed identification of the Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa with the Uttara-kh. of the Brahmāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa,[59] does not seem to be convincing. In Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 44a and in the Revā-māhātmya[60] the Brahmāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa is said to have consisted of two parts (bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣita).

7. *The Bṛhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa.*

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, nor is it drawn upon or referred to by any comparatively early author. Even among the late Nibandha-writers we have not found one who betrays his knowledge

[58] Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14—
upapurāṇ-āntargate nāradīya-brahmāṇḍa-purāṇe bhinne.
[59] Shastri, ASB Cat., V, Preface, p. ccvi.
[60] Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65.

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of this Upapurāṇa. So, it seems to have been composed at a late period. There are, of course, Mss of a Vindhya-māhātmya[61] which claims to be a part of this Upapurāṇa. As one of these Mss is dated Saṃvat 1924, our Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than that date.

8. *The Ekapāda-upapurāṇa.*

It is only the Ekāmra-p. which mentions this work in its list of Upapurāṇas. So, it seems to have been written at a comparatively late date. Its mention in the Ekāmra-p., however, shows that it was composed earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

As none is found to draw upon or refer to it, we are quite ignorant of its nature and contents.

9. *The Gāruḍa Upapurāṇa.*

This work is mentioned only in the Ekāmra-p., but we do not know definitely whether by 'Gāruḍa' the Ekāmra-p. means the present Garuḍa-p. which was a much later work than the earlier Garuḍa,[62] and which was regarded as a spurious work by Vallālasena.[63]

10. *The Kūrma-upapurāṇa.*

A 'Kaurma' Upapurāṇa is mentioned in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Revā-kh. (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revā-māhātmya.

[61] For Mss of the Vindhya-māhātmya, with the commentary of Vaidyanātha, see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 745-747, Nos. 4086 (dated Saṃvat 1940) and 4087 (dated Saṃvat 1924), and Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 306-8, No. 1285.

According to Mitra the Vindhya-māhātmya deals with the 'topography of certain sacred places on the Vindhya Hills, and the religious merit to be acquired by pilgrimage to them'. It also contains the names of the eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas (in chaps. 3 and 4 respectively), the praise of Devī Vindhyavāsinī, Tārakeśvara and the Ganges, the stories of Tārakāsura, of the demons Huṇḍa and Tuhuṇḍa and of Śumbha and Niśumbha, and the description of the method of Devī-worship, which is imbued with Tantric elements.

[62] See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 141-145.

[63] See Dānasāgara, p. 7, verses 63-66, for which see Chap. I. (under 'Devī-p.' above).

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No Ms either of this work or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to be a part of it has been discovered as yet, nor is there a single author who is found to draw upon or refer to it. So, we do not know for certain whether there was at all any work called 'Kaurma-upapurāṇa', and, if so, what its date and contents were.

11. *The Laghu-brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.*

In his Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 50 Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa quotes two verses from this work with the remark 'atra mūlaṃ cintyam'. As these two verses, dealing with the praise of gifts made at Benares during eclipses etc., do not occur in the present Brahma-vaivarta-p., the Laghu-brahmavaivarta (if at all there was any work of this title) must have been a separate work written before 1400 A.D. It should be mentioned here that we do not know any second author who refers to or draws upon this work.

12. *The Līlāvatī-upapurāṇa.*

This work is mentioned only in that list of Upapurāṇas which is contained in the Ekāmra-p. No Ms of this work or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to belong to it, has been found up to the present time, nor does any Smṛti-writer in any way betray his knowledge of this Upapurāṇa. So, we are in absolute darkness as regards its date, character and contents. We can only say that it was composed earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

13. *The Mādhavī-purāṇa* (?)

A verse is found ascribed to a 'Mādhavī-purāṇa' in Bhairava's Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha,[64] which is

[64] Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms No. G5946, fol. 71b—
mādhavī-purāṇe—
'rātris tu ñayet (? rātri-sūktaṃ japet) smṛtvā etc.'

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later than the Tantra-sāra. As in no other work known to us there is any reference to or quotation from the 'Mādhavī-purāṇa', we do not know whether there was at all any Upapurāṇa bearing this title. It is highly probable that the reading 'mādhavī-purāṇe' in Bhairava's work is a scribal mistake for 'mādhavīye purāṇe' and that the verse, ascribed to the 'Mādhavī-purāṇa', was derived from some work of Mādhavācārya. This probability gains ground when we see that this verse has been quoted in Mādhavācārya's commentary (I. i, p. 441) on the Parāśara-smṛti with the words "purāṇe 'pi", and that at another place (fol. 1b) in the Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha a verse (brahma-murāris tripurāntakārī etc.=Vāmana-p. 14. 23) has been quoted with the words 'mādhavīye purāṇe', evidently to mean that the verse was derived from Mādhavācārya's commentary (II. i, pp. 220-221) on the Parāśara-smṛti, where it has been quoted with the mention of the Vāmana-p. as its source. The derivation of Purāṇic verses from Mādhavācārya's works with the words 'mādhavīye purāṇe' is not peculiar to Bhairava alone. There are other Nibandha-writers who have used the same words in the cases of some of the Purāṇic verses derived from Mādhavācārya's works. See, for instance, Nīlakaṇṭha-bhaṭṭa's Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 107—

mādhavīye purāṇe—
'yat phalaṃ soma-yāgena prāpnoti dhanavān dvijaḥ /
samyak pañca-mahāyajñair daridras tad avāpnuyāt //'

It is to be noted that this verse (yat phalaṃ soma-yāgena etc.) is found quoted by Mādhavācārya in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (Ācāra-kāṇḍa, Adhyāya I, p. 413) with the words "purāṇe 'pi."

14. *The Māheśa Upapurāṇa.*

This work has been mentioned in two lists only, viz., those ascribed to the 'Brahma-vaivarta' in Mitra-miśra's Vīramitrodaya and Gopāladāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara. Though derived from the same source, these two lists differ

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in texts as well as in the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In Mitra-miśra's list both the Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga and the Māheśa have been mentioned, but in Gopāladāsa's list the Vāsiṣṭha and the Māheśa have been named. In spite of this difference, we can safely take the Māheśa to be different from the Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga (which was known as Vāsiṣṭha also and perhaps as Māheśvara too). It was also not identical with the Śivadharma, which is mentioned in Mitra-miśra's list under the name of 'Śaiva-dharma'. The mention of the 'Śaiva' or 'Śaivaka' (i.e. Śiva-p.) in the lists of Purāṇas given by Mitra-miśra[65] from the 'Viṣṇu-p.' and the 'Śrī-bhāgavata', shows that this 'Śaiva' (or 'Śaivaka') Purāṇa and the 'Māheśa' Upapurāṇa were not the same.

As to the date of this Upapurāṇa, we can only say that it must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D.

15. *The Mṛtyuñjaya-upapurāṇa.*

It is only the Ekāmra-p. which mentions a Mṛtyuñjaya-upapurāṇa. No commentator or Nibandha-writer is found to draw upon or refer to it. Its mention in the Ekāmra-p. shows that it must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

16. *The Nāradīya Upapurāṇa.*

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas.[66] In the majority of the lists it is called 'Nāradīya'; but in a few it is mentioned as 'Nāradokta', and in one, as 'Nāradīyaka'.

According to Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, the 'Nāradīya' Upapurāṇa is the same as the 'Bṛhannāradīya'.[67] But this view is not at all acceptable. Had the 'Nāradīya' Upapurāṇa and the 'Bṛhannāradīya' been identical, there

[65] Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 12.

[66] For these lists see Vol. I, pp. 4-13.

[67] See Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's com. on the Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—nāradīyaṃ bṛhannāradīyam.

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would be at least one list of Upapurāṇas in which the name of the 'Bṛhannāradīya' would occur in place of the 'Nāradīya'. On the contrary, the Bṛhaddharma-p. and the Ekāmra-p. mention both the 'Nāradīya' and the 'Bṛhannāradīya' in their lists of Upapurāṇas.

The Nāradīya Upapurāṇa must also not be taken to be the same as the present Nāradīya-mahāpurāṇa. The latter was compiled mainly with the chapters of the Bṛhannāradīya.[68] Moreover, Mitra-miśra says that the 'Nāradīya', included among the Upapurāṇas, was different from the Nāradīya-mahāpurāṇa.[69]

As the 'Nāradīya' Upapurāṇa is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas, it must have been a popular work written at an early date. Yet no commentator or Nibandha-writer is found to utilise or refer to its contents. It is highly probable that this Upapurāṇa became extinct quite early.[70] According to the Revā-kh. (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revā-māhātmya, it belonged to the Bhaviṣya-p.

17. *The Puṣkara-purāṇa.*

None of the lists of Upapurāṇas contains the name of this work, but nine metrical lines are found ascribed to it in Gadādhara's Kālasāra,[71] two in Gopālabhaṭṭa's Hari-

[68] Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 127ff.

[69] Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14—upapurāṇ-āntargate nāradīya-brahmāṇḍa-purāṇe bhinne.

[70] Note, in this connection, the word 'purā' in the line 'bhaviṣye nāradoktaṃ ca sūribhiḥ kathitaṃ purā' (occurring in the Revā-kh. of the Skanda-p. and in the Revā-māhātmya) in which the 'Nāradīya' Upapurāṇa has been attached to the Bhaviṣya-p.

[71] Kālasāra, p. 601—

citra-kṛsṇa-caturdaśī puṣkara-purāṇe—
'kārttike bhauma-vāre tu yadā kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī/
tasyām ārādhitaḥ sthāṇur nayec chivapuraṃ dhruvam//
yāṃ kāṃcit saritaṃ prāpya kṛṣṇa-pakṣe caturdaśīm/
yamunāyāṃ viśeṣeṇa niyataṃ tarpayed yamān//
yamāya dharmarājāya mṛtyave cāntakāya ca/
audumbarāya dadhyāya nīlāya parameṣṭhine//
vṛkodarāya citrāya citraguptāya vai namaḥ/
ekaikasya tilair miśrān trīṃs tu dadyāj jalāñjalīn//
saṃvatsara-kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ tatkṣaṇād eva naśyati//'

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bhakti-vilāsa,[72] six in Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's Nirṇaya-sindhu (which derives three of its lines from the 'Nirṇayāmṛta'),[73] and five in Anantabhaṭṭa's Vidhāna-pārijāta.[74] So, this Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D. Its nonmention in the lists of Upapurāṇas shows that it was a comparatively late work.

This Puṣkara-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Padma-p. None of the quoted verses, mentioned above, is found in the latter work.

18. *The Rudra-purāṇa.*

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas. A verse (on the result of fasting on the Ekādaśī Tithi) is found quoted from this work in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi.[75] So, it must have been written not later than 1000 A.D.

The Rudra-p. does not seem to be the same as the present Śiva-p., because the quoted verse, mentioned above, smacks of Vaiṣṇavism and does not occur in the latter work.

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[72] Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 1064—

... ... puṣkara-purāṇe—

'yasya yasya tu devasya yan nakṣatraṃ tithiś ca yā/
tasya devasya tasmiṃś ca śayan-āvartan-ādikam//'

[73] Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 145—

tathā ākāśa-dīpa ukto nirṇayāmṛte puṣkara-purāṇe—

'tulāyāṃ tila-tailena sāyaṃkāle samāgate/
ākāśa-dīpaṃ yo dadyān māsam ekaṃ hariṃ prati/
mahatīṃ śriyam āpnoti rūpa-saubhāgya-saṃpadam/ /'

p. 148—

... ... tad uktaṃ puṣkara-purāṇe—

'svātī-sthite ravāv indur yadi svātī-gato bhavet/
pañca-tvag-udaka-snāyī kṛtābhyaṅga-vidhir naraḥ/
nīrājito mahālakṣmīm arcayan śriyam aśnute//'

[74] Of the five metrical lines ascribed to the 'Puṣkara-p.' in Anantabhaṭṭa's Vidhāna-pārijāta, II, p. 676, the first three are the same as those quoted from the 'Puṣkara-p.' in Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 148, and the last two are the following:

'indu-kṣaye 'pi saṃkrāntau ravau pāte dina-kṣaye/
tatrābhyaṅgo na doṣāya prātaḥ pāpāpanuttaye//'

[75] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 152—

rudra-purāṇe—

'yaḥ karoti naro bhaktyā ekādaśyām upoṣaṇam/
sa yāti viṣṇu-sālokyaṃ yāti viṣṇoḥ sarūpatām//'

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19. *The Saura-purāṇa.*

Besides the present Saura-p. which is a Śaiva work, there was an earlier Saura which is now lost. Full information about this lost Saura-p. will be given under 'Saura-p.' in Vol. III of the present work.

20. *The Soma-purāṇa.*

This work is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas nor drawn upon or referred to by any of the commentators and Nibandha-writers. It is only Alberūnī who mentions it in that list of eighteen Purāṇas which he committed to writing from dictation.[76] So, this Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than 850 A.D., otherwise it could not attain so much prominence as to be included among the 'Purāṇas' in Alberūnī's time.

21. *The Tvaṣṭṛ-purāṇa.*

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas. Of the commentators and Nibandha-writers it is only Devaṇabhaṭṭa who is found to quote one verse from this Upapurāṇa in his Smṛti-candrikā.[77] So, this work must have been written earlier than 950 A.D.

22. *The Ūrdhva-purāṇa.*

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but it is drawn upon in the Vākya-ratnākara of Govinda (son of Gaṇaka Sadāśiva Miśra).[78] So, it must be dated earlier than 1550 A.D.

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[76] Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 130— ... ... (11) Soma-purāṇa i.e. the moon, ...

[77] Smṛti-candrikā, V, p. 182—

sarpa-hate tv ayaṃ viśeṣas tvaṣṭṛ-purāṇe darśitaḥ—

'sauvarṇa-bhāra-niṣpannaṃ nāgaṃ kṛtvā tathaiva gām/

viprāya vidhivad dattvā pitur ānṛṇyam āpnuyāt//'

[78] Shastri, ASB Cat., III, No. 2799, p. 811.

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23. *The Uttara-saura.*

Four metrical lines[79] are ascribed to this work in Kāla-nirṇaya, pp. 54-55, Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 92, and Kālasāra, p. 230. So, this work must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D.

From the title of this work it appears that it claimed to form the latter part (uttara-bhāga) either of the present Saura-p. or of the earlier one. But, as a matter of fact, neither of these two Saura-purāṇas is known to have had any such part.

24. *The Vāmana-upapurāṇa.*

In their lists of Upapurāṇas the Garuḍa-p., Bṛhad-dharma-p. and the present Kūrma-p. name a 'Vāmana' Upapurāṇa instead of the 'Mānava' mentioned in the other lists. Narasiṃha Vājapeyin also mentions a 'Vāmana' Upapurāṇa (in place of the 'Mānava') in his list which he derived from the 'Kūrma-p.'

The occurrence of the name of the 'Vāmana' in place of the 'Mānava' in these lists, was due either to the ignorance of the people about the real title and nature of the Upapurāṇa which they called 'Vāmana' or 'Mānava,' or to the fact that the Mānava-upapurāṇa was replaced by the Vāmana-upapurāṇa, or *vice versa*, at an early date. But as neither the 'Vāmana' nor the 'Mānava' is drawn upon or referred to by any author, we are quite ignorant of these two works.

25. *The Yama-purāṇa.*

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but five verses have been ascribed to the 'Yama-p.'

[79] These lines are the following:

guror madhyama-saṃkrānti-hīno yaś cāndra-vatsaraḥ/
adhisaṃvatsaras tasmin kārayen na sava-trayam//
varjanīyā prayatnena pratiṣṭhā sarva-nākinām/
sphuṭa-saṃkrānti-hīnaś cet ke 'py āhur adhimāsavat//

(These lines, as quoted in the Nityācāra-pradīpa and the Kālasāra, differ in readings in some places).

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at different places in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi.[80] Though the reading 'padma-' for 'yama-' occurs in two places in some of the Mss of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi,[81] and five of the quoted lines are found in the Sṛṣṭi-kh. of the present Padma-p.,[82] the name 'Yama-p.', occurring in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, must not be taken to be merely a scribal mistake for 'Padma-p.' The existence of a distinct Upapurāṇa named 'Yama-p.' is proved definitely by Śūramiśra who draws upon a 'Yama-p.' in his Jagannātha-prakāśa (fol. 71a).[83] The occurrence of some of the verses of the 'Yama-p.' in the Sṛṣṭi-kh. of the present Padma-p. must be due either to the utilisation of the contents of the latter work by the former, or to the use of a common source by both these works. As a matter of fact, the verse 'āmena vartayen nityaṃ' (of which the second line is the same as Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-kh., 10. 32b) is ascribed to both the Kūrma-p. and the Yama-p. in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 1528.

The verses quoted from the Yama-p. show that this work dealt, among other topics, with Vrata, Śrāddha etc.

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[80] Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 23-24—
yama-purāṇe (v. l. 'padma-purāṇe')—
'bahutvād iha śāstrāṇāṃ dharma-mūlaṃ śruti-smṛtī/
itihāsa-purāṇāni tasmāt teṣu manaḥ kṛthāḥ//';
and p. 568—
'lakṣmīm abhyarcya pañcamyām upavāsī bhaven nṛpaḥ/
samānte hema-kamalaṃ dadyād dhenu-samanvitam//
sa vaiṣṇava-padaṃ yāti lakṣmīr janmani janmani/
etal lakṣmī-vrataṃ nāma duḥkha-śoka-vināśanam//'
iti yama-purāṇoktaṃ lakṣmī-vratam.
Ibid., III. i, p. 960—yad uktaṃ yama-purāṇe (v. l. 'padma-purāṇe' in Ms ख)—
'caṇḍālādīn jape home dṛṣṭvācāmed dvijottamaḥ/
śvādīn dṛṣṭvā tathaivāpi karṇaṃ vā dakṣiṇaṃ spṛśet//';
and p. 1528—
kūrmapurāṇa-yamapurāṇayoḥ—
'āmena vartayen nityaṃ brāhmaṇo vyasanānvitaḥ/
tenāgnaukaraṇaṃ kuryāt piṇḍāṃs tenaiva nirvapet//'

[81] See the immediately preceding footnote.

[82] The two verses, ascribed to the 'Yama-p.' in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 568, are the same as Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-kh., 20. 63-64; and the second line of the verse ascribed to both the Kūrma-p. and the Yama-p. in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 1528, is the same as Padma-p., Sṛṣṭi-kh., 10. 32b.

[83] Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 137 (No. 2041).

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Mālavikāgnimitra of Kalidāsa.—Edited by K. P. Parab. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1915.

Manu-smṛti (with Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary).—Edited by Paṇḍita Gopāla Śāstrī Nene. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Benares, 1935.

Manu-smṛti (with Medhātithi-bhāṣya).—Edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganganath Jha and published in two volumes by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol. I having appeared in 1932, and Vol. II in 1939.

Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, Fourth edition, 1316 B.S.

Also occasionally used the Veṅkaṭ. edition published from Bombay.

Matsya-purāṇa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1316 B.S.

Also used the AnSS, Veṅkaṭ. and Jīv.'s editions according to necessity.

Mīmāṃsā-darśana (i.e. Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra) of Jaimini.—Published, with the commentaries of Śabarasvāmin and

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Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1929-34.

Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara.—See 'Yājñavalkya-smṛti (with the commentary Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara)' below.

Muṇḍaka-upaniṣad.—'Aṣṭāviṃśaty-upaniṣadaḥ' (pp. 28-35) edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkara and published by Tukaram Jawaji, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Fifth edition, 1918.

Nāradīya-purāṇa.—Published by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, Śaka 1845.

Nirṇaya-sindhu of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa.—Edited by Vāsudeva Śarman and published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Third edition, Śaka 1848.

Nityācāra-paddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin.—Vol. I, edited by Pandit Vinoda Vihārī Bhaṭṭācārya. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1903.

Nityācāra-pradīpa of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin.—

Vol. I.—Edited by Pandit Vinoda Vihārī Bhaṭṭācārya. Bibl. Ind. (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1907.

Vol. II.—Edited by Pandit Vinoda Vihārī Bhaṭṭacārya and Mahāmahopādhyāya Sadāśiva Miśra. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcuta, 1928.

Padma-purāṇa.—Published by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series. Poona, 1893.

It is printed in 4 volumes, Vol. I consisting of the Ādi- and the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, Vol. II of the Brahma- and the Pātāla-khaṇḍa, Vol. III of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, and Vol. IV of the Uttara-khaṇḍa.

Also occasionally used the Vaṅga. and Veṅkaṭ. editions published from Calcutta and Bombay respectively.

Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman.—Edited by M. R. Kale and published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, 1911-12.

Parāśara-smṛti (also called Parāśara Dharma-saṃhitā), with Mādhavācārya's commentary (Parāśara-mādhava or Parāśara-mādhavīya).—Edited by Vāmana Śāstrī Islampurkar. Bombay Sanskrit Series, Bombay, 1893-1911.

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Pauṣkara-saṃhitā.—Edited by Yatirāja Saṃpatkumāra Rāmānuja Muni of Melkote, Bangalore, 1934.

Prākṛta-prakāśa of Vararuci.—Edited, with Bhāmaha's commentary Manoramā, by E. B. Cowell. Second issue. London, 1868.

Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana of Trivikramadeva (with his own commentary).—Edited by P. L. Vaidya and published by Jaina-Saṃskṛti-Saṃrakṣaka-Saṅgha, Sholapur, 1954.

Prasthāna-bheda of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.—Published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1912.

Prātimokṣa-sūtra.—Edited by Anukul Chandra Banerjee. Calcutta, 1954.

Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.—Edited by Girīśa Candra Vedāntatīrtha and published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bengal), 1927.

Prāyaścitta-viveka of Śūlapāṇi.—Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta, 1893.

Preta-kaumudī of Pītāmbara Siddhānta-vāgīśa-bhaṭṭācārya. —Edited by Gopal Chandra Sharma. Assam.

Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra of Jaimini.—See 'Mīmāṃsā-darśana of Jaimini' above.

Raghu-vaṃśa of Kālidāsa.—Edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkara and published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1892.

Rāja-taraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa.—Edited by M. A. Troyer. Paris, MDCCCXL.

Rāmāyaṇa of Kṛttivāsa.—See 'Kṛttivāsa-viracita Rāmāyaṇa' above.

Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.—Edited (with the commentary Rāmāyaṇa-tilaka) by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1294 B.S.

Rāsa-yātrā-viveka of Śūlapāṇi.—Edited by Suresh Chandra Banerji and published in Saṃskṛta-Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā, 1941.

Revā-kaṇḍa.—Forming Part iii of Skanda-purāṇa, Vol. V (Āvantya-khaṇḍa), for which see below.

Ṛg-veda (with Sāyaṇācārya's Bhāṣya).—Edited by Mahā-mahopādhyāya Rājārāma Śāstrī Bodas and Śivarāma

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Śāstrī Gore and published by Tookaram Tatya. Bombay, Śaka 1810.

Śabda-kalpadruma.—A Sanskrit Lexicon compiled by Sir Rājā Rādhā-kānta Deva Bahadur and published by Kālī-prasanna Śarmā. Calcutta, 1867.

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (or, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra).—Revised edition by Nalinaksha Dutta. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1953.

Sādhana-mālā.—Edited by Benoytosh Bhattacarya and published in two volumes in Gaekwaḍ's Oriental Series (No. XXVI—1925, and No. XLI—1928), Baroda.

Sāhitya-darpaṇa of Viśvanātha Kavirāja.—Edited, with an Introduction on "The History of Alaṃkāra Literature", by P. V. Kane, Bombay. Second edition, 1925.

Sāmba-purāṇa.—Published by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay. Śaka 1821.

Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (of the White Yajurveda).—Edited by A. Weber. Berlin, 1855.

Sātvata-saṃhitā.—Published by the Sudarśana Press, Conjeevaram (Madras), 1902.

Saura-purāṇa.—Edited and published by Vināyaka Gaṇeśa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona. Second edition, 1924.

Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana of Hema-candra (forming the eighth chapter of his Prākṛta-dvyāśraya-kāvya).—Edited by S. P. Pandit. Second edition, revised by P. L. Vaidya. Poona, 1936.

Śiśupāla-vadha of Māgha.—Published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Tenth edition, 1933.

Śiva-purāṇa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1314 B.S.

This edition contains the following Saṃhitās: I—Jñāna-saṃhitā, II—Vidyeśvara-saṃhitā, III—Kailāsa-saṃhitā, IV—Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā, V—Vāyavīya-saṃhitā, VI—Dharma-saṃhitā.

Also used the Veṅkaṭ. edition (Bombay, Śaka 1847), which contains the following Saṃhitās: I—Vidyeśvara-

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saṃhitā, II—Rudra-saṃhitā (consisting of Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Satī-khaṇḍa, Pārvatī-khaṇḍa, Kumāra-khaṇḍa and Yuddha-khaṇḍa), III– Śatarudra-saṃhitā, IV—Koṭi-rudra-saṃhitā, V—Umā-saṃhitā, VI—Kailāsa-saṃhitā, VII—Vāyavīya-saṃhitā.

Skanda-purāṇa.—Published by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1910.

This edition consists of seven Parts (called Khaṇḍas), which are as follows: I—Māheśvara-khaṇḍa, II—Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa, III—Brahma-khaṇḍa, IV—Kāśī-khaṇḍa, V—Āvantya-khaṇḍa (including the Revā-khaṇḍa, for which see 'Revā-khaṇḍa' above), VI—Nāgara-khaṇḍa, VII—Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa.

Also occasionally used the Vaṅga. edition (Calcutta, 1318 B.S.), which is practically the same as the Veṅkaṭ. edition.

Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa.—Published by the Government of Mysore in five Volumes (called Kāṇḍas) as follows:

Vol. I (Saṃskāra-kāṇḍa), Vol. II (Āhnika-kāṇḍa), Vol. III (Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa, Parts i and ii).—Edited by L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1914.

Vol. IV (Śrāddha-kāṇḍa).—Edited by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore, 1918.

Vol. V (Aśauca-kāṇḍa).—Edited by R. Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1921.

Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana.—Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta, 1895.

This work has been printed in two Volumes, of which

Vol. I consists of (i) Tithi-tattva (on pp. 1-188), (ii) Śrāddha-tattva (on pp. 189-325), (iii) Āhnika-tattva (on pp. 326-465), (iv) Prāyaścitta-tattva (on pp. 466-558), (v) Jyotis-tattva (on pp. 559-735), (vi) Malamāsa-tattva (on pp. 736-856), and (vii) Saṃskāra-tattva (on pp. 857-948), and

Vol. II. consists of (i) Ekādaśī-tattva (on pp. 1-105),

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(ii) Udvāha-tattva (on pp. 106-150), (iii) Vrata-tattva (on pp. 151-161), (iv) Dāya-tattva (on pp. 161-197), (v) Vyavahāra-tattva (on pp. 197-233), (vi) Śuddhi-tattva (on pp. 233-412), (vii) Vāstu-yāga-tattva (on pp. 412-423), (viii) Kṛtya-tattva (on pp. 423-483), (ix) Yajurvedi-śrāddha-tattva (on pp. 483-502), (x) Deva-pratiṣṭhā-tattva (on pp. 502-513), (xi) Jalāśayotsarga-tattva (on pp. 513-528), (xii) Chandoga-vṛṣotsarga-tattva (on pp. 528-562), (xiii) Śrī-puruṣottama-tattva (on pp. 563-573), (xiv) Divya-tattva (on pp. 574-613), (xv) Maṭha-pratiṣṭhādi-tattva (on pp. 613-633), (xvi) Śūdra-kṛtya-vicāraṇa-tattva (on pp. 633-636), (xvii) Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsarga-tattva (on pp. 636-644), (xviii) Dīkṣā-tattva (on pp. 645-659), and (xix) Śrī-durgārcana-paddhati (on pp. 659-683).

Smṛtyartha-sāra of Śrīdharācārya.—Edited and published by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 70. Poona, 1912.

Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati-miśra.—Edited by Mahādeva Smṛti-tīrtha Bhaṭṭācārya and published by Kāśīcandra Bhaṭṭācārya, Benares. First edition, Śaka 1814.

Śrāddha-kaumudī of Govindānanda Kavi-kaṅkaṇācārya.—Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1904.

Śrāddha-viveka of Rudradhara Upādhyāya.—Edited by Pandit Anantarāma Dogarā Śāstrī Vedācārya. Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1936.

Śrāddha-viveka of Śūlapāṇi.—Edited, with Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālaṃkāra's commemtary, by Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa. Second edition. Calcutta, 1299 B.S.

Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānuja.—See 'Vedānta-sūtra (with Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānujācārya)' below.

Subhāṣita-triśatī of Bhartṛhari.—Published (with Rāmacandra Budhendra's commentary) by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Sixth edition, 1922.

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Śuddhi-kaumudī of Govindānanda Kavi-kaṅkaṇācarya.—Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1905.

Sukhāvatīvyūha.—Edited by F. Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio. Oxford, 1883.

Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad.—'Aṣṭāviṃśaty-upaniṣadaḥ' (pp. 243-255), edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkara and published by Tukaram Jawaji, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Fifth edition, 1918.

Taittirīya-āraṇyaka (with Sāyaṇācārya's commentary).—Edited by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte and published in two parts in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 36. Poona, 1897-98.

Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa (belonging to the Black Yajurveda), with Sāyaṇācārya's commentary.—Published in 3 parts by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 37. Poona, 1898.

Taittirīya-saṃhitā (of the Black Yajurveda), with Sāyaṇācārya's commentary.—Published in 8 parts by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 42. Poona, 1900.

Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta.—Published, in 12 Volumes, in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Vol. I being edited by Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri in 1918, and Vols. II-XII by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul Shastri in 1921-38.

Tantrasāra of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa.—Edited and published by Pañcaśikha Bhaṭṭācārya. Fourth edition. Calcutta, 1318 B.S.

Tantravārttika of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa.—Edited by Pandit Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī, Benares, 1882-1903.

Tilaka (a commentary on the Devī-bhāgavata by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha).—See 'Devī-bhāgavata' above.

Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati-miśra.—Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛti-tīrtha and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1912.

Tithi-tattva of Raghunandana.—See under 'Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana' above.

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Tithi-tattva (of Raghunandana) with Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's commentary.—Edited by Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa. Third edition. Calcutta, 1313 B.S.

Tithi-viveka of Śūlapāṇi (with Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's commentary Tātparya-dīpikā).—Edited by Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Calcutta.

Tristhalī-setu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.—Edited and published by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Śanskrit Series, No. 78. Poona, 1915.

Trikāṇḍaśeṣa of Puruṣottama-deva.—Edited by Pandit Durgaprasad, Kasinath Pandurang Parab and Pandit Sivadatta, and published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1889.

Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā (of the White Yajurveda), with the commentaries of Uvvaṭācārya and Mahīdhara.—Edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkara and published by Pandurang Jawaji. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Second edition, 1929.

Vāmana-purāṇa.—Published by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa. Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay. Śaka 1825.

Varāha-purāṇa.—Edited by Hṛṣīkeśa Śāstrī and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1893.

Varṣa-kaumudī of Govindānanda Kavi-kaṅkaṇācārya.—Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1902.

Varṣa-kṛtya of Rudradhara Upādhyāya.—Printed in Nāgarī and published from Benares in 1903.

Vāsantī-viveka of Śūlapāṇi.—Constituting pp. 28-29 of 'Durgā-pūjā-viveka etc.' edited by Satīśa-candra Siddhānta-bhūṣaṇa and published by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.

Vāyu-purāṇa.—Edited and published by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 49. Poona, 1905.

Vedānta-sūtra (with Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānujācārya).—Edited by P. S. Rāma Miśra Śāstrī and published by E. J. Lazarus & Co., Benares, 1889-91.

Vidhāna-pārijāta of Anantabhaṭṭa.—Vols. I-III. Bibliotheca

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Indica (As. Soc.), Calcutta. Of these, Vol. I (containing Stavakas I-II) and Vol. II (containing Stavaka III) were edited by Pandit Tārāprasanna Vidyāratna in 1905 and 1912 respectively, and Vol. III (containing Stavaka IV) by Pandit Iswar Chandra Sharma in 1951.

Vidyā-sundara of Bhārata-candra.—Published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1312 B.S.

(This work is written in Bengali verse).

Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra (consisting of 12 Parts, viz., Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, Saṃskāra-prakāśa, Āhnika-prakāśa, Pūjā-prakāśa, Lakṣaṇa-prakāśa, Rājanīti-prakāśa, Tīrtha-prakāśa, Vyavahāra-prakāśa, Śrāddha-prakāśa, Samaya-prakāśa, Bhakti-prakāśa, Śuddhi-prakāśa).—Published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares.

Viṣṇudharmottara.—Published by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa. Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay. Śaka 1834.

Viṣṇu-purāṇa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition ,1331 B.S.

Vivāda-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura.—Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛti-tīrtha and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1931.

Vrata-kāla-viveka of Śūlapāṇi.—Edited by Suresh Chandra Banerji and reprinted from Indian Historical Quarterly, XVII (No. 4), 1941.

Vyavahāra-tattva of Raghunandana.—See under 'Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana' above.

Yājñavalkya-smṛti (with the commentary Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara).—Edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkara and published by Pandurang Jawaji. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Third edition, 1926.

Yājñavalkya-smṛti (with the commentary of Aparārka).—Edited and published in two parts by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 46. Poona, 1903 and 1904.

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II. Works in Manuscripts[2]

Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha of Bhāskara (or Bhairava ?).—Ms No. 5946, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgāpūjā-paddhati.—This work is styled in its Mss as 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-purāṇānugṛhīta-bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgāpūjā-paddhati', for which see below.

Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-purāṇānugṛhīta-bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgāpujā-paddhati.—Mss Nos. 2261 and 4055, Dacca University Mss Library.

Dāna-vākyāvalī of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura.—Ms No. 5480 (dated Saṃvat 1612), Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Durgāpūjā-paddhati of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya.—Ms No. 2258 (dated Śaka 1658), Dacca University Mss Library. This Ms was found in the district of Faridpur (now in East Pakistan).

Durgārcana-kaumudī.—Ms No. 3805, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Durgotsava-paddhati of Udayasiṃha Rūpanārāyaṇa.—Ms No. 6445, Indian Museum Collection, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Ekāmra-purāṇa.—Ms No. 4492 (dated Śaka 1663), Dacca University Mss Library.

Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī of Gaṇapati.—Ms No. स्मृति 118, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya.—Ms No. स्मृति 117, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

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Jahnu-saptamī-, Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī-, Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī-, Kunda-caturthī-, Lakṣmī-, Lakṣmī-Parṇā-, Mahājyaiṣṭhī-, Mahālakṣmī-, Mahānavamī-, Mahāṣṭamī-, Mākarī Saptamī, Nāgapañcamī-, Nakṣatra-, Nakta-, Nandā-, Navarātra-, Pada-, Pāśupata-, Phalasaptamī-, Pradīpta-navamī-, Pradoṣa-, Putrotpatti-, Rāma-navamī-, Rasakalyāṇinī-, Raṭantī-caturdaśī-, Ravivāra-, Sāvitrī-, Śiro-, Śivarātri-, Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-, Śrī-pañcamī- (in Māgha and Caitra), Śukra-vāra-, Sūrya-, Umā-Maheśvara-, Vijayā-, Viṣṇu-Śaṃkara-, etc.) and practices (such as Deha-tyāga-vidhi, Śyenagrāsana-vidhi, Vaiśākhī-vidhi, etc.), 36, 43, 46, 47, 54, 57, 62, 69, 76, 93, 159, 191, 199, 237-9, 309, 319-321, 326, 357, 366-9, 375-381, 384-5, 387-390, 392, 394-6, 404-7, 409, 434-5, 451, 493-4, 498-500, 513

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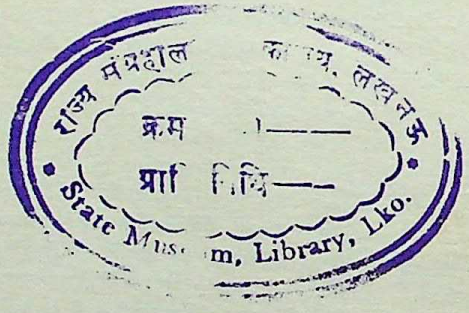

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32	5 (of fn. 99)	of Kāmarūpa	Kāmākhyā
40	26	Viṣṇ	Viṣṇu
48	3 (of fn. 125)	Arāl	Ārāl
68	5 (of fn. 148)	-ku a-, rahmin	-kula-, Brahmin
81	19	I. 135.3=	I. 135.3 (Vaṅga. ed.)=
87	12	sa-surasura-manavan	sa-surāsura-mānavān
112	21	ſo	ſor
125	9	lalāṭa-nimno-	lalāṭa nimno-
138	14; 34	lalāta-; lalāṭa-	lalāṭa; lalāṭa
147	6 (of fn. 298)	Elliot	Eliot
163	4 (of fn. 335)	artate	vartate
,,	5 (,, ,, ,,)	132-133	9. 132-133
172	2 (from the bottom)	tylyaṃ	tulyaṃ
241	13 (of fn. 517)	'ṣrīkaraḥ'	'śrīkaraḥ'
273	18	reigion	region
295	1 (of fn. 669)	Śūrapaṇakhā	Śūrpaṇakhā
310	7 (of fn. 688)	-bhiṣkṛtaḥ	-bahiṣkṛtaḥ
313	2 (of fn. 699)	-kulodbhavaḥ	-kalodbhavaḥ
357	18	Kikaṭa	Kīkaṭa
,,	2 (of fn. 804)	Kikaṭeṣv api	Kīkaṭeṣv api
363-463	The heading (of every alternate page bearing an odd number).	ŚĀKTA	NON-SECTARIAN
365	4	alter	altar
372	1 (of fn. 28)	dhar a-	dharma-
382	16	worwhipped	worshipped
408	3 (of fn. 108)	pūyayeyur	pūjayeyur
409	16 (of fn. 112)	magābhāgavataṃ	mahābhāgavataṃ
438	2 (of fn. 165)	'varu aḥ'	'varuḍaḥ'
460	24	out-cast.;	outcast;
471	10 (of fn. 18)	-purān	-purāṇa
488	1 (of fn. 96)	Sout	South

*Many of the printing mistakes noted here (especially those created by the dropping of types of letters, diacritical marks, etc.) occurred under circumstances beyond the author's control.

†fn.=footnote.

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